

CATENA CLASSICORUM

EDITED BY

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THE HISTORY OF THE WAR

BETWEEN THE PELOPONNESIANS AND ATHENIANS

BY THUCYDIDES

BOOKS I. II.

EDITED, WITH NOTES AND INTRODUCTION, BY

CHARLES BIGG, D.D.

LATE SENIOR STUDENT AND TUTOR OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD
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ὦ φίλος, εἰ σοφὸς εἶ, λαβέ μ' εἰς χέρας· εἰ δέ γε πάμπαν
νήϊς ἔφυς Μουσέων, ῥίψον ἅ μὴ νοέης.
εἰμὶ γὰρ οὐ πάντεσσι βατός· παῦροι δ' ἀγάσαντο
Θουκυδίδην Ὀλόρου Κεκροπίδην τὸ γένος.

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✓ ALFRED BARRY, D.D.

PRINCIPAL OF CHELTENHAM COLLEGE

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PREFACE.

THIS Work has so little claim to originality that I have not thought it necessary to acknowledge all my obligations. The books of which I have made most use are Krüger, Arnold, Poppo (small edition), Poppo's Edition of the Scholia, and Classen.

I have followed the text of the Oxford Pocket Edition; departing from it only when the MSS., or sense, seemed absolutely to require a change.

It is perhaps necessary to warn my readers that I have systematically abstained from giving any information to be found in books, such as Liddell and Scott's Lexicon, which it is reasonable to presume, are in every schoolboy's hands. Thus I have no note on *λίπα ἠλείψαντο*, i. 6.

The Third and Fourth Books will be edited by my friend Mr. G. A. Simcox, M.A., Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. A divided authorship is in some respects objectionable; but, in this case, I trust the want of uniformity will be atoned for by the greater speed of completion. Mr. Simcox will also undertake the Seventh and Eighth Books.

C. B.

I.

ON THE LIFE OF THUCYDIDES.

WHAT we know for certain of the life of Thucydides may be stated in few words. He was the son of Olorus¹, and an Athenian citizen², hence his father must have been an Athenian citizen also. He caught the plague, most probably at Athens in the second year of the war, and recovered³. He possessed gold mines, or the right of working gold mines in the neighbourhood of Amphipolis⁴. The wealth which he derived from this source gave him great influence with the leading citizens of the Greek towns in that region, and with the native Thracian chieftains, whom it was highly desirable to conciliate at a time when the Thraceward dependencies of Athens, never perhaps very warmly attached to her rule, were threatened by a Lacedaemonian force under the brilliant and popular Brasidas. In spite, therefore, of his previous obscurity, we are not surprised to find Thucydides in the year 424 B.C. at the head of a naval force, and charged with the protection of Athenian interests in Chalcidice and the adjoining country. His disastrous miscarriage belongs to Greek history. Some time had elapsed since Brasidas made his appearance among the Thraceward towns, like one dropped from the skies, after his masterly march through Thessaly. He had joined Perdiccas in an expedition against Arrhibaeus⁵, and on his return had seized Acanthus⁶. Yet now when he pounced upon Amphipolis⁷, the

¹ iv. 104. 3.

⁵ iv. 83.

² i. 1. 1.

⁶ iv. 84—88.

³ ii. 48. 4.

⁴ iv. 105. 1.

⁷ iv. 102—108.

very centre and capital of the Athenian interests, the place was unprepared to resist him, and the Athenian commander was lying with no more than seven galleys at the island of Thasos. A hasty message from Eucles, the governor, apprised Thucydides that the town was on the eve of capitulation, and he hurried to its relief. But there was half a day's voyage between him and the point of danger. When he sailed into Eon he learned that Amphipolis, which lay some distance further up the river Strymon, had already opened its gates to the enemy, and all he could do was to save Eon itself from the vigorous attack which Brasidas directed against it on the following day. Amphipolis was irretrievably lost, and with it the supplies of ship-timber and money drawn from the country of which it was the emporium, the Spartans were masters of the bridge over the Strymon, and an active and formidable enemy was securely established in the heart of the Thraceward dependencies of Athens. In consequence of his misfortune or incapacity, Thucydides was banished, or at any rate compelled to absent himself from Athens for twenty years.

At its first outbreak he had conceived the design of writing the history of the Peloponnesian War, which he perceived would have a graver influence upon the national destinies than any struggle in which Greece had as yet engaged, and he began at once to accumulate facts and to sift conflicting statements⁸. He was well fitted for this task by his wealth, which enabled him to pay liberally for information, and by his age, for the war found him and left him in the ripe maturity of experience and intellect⁹. Even his exile facilitated his labours, by setting him at liberty to mix freely with the Peloponnesians, and thus opening to him sources of knowledge from which he would otherwise have been debarred.

If we may insist upon two casual expressions, he appears to have revisited Athens after the city had been captured and the walls round Peiræus demolished by Lysander¹, and to have died before 396 B.C.²

As soon as we endeavour to extend our acquaintance with

⁸ i. 1.

⁹ v. 26. 5.

¹ i. 93. 5.

² iii. 116. 2.

the historian beyond the meagre notices which he has vouchsafed us, we find ourselves in a very Limbo of Vanity, a wild chaos of guess-work unrelieved for the most part even by the conditional virtue of acuteness. We have three "Lives of Thucydides." The first, which bears the name of Marcellinus³, is a mere cento of three shorter lives by unknown hands, huddled together without the least attempt at recasting or assimilation, full of repetitions and contradictions. The second is anonymous, and the third is a mere note by Suidas. Not one of the three bears the slightest traces of research, or endeavours to criticise and discriminate between statements often diametrically opposed, whose authors are to us so obscure that we have little or no power of estimating their respective credibility. Perhaps, however, it may be worth while to sort their statements and reduce them to some kind of order. Most of them are mere inferences based upon indications afforded by the history itself; still as we travel through them we pick up some idea of the main features of the historian's life. And there are a few facts which seem tolerably certain.

Where then and when was Thucydides born? What was his family, his education, and early experience? Where did he spend the twenty years of his exile? When and where did he die?

He was born at Halimus, a deme on the coast of Attica, between Phalerum and Colias. His father's name is the same as that of the Thracian prince Olorus⁴, whose daughter, Hegesipyle, was wife of the great Miltiades, and mother of Cimon. And a tomb said to be that of the historian Thucydides was shown in a place called the Hollow, near the Melitid gates of Athens, and within the so-called Cemetery of Cimon. Hence it was inferred that the historian was related to Miltiades. Yet the inference is by no means indisputable. For (1) from the very same passage in Marcellinus, it appears that Herodotus⁵ also was said by the Athenian ciceroni to be buried in Cimon's

³ Marcellinus himself is absolutely unknown.

⁴ The name was also spelt Orolus. Marc. 16, 17. Anon. 10.

⁵ 'Ολόρου is a mere conjectural emendation for 'Ηροδότου. Marc. 17.

cemetery. Again (2) Marcellinus endeavours to establish a second link of connexion by dubbing the mother of Thucydides (whose name was unknown to Plutarch) Hegesipyle. Hegesipyle, as has been said above, was the wife of Miltiades. Thirdly (3) he tries to prove the relationship between Thucydides and Miltiades, by the fact that the historian possessed mines at Scapte Hyle, which same mines, a little further on, are said to have been the dower of a rich wife.

Certainly these arguments are insufficient to support the case built upon them. It is not impossible that Thucydides and Cimon had nothing whatever to do with one another, and that they were only thought to be related because of the chance similarity of name between the father of the one and the grandfather of the other, the aristocratic prepossessions of Thucydides, and his Thracian estates. Marcellinus speaks of Thrace as an ignorant Englishman might speak of India, but there is no reason why an Olorus from the Strymon should necessarily be related to an Olorus from beyond the Hebrus, much less why he should be the same man. Nor indeed need the father of Thucydides have been of Thracian lineage at all. His Thracian name is easily accounted for in a family which most probably had intimate business relations with Thrace. If he were not a pure born Athenian, how did he acquire the Athenian franchise? Again, if Thucydides and Cimon were kinsmen, should we have been told so much about Nicias and so little about Cimon, whose life and character were far more attractive and interesting?

According to Hermippus⁶, who seems to be a very good authority, Thucydides was descended from the Pisistratids, and this, he adds, is why the historian tries to rob Harmodius and Aristogiton of the honours of tyrannicide. Hermippus may be right in his fact, and wrong in his miserable inference; and so too Marcellinus may be right in his fact, and wrong in the reasons by which he endeavours to substantiate it.

The year of the historian's birth cannot be fixed with con-

⁶ Hermippus of Smyrna was a pupil of Callimachus, in the time of Ptolemy Euergetes. Iosephus calls him ἀνὴρ περὶ πᾶσαν ἱστορίαν ἐπιμελής.

fidence. Marcellinus would place it about 454 B.C.⁷ Pamphila, a learned lady of Nero's time, says that Thucydides was forty years old when the Peloponnesian War broke out⁸. Both these statements may be mere attempts to define the somewhat ambiguous phrase⁹ which Thucydides uses of himself. But if we are to choose between them, Pamphila's date seems to be the more credible of the two. Though her credibility has not been allowed to pass unquestioned, and though the precision and completeness of her statement may be fallacious, the experience and ripe judgment which Thucydides claims for himself would certainly be more commonly found in a man of forty than in one of twenty-three. And the older we suppose him to have been at the close of the war, the easier it is to account for the abrupt termination of his work, and the unfinished state of the last book.

We may assume then with Clinton that Thucydides was born in or about the year 471 B.C.

Under what influences his character was formed we know quite well, both from the internal evidence of his writings and from our acquaintance with the general intellectual tendencies of the age. He is one of the representative men of the most remarkable era in the history of his country. It is hardly an exaggeration to say, that the fifth century before Christ found the Greeks children and left them men. It is the age of the intellect as distinguished from the preceding age of the emotions. Already their keen observation and enjoyment of life, their quick and passionate feelings, their newly-awakened wonder, and their ardent impatience of labour and half conclusions, had given birth to epic, lyric, and elegiac poetry, and

⁷ He says (34) that Thucydides was more than fifty years old when he died.

⁸ "Hellanicus, Herodotus, Thucydides, historiae scriptores, in isdem fere temporibus laude ingenti floruerunt et non nimis longe distantibus fuerunt aetatibus. Nam Hellanicus initio belli Peloponnesiaci fuisse quinque et sexaginta annos natus videtur, Herodotus tres et quinquaginta, Thucydides quadraginta. Scriptum est hoc in libro undecimo Pamphilae." Gelius, *N. A.* 15. 23.

⁹ αἰσθανόμενος τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, v. 26. 5.

solved the problem of the universe on the Ionic or Eleatic hypotheses. But philosophy proper begins, in the fifth century, with the separation by Anaxagoras of the material from the immaterial; the hopeless deadlock in which the sophists had involved the old questions, and the culture and development of prose writing, seeds which were quickened into active life by the downfall of the tyrants and the glorious emancipation from the dread of foreign conquest. Nor is it only within the regions of the pure intellect that we trace this great onward movement. During the same period poetry reaches its noblest and deepest phase in the tragic drama, and Greek tragedy was at once the offspring and parent of the eager love of inquiry and debate upon the intricacies and contradictions of spiritual, moral, and social existence. We close the sixth century with Pythagoras, Charon of Lampsacus, and Phrynichus, the fifth with Socrates, Thucydides, and Euripides.

Few men have had the stamp of their age more legibly impressed upon them than Thucydides. In his ever-recurring opposition of name, word, or spirit, to material reality or fact; in his love of political or ethical maxims and generalizations; in his fondness for debate; in his lofty style charged with words and phrases from the poets, yet shrinking from metaphor; stiff with the cumbrous stateliness of antithesis and inversion, yet unable, at times, to hold the thread of a simple construction through the mazes of its own creation—in all this we discern the natural working of an age of rapid but as yet incomplete development upon a vehement and powerful mind. Yet we can never feel quite certain whether to believe or disbelieve the accounts which bring him into close personal relations with the great contemporary leaders of thought. Antyllus says that he heard the lectures of Anaxagoras¹, and hence was considered “a bit of an atheist,” that he borrowed his antitheses and nicely-balanced sentences from Gorgias of Leontini, his subtle verbal distinctions from Prodicus of Ceos². Gorgias he is said to have followed also in his love of lofty sentiments, in his pride³,

¹ Marc. 22.

² Marc. 36.

³ τὸ μεγαλογνώμον καὶ τὴν ὀφρῦν, Philostratus, *Épp.* 13. 919.

and in the variety of his style⁴. Again, he is said to have been a pupil of Antiphon the Rhamnusian⁵, who, however, if we suppose Thucydides to have been born in 471 B.C., was barely eight years his senior. He quotes Hellanicus in such a manner as shows that he had read not only the "Attic History" of that author, but all the Logographers or Chroniclers with a careful and critical eye⁶. Nor can there be any rational doubt that he was familiar with the work of Herodotus. For even if we set an arbitrary limit to the expression, "all his predecessors who had written either of Greek affairs before the Persian War or of the Persian War itself," there is a coincidence and there are contradictions which would be inexplicable, if Thucydides had never perused the Nine Muses⁷.

As to the time at which Thucydides first became acquainted with the writings of Herodotus, I shall not offer an opinion. But we cannot leave unnoticed an anecdote, which with a slight variation in fact and in expression, is given both by Marcellinus and Suidas. On one occasion, it is said, when Herodotus was reciting his histories in public, Thucydides, then a boy at his father's side, stood among the ring of listeners, and was wrought to such a pitch of excitement and enthusiasm, by what he heard, that he burst into tears. Herodotus noticed the lad's emotion, and said to the father, "Olorus, thy son is passionately bent upon learning." We could wish this pretty tale were true. But Lucian, though he asserts that Herodotus did recite at the Olympic games, gives no date, and says nothing about Olorus or his son⁸. Marcellinus gives neither

⁴ Marc. 51.

⁵ Marc. 22.

⁶ i. 97. 2. Cp. i. 21. 1.

⁷ The coincidence is between the end of the History of Herodotus and the commencement of the Summary of Thucydides: see note on i. 89. The most striking contradictions are i. 20. 4; ii. 97. 7. Cp. also i. 126. 8; ii. 8. 3.

⁸ *Herod.* i. Clinton thinks the whole story true, and assigns it to the 81st Olympiad, 456 B.C., when Herodotus was twenty-eight and Thucydides fifteen. Classen connects it with the statement of Eusebius, that in Ol. 83. 3, B.C. 446, Herodotus recited his books at Athens and received some public mark of distinction. But in that year Thucydides was probably twenty-five years old. Besides Lucian states (*l. l.*) that Herodotus did not recite at Athens.

place nor date. Suidas names the Olympia, but does not venture to fix the time.

Thucydides must also have been familiar with the works of Homer⁹. But his was not a mind to be much influenced by poetry, he has too little fancy, too little softness. He never smiles, he is too busy with great matters, too full of his ideal of the state to waste time or feeling upon deeds or sufferings of individuals however beautiful or pathetic. In common with most men of his time he appears to have accepted as authentic all that passed under the name of Homer¹. Homer himself he treats as a contemporary historian of the Trojan War, whose statements may be relied upon, wherever there is no reason to suppose them coloured by poetical exaggeration, or warped to suit the itching ears of the vulgar. He is also said to have been an admirer of Pindar²; but this probably means no more than that his nature has a certain affinity to the "pride" of "the Theban eagle."

According to Marcellinus³, Thucydides took no active part in politics, and never mounted the bema, nor does there seem to be any reason for doubting this statement, though it is contradicted by Dionysius⁴. His wealth and popularity on the Strymon are quite sufficient to account for his appointment to command in the north-west Aegean, at a time when the expected arrival of Brasidas made it absolutely necessary that the colonists and native chiefs should be kept in good humour. Whether he had even spent much time in the imperial city, we do not know, though Classen thinks that the graphic descriptions and living portraits with which the first four books abound, can only have been executed by one familiar with the scenes and personages portrayed. Indeed, we can hardly doubt that he was well acquainted with the "Olympian" Pericles, the pious Nicias, the brilliant and petulant Alcibiades, the noisy but

⁹ i. 3. 3; 9. 4; 10. 3; ii. 41. 4.

¹ iii. 104. 7.

² Marc. 35, ζηλωτῆς δὲ γέγονεν ὁ Θουκυδίδης εἰς μὲν τὴν οἰκονομίαν Ὀμήρου, Πινδάρου δ' εἰς τὸ μεγαλοφυὲς καὶ ὑψηλὸν τοῦ χαρακτῆρος.

³ Marc. 23.

⁴ *Ερ. ad Cn. Ρομπρ.* 3, ἐν πρώτοις ἦγον (αὐτὸν) Ἀθηναῖοι, στρατηγιῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τιμῶν ἀξιοῦντες.

clever Cleon, who might have been a general and a statesman, if fate had not made him a leatherseller and a demagogue. Again, it is highly probable that he had seen the country people forced, much against their will, to crowd into the city, and find a wretched shelter in the holes of the walls, or on the Pelasgicon, that he had heard the funeral oration of Pericles, and the debate on Mytilene, and been an eye-witness of the ravages of the plague. Yet he can hardly have been so well known and so popular in Pieria without frequent and long-continued visits to his estates in that country.

The circumstances of the one unhappy occasion on which Thucydides appears as an actor in his own history have already been briefly narrated. Whether he was condemned to exile by a decree of the people on the motion of Cleon, or whether he feared a heavier punishment still, and so remained in self-imposed banishment, we cannot tell for certain. Both accounts are given in Marcellinus⁵. The first is adopted by Grote, but it may be a mere attempt to account for the bitterness with which Cleon is spoken of. Before the battle of Delium, we are told, the Athenians were so elated by success, that they regarded failure as a crime⁶. Demosthenes was afraid to return home after his disaster in Aetolia⁷. The generals who came back from Sicily, though they had suffered no defeat and brought no loss upon the state, were banished or fined. Since then, the fatal day of Delium had robbed the Athenians of all the prestige won at Sphacteria. Blow quickly followed blow, and now they were to learn that the first jewel, the very keystone of their Thraceward dependencies, was irrecoverably lost. Well might the unfortunate commander shrink from the storm of popular fury, and purchase safety by flight.

But were the people right in their indignation against Thucydides? Certainly a man who is beaten is *prima facie* incompetent, and Thucydides has not endeavoured to exonerate himself of this presumption. He does not deign to inform us what reason there was for his being at Thasos, a distance—if we allow for the time it would take a messenger to arrive—of a

⁵ Marc. 46. 55.

⁶ iv. 65. 4.

⁷ iii. 98. 6.

day's sail from Amphipolis⁸. But his silence justifies us in assuming that he had no good plea to urge in his defence, and we can hardly doubt that Grote is right when he charges both the Athenian officers with criminal improvidence. The presence of an active and dangerous enemy in the heart of Chalcidice, and the well-known hostility of the Argilians⁹, should have been sufficient warning of the impending danger; a strong guard on the bridge over the Strymon, or the mere presence of the fleet in the river, would have been enough to make Amphipolis secure, and yet the town was lost. The promptitude and energy which Thucydides displayed as soon as the express from Eucles woke him to a sense of the peril, and which enabled him at any rate to save Eon, quite establish his character as a man of spirit. Perhaps, too, we may say that if he was not appointed on the ground of military capacity, he should not have been severely punished for military incapacity. But in such cases a popular tribunal is often harsher than a professional judge; it was necessary to encourage other commanders, and Thucydides might deem himself fortunate to escape the fate of Byng.

It has been well said, that "the historian's loss was the gain of posterity." His banishment enabled him to visit and converse freely with the enemies of his country, and he assures us that he made good use of his opportunities¹. The biographers mostly agree that he spent the twenty years of his exile chiefly at his house near Scapte Hyle, where a plane-tree was shown, under the shade of which people said he used to sit and write². From thence we may suppose that he made excursions to the different places which became successively the seat of war, to Mantinea, to Syracuse, to Asia Minor. The one exception to the general agreement is Timaeus, who says that he lived during his exile in Italy³.

That he returned to Athens after Lysander had dismantled the Peiraeus seems certain⁴. If we may press his statement,

⁸ iv. 104. 3.

⁹ iv. 103. 3.

¹ v. 26. 5.

² Marc. 25. 47. Plutarch, *de Exil.* 14.

³ Marc. 25.

⁴ i. 93. 5, before quoted.

that he was absent from his country for twenty years, and if Amphipolis was taken in the spring of 423 B.C., he did not see Athens again till 403 B.C., when Thrasybulus overthrew the Thirty Tyrants, and an amnesty was granted to all except the Thirty, the Eleven, and the Ten. Pausanias, however, states that the recall of Thucydides was effected by a special decree proposed by one Oenobius⁵. If this be true, we must suppose, either that the popular indignation against the unfortunate general had not yet blown over, which is in the last degree improbable; or that the decree was meant as a sort of public apology for the extreme severity of his punishment; or, lastly, we may deduct a few months from the twenty years, and adopt Classen's theory, that "the historian was recalled during the reign of the Thirty, before the execution of Theramenes, and before the tyrants had set all forms of law on one side."

As to the time, place, and manner of his death, again there is great uncertainty. It is perhaps a fair inference, from a passage in the third book already referred to, that he died before 396 B.C. Besides this we are certain that a tomb reputed to be his, and bearing the inscription—

ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΗΣ ΟΛΟΡΟΥ ΑΛΙΜΟΥΣΙΟΣ,

was shown in the Hollow. If we may add to this (what can hardly be an invention), that upon the grave lay a framework of planks, the mark of a cenotaph⁶, we should know that he died and was buried abroad.

Zopyrus and Cratippus⁷ agree that he died in Thrace, and as they appear to have been younger contemporaries of the historian, their testimony, which is supported by Plutarch⁸, is decisive on this point. Timaeus, however, states that Thucydides died in Italy, where he had resided during his banishment. The abrupt termination of the history, which breaks off in the middle of a sentence, has given rise to a theory that the author was murdered; but it is hard to see why an inference, which would be false in the case of Lord Macaulay, should

⁵ i. 23. 11.

⁶ Marc. 31.

⁷ Marc. 33.

⁸ *Cim.* 4, τελευτῆσαι ἐν τῇ Σ. Υ. φονευθεὶς ἐκεῖ.

necessarily hold in the case of Thucydides, who, moreover, if Pamphila is right, must have been at least seventy years old at the time of his death. As a specimen of the wild blunders of the grammarians, it may be added, that, according to Didymus (the brazen-bowelled), Thucydides was recalled immediately after the destruction of the Athenian armament before Syracuse, and was murdered in Athens⁹. The author of Marcellinus seems inclined to agree with Didymus. Classen's conclusion is, that Thucydides returned to Athens in the autumn of 404 B.C., but soon went back to Thrace, to avoid the reign of terror and to obtain quiet for his studies, and that he was there killed by brigands.

⁹ Marc. 32.

II.

ON THE DATE AT WHICH THUCYDIDES WROTE.

F. W. ULLRICH has advanced the following theory, "that Thucydides, regarding the war between the Peloponnesians and Athenians as brought to a close by the peace of Nicias, set to work immediately upon his banishment to compose the history of the First or Ten Years' War, and had actually written the first book with the preface, the second, third, and half of the fourth books, just as we have them now, when the renewal of hostilities warned him that the struggle had not yet reached its close; that he then desisted from the labour of composition, and began again to collect materials for the Sicilian, Deceleian, and Ionic Wars, and that he did not resume the work of arranging his notes and casting them into an artistic shape till after his return to Athens." If this theory be true, what Thucydides calls "the war between the Peloponnesians and Athenians," in the first chapter, and "this war" in the thirteenth chapter of the Preface, will be what he elsewhere calls "the First" or "Ten Years' War."

The passages on which Ullrich mainly relies are the following:—

ii. 1, ἀρχεται ὁ πόλεμος ἐνθένδε . . . ἐν ᾧ . . . ξυνεχῶς ἐπολέμουν.

ξυνεχῶς here, as Ullrich thinks, cannot be used of the whole

war, for there was a distinct cessation of hostilities after the peace of Nicias. But we must refer the word to what precedes, not to what follows. Thucydides is contrasting the open war which now began with the hollow and uneasy peace, described in the last chapter of the first book.

- ii. 54. 4, ἦν δέ γε οἶμαί ποτε ἄλλος πόλεμος καταλάβη Δωρικὸς τοῦδε ὕστερος καὶ ξυμβῇ γενέσθαι λιμόν, κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς οὕτως ἄσονται.

Athens was compelled to surrender to Lysander by famine, and Thucydides could not have written thus after the fall of the city. But surely the λιμός or λοιμός was to come ἅμα τῷ πολέμῳ (§ 2).

- ii. 8. 1, ἀρχόμενοι γὰρ πάντες ὀξύτερον ἀντιλαμβάνονται.

Nay, says Ullrich, the greatest efforts on both sides were made at the end of the war. But Thucydides is contrasting the zeal and ardour of the first year with the depression which followed at Athens in the very next year, and at Sparta before very long.

- ii. 57. 2 ; iii. 26. 3. Could the second invasion of Attica have been called the longest, or the fourth most damaging, after Deceleia had been occupied? But the Peloponnesian establishment at Deceleia was an ἐπιτειχισμός, not an ἐσβολή.

- iii. 87. 2, ὥστε Ἀθηναίων γε μὴ εἶναι ὃ τι μᾶλλον ἐκάκωσε τὴν δύναμιν.

Could these words have been used of the plague after the Syracusan disaster? Surely, for Thucydides is thinking, not of disasters in the field, but of those which diminished the forces the combatants could bring into the field.

None of these passages have any real bearing upon the question at issue; on the other hand, within the first three books and a half there are several places in which the later history, or the end of the war, is clearly anticipated. Thus—

- i. 93. 5 implies the destruction of the walls of Peiraeus by Lysander.
ii. 48. 2. At the time of the outbreak of the plague, it is said there were as yet no springs in the Peiraeus. But

springs were opened there in the year of the Archonship of Meton, 414 B.C.

- ii. 65. 13 refers to the Sicilian defeat, the help given by Cyrus to the Peloponnesians, and their final success.
- ii. 100. 2 was written certainly after the accession of Archelaus to the throne of Macedonia, in 410 B.C.
- iii. 86. 3, οὐ μέντοι ξυνεπολέμησάν γε these words seem to contrast the inactivity of the Siceliots, in the first part of the war, with the vigorous aid rendered by them to Sparta in the second.

In clearness and decisiveness these passages far outweigh any presumption which could be based upon those brought forward by Ullrich, even though we grant him full licence to fix his own interpretation on them. But there are some other indications which may help us to a conclusion.

It can scarcely be doubted that the references to ἐπιτείχισις, in the first book ¹, and the anxiously repeated advice of Pericles to his countrymen, to confine their operations to what was necessary for the conduct of the war², are due to the sad experience of Deceleia and Sicily, which had for the first time given to these subjects a melancholy prominence. There are other passages, scattered up and down, which have every appearance of prophecies after the event³. But there are two insuperable barriers to our reception of Ullrich's theory, or any modification of it. The first is the Preface. Can any one, without a theory to support, read these three-and-twenty chapters, which insist so solemnly upon the importance of the contest about to be narrated, and the disasters which it brought upon Hellas, and yet maintain that nothing more than the Ten Years' War, so resultless and incomplete, was before the writer's mind? Could Thucydides ever have imagined that the inveterate hatred between the belligerents was rooted out by the peace of Nicias, which left all the causes of that hatred in full operation? Secondly, Thucydides expressly tells us that the war lasted twenty-seven years without any real interval⁴.

¹ i. 122. 1; 142. 2.

² i. 144. 1; ii. 65. 7.

³ Such as i. 77. 7.

⁴ v. 26. 1. He calls the peace ὑποπτος ἀνακωχή.

No intelligent man could have failed to see that the peace of Nicias carried within it the seeds of its own destruction, that the forces which would tear it asunder were already at work, and that war must speedily return.

The simplest and easiest way of accounting for all the phenomena is to suppose that the history, as we have it, was composed wholly and entirely after its author's return from exile. From the first we know that he had been amassing notes and collecting evidence of every kind and from all quarters. He may have amused his leisure with comparing testimony, with making rough draughts of the narrative, with composing speeches. But how can we tell? If any portions of the history were written out as separate episodes during the progress of the war, they have been so carefully fused and welded on to the rest, that the joinings are no longer discernible.

The eighth book breaks off abruptly in the middle of the twenty-first year of the war, and is manifestly unfinished. Besides this it contains no speeches, though there are situations of affairs in which our experience of earlier books would have led us to expect them. From these two facts it has been inferred by ancient critics, that this eighth book is the work of a daughter of the historian, or of Xenophon, or of Theopompus, though each of these suppositions is not only directly opposed to all internal evidence, but renders the sudden termination of the work inexplicable. Modern editors have thought that the eighth book did not receive the final revision from its author's hands. But if this be so, if the book is merely a rough draught, how is it we have no more such unfinished sketches? The contents of the historian's note-book—if this be a sample of them—would be far more valuable than the Epitomes of Livy. The only reason why the work closes when it does is, that Thucydides had written no more. The notes which he left for the remaining portion of the work were so fragmentary and unconnected, that they were not worth publication under his name.

If we assume that he began to compose in 403 or 404 B.C., when did he leave off?

From ii. 100. 2, some have inferred that Archelaus was dead when the words were written—he died in 399 B.C. It has been thought again that Thucydides would hardly have spoken in such unqualified admiration of the defence which Antiphon made, when on trial for his life, if he had heard the Apology of Socrates in the same year. Others again, as has been said, argued from iii. 116, that he must have died before the eruption of Aetna in 396 B.C., but it seems doubtful whether the passage will bear this inference. We must be content then to leave the question unsolved.

III.

ON SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THUCYDIDES.

DIONYSIUS is loud in his admiration of the vast improvement made by Thucydides upon the style and method of the earlier writers of historical prose. Among these, if we except Herodotus from the number, there seems to have been no one of any distinguished ability either as a thinker or a composer. They chose their subjects badly, dealing with fragments or disjointed episodes, which had little or no value when violently severed from the great body of Greek or Barbarian history. They confined themselves in the main to the mere collecting and writing of the traditions and monuments of single tribes or cities, and these they gave to the world just as they found them, full of fables¹ and “theatrical catastrophes,” with little attempt at arrangement or decoration. Their language was that of every-day life, quite plain and unartificial, yet not without a certain transparency and careless grace, which for a long time redeemed their works from oblivion. Yet far as Thucydides

¹ λαμίας τινὰς ἱστοροῦντες ἐν ὕλαις καὶ νάπαις ἐκ γῆς ἀνιεμένας, καὶ ναΐδας ἀμφιβίους ἐκ ταρτάρων ἐξιούσας καὶ διὰ πελάγους νηχομένας καὶ μιξόθηρας, and many other wonderful things. Dionysius is speaking of Eugeon the Samian, Deiochus of Proconnesus, Eudemus of Paros, Democles of Phrygia, Hecataeus of Miletus, Acusilaus of Argos, Charon of Lampsacus, Amelesagoras of Chalcedon, Hellanicus of Lesbos, Damastes of Sigeia, Xenomedes of Chios, Xanthus the Lydian, “and many others,” and their writings he says ἔτι μένουσιν. *De Thuc. hist. jud.* 5. 6.

has outstripped all his predecessors, not excepting even Herodotus, in the powers of imagination and expression, in knowledge of human nature, above all in earnestness and scientific subtlety, we must not expect to find him entirely free from the influences of his age. There is a stiff and archaic cast about his work, in all that concerns its form and composition, which renders us quite unable to apply to him the same standard as to a modern writer. Though the level on which he stands is far above the old logographers, of whom he entertained so contemptuous an opinion², there is still something about the productions of his mind, which reminds us of the early creations of Greek art, statues of the gods rich with gold and colour, but wooden still.

One such trace of the want of freedom and plastic power in the treatment of his materials, we find in the division by Summers and Winters. In this point, indeed, he appears to contrast unfavourably with earlier writers, who either followed the order of the yearly archons, or the Olympiads, or, better still, grouped together the events which happened in the reign of a particular king, or during the incumbency of a priest of one of the great temples. Some, even as Herodotus and Hellanicus, took a bolder flight, and following the natural order and connexion of affairs, recounted the whole of one great episode, or the whole history of a country, without break or interruption. The arrangement adopted by Thucydides has scarcely any thing to recommend it: instead of making matters clearer, it seems at times almost to reduce them into their original chaos; it distracts the attention and fatigues the memory, giving the reader separate or tangled strands instead of a compact and single thread. Dionysius points to the third book as a striking example of the confusion and awkwardness flowing from this source, but an analysis of almost any portion of the history, except the narrative of the great Sicilian expedition, will show the justice of his criticism. Even in the first book, before the division by Summers and Winters has been adopted, the evolution of the history is by no means luminous

or easy. The admirable sketch of primitive Greek society, contained in the preface, has only a fanciful connexion with the main subject. Again Dionysius notices that Thucydides, after discriminating carefully between the real cause and the occasion or pretext of the war³, has chosen to begin with the pretext. The result is a complication and embarrassment which pervade the whole book. We commence with the affairs of Epidamnus and Potidaea, extending over the years 436-2 B.C. Then we are carried back to 478 B.C., and trace the growth of Athenian power to the point from which we started. And yet later on we find that the history of Pausanias and Themistocles, though included within the period covered by this digression, require to be set forth separately; and again we must turn back the pages of history, and recur to the era of the Persian War.

Another relic of the infancy of history is the machinery by which Thucydides supplies the place of direct comment on the purposes, views, or prospects of particular parties or individuals at particular junctures. A modern historian never abdicates his office. However vivid his imagination, however graphic his portraiture may be, he never allows us to forget that he is a historian and not a dramatist. Hence, when he would take us behind the scenes, and point out the hidden motives which from above or below guide and control the outward acts of men, he gives at once the evidence and its interpretation, and allows us, if we please, to accept the one while rejecting or modifying the other. Few writers have been more richly qualified than Thucydides for the work of psychological analysis, for detecting the prejudices of nations, parties, or men, and explaining the influence of events upon the intellect and moral nature. Yet he has chosen in a great part of his work to fuse together the objective and the subjective, matter of fact and matter of opinion or inference. Instead of describing as an impartial bystander the working of the laws, social life, and policy of Sparta or Athens, he presents himself in the person of a Spartan or Athenian citizen, and the result

³ i. 23. 8.

is a mixture of the "dry light" of criticism, with something which may be a fair deduction from facts partly unknown to us, but may also be mere passion and partiality. If Thucydides is a Hallam in his narrative, he may be a Shakspeare in his speeches. Possibly he may have felt that this rhetorical and dramatic element was unfair towards his readers, or he may have feared to become insipid and tiresome, or lastly, death may have come upon him so suddenly, that he had no time not only to complete his work, but to elaborate what he had already written. At any rate it is strange that in the eighth book we find no speeches even in situations which, if he had carried out his original plan, would naturally have suggested their insertion. That all the speeches are mainly, and that some are entirely, his own composition, is clear from such external evidence as we possess ⁴, from the formula with which they are introduced ⁵, from the absence of the speakers' names in the earlier books, from the allusion to events as yet future and unknown to the orators ⁶, from the style so unintelligible and even repulsive to a popular audience, and lastly, from the very comprehensive salvo under which he shelters himself from any objection on the part of those who might possibly have heard what was actually said ⁷.

Again we must notice here the limitations and restrictions which Thucydides has imposed upon himself. There is the

⁴ See note on ii. 35. 1.

⁵ ἔλεξαν, εἶπον τοιαῦδε.

⁶ The length and obstinacy of the war, i. 80 sqq.; the anticipation of the Persian alliance, i. 82. 1; the allusion to ἐπιτειχισμός, i. 122. 1, 142. 2. We may add that the speech of Pericles is manifestly intended as a detailed rejoinder to that of the Corinthians which yet he had not heard. Dr. Arnold compares the speeches in Thucydides to the reports of Parliamentary debates written for the Gentleman's Magazine, by Dr. Johnson. "The debates in Parliament which were brought home and digested by one Guthrie, whose memory was very quick and tenacious, were sent to Johnson for revision. Sometimes, however, as Johnson himself told me, he had nothing more communicated to him than the names of the several speakers and the part which they had taken in the debate." Boswell.

⁷ i. 22. 1. λόγῳ εἶπον includes the speeches and a good deal more. Thucydides nowhere gives us to understand that orations, as such, were reported to him.

same archaic narrowness and simplicity, the same "statuesqueness" in his treatment of history which Schlegel pointed out in Athenian tragedy. Nothing is admitted which does not directly bear upon the evolution of events. From first to last the attention is kept fixed with almost painful concentration upon the one object. After the first book the historian scarcely removes his eyes for a moment from the tangle of battles and intrigues⁸. The only digressions are those in which he has briefly spoken of the ancient state life of Attica⁹, the Echinades¹, the gatherings of the Ionic race at Delos², and the assassination of Hipparchus³, matters of which we could well have afforded to remain in ignorance. But where he might well have been full and discursive he maintains a provoking silence. He gives us no picture of the life that thronged the streets, porticoes, and gymnasia of Athens, Sparta, or Corinth. From the funeral speech of Pericles we might indeed have inferred that the writer had lived in a polished society, that he had warmed to the fostering influences of artistic and literary refinement. Yet we should not know the name of one of those great men by whom the splendid edifice of Athenian culture had been raised, if the work of Thucydides were our only source of information. Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes are not mentioned; the great work of Phidias is casually alluded to in the midst of a financial statement⁴. Socrates could not have been left quite unnoticed in the account of the battle of Arginusae and the subsequent condemnation of the Athenian commanders in that action; yet Thucydides would seem to have taken but little interest in the great apostle of self-knowledge, and considered his Apology, if indeed he had ever heard of it, as inferior to that of Antiphon⁵. When we think of our author's great powers of observation, reflection, and expression, of his elevation of view and ripe political wisdom, we cannot sufficiently regret that he has shown us so little of the real life

⁸ Θουκυδίδης δὲ πόλεμον ἓνα καὶ τινὰς ἀπνευστὶ διεξέρχεται μάχας ἐπὶ μάχαις, καὶ παρασκευὰς ἐπὶ παρασκευαῖς, καὶ λόγους ἐπὶ λόγοις συντιθείς. Dion. ad Cn. Pomp. 3.

⁹ ii. 15.

¹ ii. 102.

² iii. 104.

³ vi. 54 sqq.

⁴ ii. 13. 4.

⁵ viii. 68. 2.

of his people, and that he should not have traced in fuller detail the action of Hellenic civilization upon Hellenic morality and statecraft.

Further, not only has Thucydides confined himself too rigidly to the actual operations of the war, but he has told us too little of the individuals by whom those operations were executed, suggested, or controlled⁶. No one can delineate character more subtly or picturesquely. His judgments on Themistocles and Pericles show how well he could estimate and describe the qualities that make a statesman. Not even Macaulay could have drawn more graphic portraits of Nicias, Brasidas, Cleon, Alcibiades; and even Macaulay could not have drawn them with such terse felicity. But where are the politicians of the street, the market-place, and the law courts? Who directed public opinion among the soldiers and the marines? Thucydides will not tell us this; and if we want an answer, we must gather it as best we may from the caricatures of Aristophanes. In Thucydides it is the State that negotiates, the State that resolves, the State that wins or loses battles. The individual is almost as completely swallowed up in this great corporate entity, his good or evil is almost as completely derivable from its inspiration as if he were a monk or a Jesuit. One or two appear outside the city walls and deserve a name; the rest are Athenians and nothing more.

The same caprice and inequality, which side by side with a few finely drawn characters has left us long lists of mere shadowy names, has been pointed out also in the handling of the incidents. One embassy is described at length, another is barely mentioned⁷; the disasters of Plataea, of Melus, of Mycalessus, are told in the most moving and circumstantial manner, while those of Scione⁸, Euboea⁹, Aegina¹, are passed lightly over, almost as matters of course. Dionysius regards this unevenness as a sin against artistic propriety and finish;

⁶ The same absence of individualization is remarked by Mommsen, *Hist. Rome*, ii. 444, as a characteristic by which the older Attic drama of Aeschylus and Sophocles is distinguished from that of Euripides.

⁷ ii. 59. 2.

⁸ v. 32. 1.

⁹ i. 114. 6.

¹ ii. 27. 1; iv. 57. 4.

but he speaks like a rhetorician, who thinks it wrong to let slip any opportunity for fine talking and writing : thus he says that the Funeral Speech ought to have been represented as pronounced over those who died in Sicily. But the explanation is not difficult. Events in such a war have a tendency to repeat themselves with monotonous uniformity, and we may be thankful to the historian who, instead of a long series of sieges, massacres, and sacks, of speeches of generals and ambassadors, and battles by land and sea, has presented us with a few perfect specimens of their class, and drawn the others in outline.

The foregoing observations have an important bearing, not only upon the literary but upon the moral character of Thucydides. The first and most important guarantee we require from any one who undertakes to guide and inform our judgment on men and things, is strict honesty and impartiality. Does Thucydides then always hold the balance evenly? Has he never given to his friends a prominence which implies approbation, and consigned the merits of his enemies to oblivion? Are the opinions which he expresses or insinuates always as simple and straightforward as they seem? It is in this perhaps that the similarity between Thucydides and Tacitus chiefly consists : both convey their views rather by colouring and “infusions” than by direct and outspoken praise or blame.

Perhaps no writer has been so extravagantly praised, or so unreasonably censured on this score as Thucydides. His admirers hold him up as a very mirror of truthfulness, pure from the faintest breath of passion or corruption of any kind. His revilers (chiefly ancient) see in him a man of mean and narrow soul, always on the watch for some opportunity of gratifying his blind affection or his rancorous spite. Fortunately their charges are for the most part self-destructive ; it is a sheer impossibility for any man to be a partial advocate at once of barbarism, of Athenian democracy, of Athenian tyrants, and of Spartan aristocracy². No one can doubt that

² He was called *φιλοβάρβαρος*, and the Scholiasts charge him alternately with Atticizing and with Laconizing.

Thucydides was possessed in an eminent degree of the great qualities of caution, industry, liberality and breadth of view. If we compare the Athens of the Funeral Oration with the Athens of the Melian Dialogue, we must acquit him alike of rancour against the country which had cast him forth, and of vain-glorious patriotism. His admiration for Archidamus and Brasidas is counterbalanced by his evident dislike for the character which the Spartan institutions fostered—a character rude, cruel, dilatory, suspicious, and false³. His diligence and sobriety of judgment declare themselves throughout his work. If he thinks his evidence insufficient, he says so⁴. He is fully aware that men do not always carry truth upon their lips, and that it is necessary to cross-examine, and sift, and compare, if you would pierce below the surface of affairs⁵. He knows well how to distinguish the fact from the conjecture⁶, the word from the deed, the pretext from the reason⁷. When the testimony is irreconcilable he gives it in full, and does not attempt to draw any inference or conclusion⁸. Every where we find, at any rate in appearance, the same dispassionate and judicial deliberation, the same half-cynical scepticism, the same guarded distrust or open contempt of the gaping credulity of the people, the loose romancing vein of poets and chroniclers⁹. If to these manifest traces of painstaking and integrity we add the dignity of character which Thucydides displays throughout, the manner in which he has effaced himself in his work, the utter absence of self-consciousness or self-assertion, of factious narrowness or animosity, we shall require very clear evidence indeed before we convict him of deliberately misleading his readers. And such evidence is not forthcoming. Thucydides is almost the sole authority for the period with which he deals, and there is no Greek writer whose opinions or statements we can throw into the scale against his.

Only in two cases has his judgment been challenged in modern times. The first is his eulogy upon Antiphon, who he

³ ii. 77. 6, 102. 10; iii. 96. 1.

⁴ i. 69—71, 77. 7; 86; ii. 37, 39; iv. 80.

⁶ viii. 87.

⁷ i. 23. 8.

⁵ i. 20.

⁸ ii. 5; v. 68.

⁹ i. 20—22, 97.

says "was inferior in virtue to no man of his time¹." "Yet the same Antiphon," says Arnold, "was a traitor to his country in the highest degree, the chief contriver of a traitorous conspiracy, whose means were assassination, and whose object was the overthrow of the best and happiest state of society then known." Doubtless private virtue is but a poor atonement for public crimes, yet we must not forget that the ancients did not allow what many even now would deny, that the law of right and wrong is equally strict for the ruler and the subject, for the state and the individual. What a different idea we should get of Charles the First's character, if we fixed our regards solely on his domestic life, or solely on his disputes with the Parliament. The kingdom of true Christian morality advances but slowly, and its last worst enemy is party spirit. If this be the case even now, how can it seem strange that Thucydides should attempt to distinguish between the private and public conscience, and think it lawful for him to praise Antiphon as a generous, warmhearted, or pure-minded man, without thereby expressing any opinion as to the cruelty and treachery of his political career?

The second charge of partiality and misrepresentation is based upon the description of Cleon, and it is the more important, because, if established, it affects our conception not only of Cleon but of the whole class of which he is the representative. For we can scarcely assume with safety, that Thucydides had any personal grudge against Cleon. It has been said, indeed, that Cleon proposed and carried the decree for the banishment of Thucydides, and that this is why he is mentioned with such evident dislike², just as it has been said that Thucydides was a relation of the Pisistratids, because he sets right a popular misconception about Harmodius and Aristogiton. Some writers have gone quite round the vicious circle, and argued that Thucydides cannot be quite fair to Cleon, because the latter was the moving cause of his exile.

¹ viii. 68. 1.

² Marc. 46, ἐφυγαδεύθη ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων διαβάλλοντος αὐτὸν τοῦ Κλέωνος· διὸ καὶ ἀπεχθάνεται τῷ Κλέωνι, καὶ ὡς μεμνηνὸτα εἰσάγει πανταχοῦ καὶ κοῦφον.

But all this is mere conjecture, and in face of the high probability that the historian's banishment was voluntary, it is more reasonable to conclude that he disliked demagogues generally, and selected the leatherseller as the type of the class.

Perhaps no great historian ever was or can be absolutely impartial. No one can trace the destiny of a nation without fixed opinions on the chief questions of politics; no one can have fixed opinions without regarding those who differ from him as, to some extent, blind and foolish. Again, the more cultivated a writer is, the more averse will he be to rudeness and coarseness, and our love and hatred are necessarily far more powerfully stirred by men whom we have known in the flesh, than they can be by those whom we have only read of in books. Thucydides could not be what he is if, knowing personally both Pericles and Cleon, he had been absolutely fair to both. Nor, again, in forming a judgment upon the Athenian demagogues, can we safely leave out of consideration the vast difference between ancient and modern democracy. In every slave-state there is a wide gulf between the planters or farmers and those who, while they cannot afford to keep slaves, are too proud to work. Great and brilliant as Athens was, if we would find her modern counterpart, we must imagine Richmond or Charleston forming an independent community, in which every "mean white" is not only an elector, but an actual member and possible leader of the legislative assembly. Only by such an effort of the imagination shall we be able to understand why all the great Athenian thinkers were unfriendly to the Athenian constitution³, and in particular, why Thucydides, after writing that magnificent panegyric, in which he has anticipated and excelled the greatest modern advocates of popular government, yet manifests such a decided dislike to the men by whom, in his own time, the rule of the many was directed and characterized. An ancient demagogue was a leader, not of the working classes, but of the poorest, most violent, and most ignorant of a slave-holding aristocracy.

³ See note on ii. 37. 2.

The question after all is not whether Thucydides was impartial, but whether he was consciously unjust. His character of Cleon agrees exactly with that given by Aristophanes, and we can hardly doubt, that in the main, certainly in externals, it is correct. That Cleon should be noisy, vulgar, and brazen, that his speeches should appeal to the low passions and jealousies of the mob, was the necessity of his position⁴. That he found his profit in the war and desired its continuance⁵, that he was vain, meddling, and presumptuous, is highly probable. On the other hand, Thucydides gives him full credit for his brilliant recapture of Torone⁶, and if we except one pettish expression⁷, there is no evidence of personal dislike in what he says of him. Indeed, if Thucydides is to be convicted of unfairness towards the popular leaders, it will be rather by what he does not say than by what he does say. Hyperbolus⁸ and Androcles⁹ are just mentioned—the former with great bitterness and contempt; but on the whole the demagogues are left in the shade, just enough being said to inspire us with a vague detestation of them as miscreants and firebrands. It is clear that Thucydides disliked the party of which these men were the leaders, as much as he disliked the oligarchical principles of Antiphon. And he had good reason for his dislike if, as he asserts, it was they who persuaded Athens to abandon the cautious and long-sighted policy of Pericles, to waste her strength and keep alive the animosity of her enemies by desultory and aimless expeditions, and finally to stake her very existence on the ill-starred invasion of Sicily¹. But the fact is, that the temper of Thucydides was not of a kind to harmonize well with a democratical society. He was eminently fastidious, and so proud and sensitive, that he will neither acknowledge nor dispute the justice of his own exile. The disorder and rudeness, the open conflicts of passion and interest, the noise and bitter party-spirit of public life at Athens, would have disgusted him at any time; but now the

⁴ iii. 37 sqq.⁷ iv. 39. 3.¹ ii. 65. 11.⁵ v. 16. 1.⁸ viii. 73. 3.⁶ v. 2. 3.⁹ viii. 65. 2.

evil teaching of war² was making his countrymen every day more fickle, more cruel, more tyrannical. Only after the Sicilian disaster does he seem to have been struck with a genuine admiration of the indomitable heroism with which they maintained a hopeless struggle; and great as that heroism was, it could not prevent him from regretting the government of the Five Thousand³.

So much for the moral qualifications of our historian: we now turn to his intellectual capacity, and ask, what was the relation in which he stood to the current belief on religious and scientific questions?

These two branches of thought were at this time bound up together more closely than has ever been possible since. What we call "laws of nature," or "physical facts," were represented in Greek mythology as detached actions depending on the will or caprice of the individual god within whose province they might happen to fall. Thus, earthquakes were produced by the blows of Poseidon's trident; pestilence, or sudden death, by the arrows of Apollo or Artemis. In Homer almost every resolution of the human mind is regarded as prompted or inspired by the influence of a deity. From the first dawn of a reflective literature the human will had asserted its freedom; but the belief that the course of external nature was regulated by the constant and immediate interference of supernatural beings had held out against the attacks of all the philosophers from Thales downwards, and was still in the days of Thucydides a chief article in the popular creed. Thus many of the Athenians regarded the plague, which broke out in the second year of the war, as the work of Apollo the Dorian God⁴. In the same way a storm of thunder and rain, which happened during the disastrous retreat from Syracuse, was considered by the soldiery to prognosticate the destruction of the armament⁵.

Such a system as this is at once the offspring and the parent of ignorance. Man's knowledge is of secondary causes. Mytho-

² iii. 82. 3.

⁴ ii. 54. 5.

³ viii. 97. 2.

⁵ vii. 79. 3.

logy destroys secondary causes altogether, and with them all possibility of scientific research or the co-ordination of facts. Yet so powerful is the religious instinct, that it could vivify even this clumsy machinery of deities but a degree less material than the natural agents which they personify, and find even in mythology a kind of spiritual food. Custom will endear to us even the ugly and the absurd. Hence, though it soon became necessary for the growing human mind to break through the "knots of superstition," not every mind was equal to the task. Long after philosophy had achieved its emancipation, the old yoke pressed heavily on history, which is less subtle and inquiring, and did not at first perceive the necessity of a deep and consistent theory of human action. What the early chroniclers were we have already seen, and Herodotus is not much better. In him the old spirit of devotion still fights vainly to maintain the false position in which it had unwittingly been placed. If he recognizes in the trident of Poseidon merely another name for a volcanic convulsion⁶, he yet attempts to distinguish between the age of heroes or demigods and that of mere men like himself⁷; if he ventures to hint a doubt as to the superhuman powers of Heracles, he immediately adds a prayer, that the gods and heroes will not be wroth at his temerity⁸. The awful doctrine of the "envy of the gods," which looks with grudging and malevolence on all earthly power and wealth⁹, may be said to be the key-note of his history. In Thucydides all this is changed. With him we pass at once from the pleasant, garrulous traveller, brimful of the strange things he has seen and heard, of anecdotes and observations sometimes acute, always amusing, but thoroughly unscientific, to the sober historian, who comes to his task with a full sense of its duties and responsibilities, armed with all the powers of study and reflection, and familiar with the highest thoughts of his age.

Thucydides seems to be as sensible as his contemporary Socrates of the almost utter ignorance of his countrymen on

⁶ vii. 129.

⁷ iii. 122.

⁸ ii. 45.

⁹ See especially vii. 10, ὁρᾷς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα ζῶα ὡς κεραυνοὶ ὁ θεός, κ.τ.λ.

all physical questions. Hence he never ventures to "anticipate Nature." Herodotus makes wild guesses at the cause of the inundation of the Nile¹. Thucydides explains nothing except what falls within his province as an historian. He is content to register the facts and leave it for others to discover the laws on which they rest. Thus he tells us that thunder and rain are common in autumn², that an eclipse of the moon can happen only in the beginning of the month³, that a sudden irruption of the sea in the ninth year of the war could have been caused only by an earthquake⁴. In the same way he declines to offer any theory of the plague, and contents himself with giving a diagnosis of the symptoms. Herodotus, indeed, protests that he is not to be supposed to believe all the strange things he narrates—still he narrates them⁵. Thucydides, with a wiser reticence, puts nothing before his readers which he does not think to be at any rate highly probable. Yet he knows that every thing has a cause and, what is more important, that every physical effect implies a physical antecedent. Thus the interposition of divine agents is not so much denied as ignored. The disasters of the war, which Athenians and Spartans in turn were ready to ascribe to the vengeance of heaven, are traced to the folly or precipitancy of the belligerents themselves⁶. Single gods are rarely named. The prophecies and wise sayings, which were rife in Greece at the beginning and during the course of the war, are briefly referred to in the gross⁷. That one which foretold the duration of the war is mentioned as a lucky hit⁸, another celebrated oracle is derided for the convenient various reading which made it equally applicable to a famine or a plague⁹. A Spartan army never took the field without observing the auguries, yet this practice is only once noticed¹. Though the neglect of the customary means of ascertaining and propitiating the will of heaven is reckoned among the signs of the demoralization

¹ ii. 20—25.² vi. 70. 1.³ ii. 28.⁴ iii. 89.⁵ vii. 152, ἐγὼ δὲ ὀφείλω λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαι γε μὴν οὐ παντάπασιν ὀφείλω, καὶ μοι τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ἐχέτω ἐς πάντα τὸν λόγον.⁶ ii. 65. 12.⁷ ii. 8. 2.⁸ v. 26. 3.⁹ ii. 54.¹ v. 54. 2.

produced by the plague², yet we can scarcely doubt that Thucydides would not have allowed an eclipse of the moon to interfere with his military plans, and that he thoroughly concurred in the sentiment which the Corinthians ascribed to his countrymen, that duty was duty even on a holy day³.

Again, Herodotus believes that "coming events cast their shadows before them⁴." Thucydides will not allow that physical phenomena can be in any way significant or portentous⁵. It is true that in the preface he dwells on the singular coincidence between the throes of Nature and the calamities of the Hellenic race⁶; but he does not attempt to trace any hidden connexion between earthquakes and eclipses, famines, droughts, and pestilences, and the evil passions and cruel deeds of men.

The attitude of Thucydides towards the Myths is very much what we should have expected from his character and pursuits. There were three ways of dealing with these venerable legends. The first is that of the common people, who accepted them with implicit belief as literal statements of indisputable facts. The second at a later date took the name of Euemerism from Euemerus of Messene, who taught that the gods were men who, for the great deeds they had achieved on earth, had been deified by the grateful remembrance of those whom they had governed, civilized, preserved, or enriched. According to this view, if you clear a myth of its overgrowth of miracle, inconsistency, or absurdity, you obtain a core of solid historical truth. The third is alluded to in the Republic of Plato⁷, but was developed and systematized for the first time by the Alexandrians, who regarded all the stories of gods and heroes as allegories. Achilles, Hector, Poseidon, Ares, were, according to these philosophers, incarnations of different virtues and vices. The wars of the gods shadow forth the conflict of moral laws or physical forces, and the Iliad is a sort of pagan

² ii. 47. 5, 52, 53.

³ i. 70. 9.

⁴ i. 45; vi. 98.

⁵ ii. 8. 3.

⁶ i. 23.

⁷ *Rep.* 378 D, θεομαχίας ὅσας Ὅμηρος πεποίηκεν οὐ παραδεκτέον εἰς τὴν πόλιν οὐτ' ἐν ὑπονοίαις πεποιημένας οὐτ' ἄνευ ὑπονοιῶν.

Pilgrim's Progress. There was indeed a fourth method of handling the myths, adopted in part by Plato⁸, who, taking as a standard his own notions of what the divine nature ought to be, believed whatever accorded with these notions, and rejected as false all that was repugnant to them; but this process is so utterly irrational and arbitrary that it could not find general acceptance. Now, Thucydides seems to coincide with the opinions of Euemerus. That is to say, he regards the myths as being at bottom statements of historical facts, easily to be discerned by any who will use the sieve of criticism with proper care. Take his view of the Trojan War⁹. He looks upon Homer as a witness whose testimony, though dressed up and coloured to suit the public taste, is in the main to be relied upon. The capture of Troy is a well ascertained event, by which it is easy to fix the date of other remarkable occurrences—the settlement of the Boeotians and the return of the Heraclids¹. No doubt it was absurd of Homer to suppose that the Greek princes were obliged to join in the expedition by the fear of violating the oath imposed by Tyndareus on all the suitors of Helen, or that so large a force could have spent ten years of continuous warfare in capturing one barbarian town. The armament was composed of the vassals of Agamemnon, the most powerful prince of the day, and would have taken Troy much sooner if the Greeks had not been obliged to divide their forces, and employ one half in finding food for the other. Thucydides also omits all mention of the gods who are so busy in the Iliad, but otherwise he treats the poem as a strictly historical document. Again, Hellen, the son of Deucalion², Tereus³, Theseus⁴, and Pelops⁵, are introduced as if their personality and existence were no more questionable than those of Themistocles and Brasidas. Apparently Thucydides drew no distinction between the purely fabulous and the semi-historical. Lycurgus⁶ and Ameinocles⁷ seem to stand on just the same footing as Amphilocho⁸, Alcmaeon⁹, and

⁸ *Rep.* ii.² i. 3. 2.⁵ i. 9.⁸ ii. 68.⁹ i. 9—11.³ ii. 29.⁶ i. 18.⁹ ii. 102.¹ i. 12. 3.⁴ ii. 15.⁷ i. 13.

Minos¹. This last prince especially and Tereus are treated quite as if they were potentates of the fifth century before Christ. The marriage of Tereus and Procne is spoken of as an union of political convenience, and Minos sweeps the pirates from the sea, not like Heracles in fulfilment of the commands of destiny, or from a divine beneficence to "wretched mortals," but from purely financial reasons. The Trojan descent of the Elymi², and the legends which attributed the foundation of certain cities to the heroes of the Trojan War³, are admitted without hesitation, though Thucydides does not seem to feel quite sure about the Cyclopes and Laestrygon⁴.

Such a method of dealing with these venerable traditions is at once insipid and inconsistent, it strips them of all their beauty and real meaning, and leaves behind a wretched skeleton of pretended facts, which after all taxes our credulity as much as the whole of the original legend with all its marvels. Whether the myths be, as Max Müller says, "language diseased," metaphors, that is, divorced from their origin, primitive poetry misinterpreted by the dull common-sense of later generations⁵; or whether they be due to the childlike wonder and credulity of the early ages of the world, and spring from the same "mythopoeic tendency" which begot the Mediaeval saint lore⁶; or, lastly, whether they proceed partly from one partly from the other of these causes—they must in any case be regarded as a whole, they must stand or fall together, and be wholly believed or wholly doubted. Certainly it is untrue that Procne was turned into a swallow, but is it more likely to be true that Tereus married the daughter of Pandion? Possible it is no doubt, but the source from which it comes is so tainted, the story as it reaches us has been transmuted by the fancy or superstition of generations of narrators into something so very unlike the original fact, if any fact there were, that we cannot pretend to say which of its details are true and which are untrue. Thucydides did not see

¹ i. 8.² vi. 2.³ ii. 68, and note.⁴ vi. 2.⁵ *Science of Language*, ii. 384 sqq.⁶ Grote, vol. i. chap. xvi.

this. His reason told him that the myths and traditional poetry could not be literally and wholly true. But he had been brought up from a child to believe them, they were part of the earliest furniture of his mind, they lay at the root of his religion, of his patriotism, of his whole mental life. It is not surprising then that he should have fancied it possible to give up one portion of them and to retain another; to renounce all that was superhuman and extravagant, and hold fast all that seemed reasonable and consistent. Even Niebuhr boasted that a long familiarity with the twilight of legend had given him the power of discerning objects in their true shapes and sizes.

On the other hand, we must notice that the rationalism of Thucydides is sober and moderate. He touches no legends that are not forced upon him by his subject, and his treatment of them is quite free from that grotesque silliness which has been exhibited by so many critics, ancient and modern.

But did not Thucydides carry his scepticism too far? Did he not destroy the very life of religion in tearing off the "piebald frippery" in which mythology had invested it? Some writers have charged him with cruelty and misanthropy, because he has dwelt chiefly on the most melancholy incidents of the war, and has rarely expressed any discomposure at the horrors he relates. But they have entirely failed to understand the object of their criticism. Few unprejudiced readers will fail to see the proofs of a sympathetic and tender nature in the tragic eloquence of the third, fifth, and seventh books, or in the deep compassion which breathes in every line of the narrative of the cruel sack of Mycalessus. Nor could the account of the Corcyraean seditions have been written by one who did not regard the breaking down of the old landmarks of public and private morality with the keenest regret. From his remarks on those bloody scenes, and from the Melian dialogue, we may draw a truer conception of the character of Thucydides. He was a man of deep and passionate sympathy with goodness and justice, who saw the very fountains of human wickedness broken up. He was a patriot in the highest sense of the word, full of enthusiastic devotion for the great

and glorious city of his birth, full of Athenian heroism and genius, who was condemned to stand idly by while his countrymen hardened into tyrants and oppressors, while the state became the prey of unprincipled adventurers⁷, while free-born Greeks cast themselves at the feet of the Persian despot, and implored his aid to crush Greek freedom. His old-fashioned manner of writing held him back, as has been before remarked, from any direct expression of his feelings; but his language is steeped by turns in regret, or irony, or indignation, which are more powerful than open invective. In a state of society not wholly dissimilar, the Roman Tacitus believed in a Providence, which punished though it did not reward⁸. But Thucydides was too wise for this qualified atheism. We must not confound mythology with religion. He might well cleave to the one after he had renounced the other. Though chance and prudence appear between them to control the issues of war, there are expressions such as the "divine law"⁹, the "unwritten law"¹, which imply a belief in something higher than man; and in the character of Nicias we trace a genuine admiration for piety, even when it degenerated into superstition.

Another point on which Thucydides approaches very closely to modern modes of thought is his conception of the Science of History.

As we do nothing without a motive, all our actions being conditioned by the strongest motive, or the sum of the motives that precede, we appear to find even in the operations of the human will that sequence of cause and effect which is the proper object of science. If we knew the whole mind of any individual, it is said, we should know what, under any given circumstances, he would do. And, as matter of fact, it is found that the more intimately we know a man, the more accurately can we predict his behaviour. What is true of the one, is true also of the

⁷ iii. 82. 17, τὰ μὲν κοινὰ λόγῳ θεραπεύοντες ἄθλα ἐποιοῦντο.

⁸ *Hist.* i. 3, Non esse curae deis securitatem nostram, esse ultionem.

⁹ iii. 82. 12.

¹ ii. 37. 4. That Religion and Mythology existed side by side, but independently, is well shown by Max Müller, *Science of Language*, ii. 414 sqq.

many. If we knew the whole sum of the conditions which are acting or will act on the millions of human beings composing a given nation, we could forecast the history of that nation with great minuteness and accuracy.

To this view there are two main objections. The first is based upon the multitudinousness of the facts which a Science of History would have to take into consideration. Even in the case of single men, the sum of the motives and of the various influences, internal and external, which assist or impede the operation of each motive, is so great as to baffle calculation. Our foreknowledge is at best but guesswork, and we can grasp only the salient points of the character or behaviour of the individual in question. But in the case of a nation the problem is so vast and intricate that we dare not attempt to pierce far below the surface, for fear of being overwhelmed by the infinite multiplicity of the details. We can only trace the main currents of habits and opinions, the results of language, laws and contact with foreign nations, the operations of the great physical conditions of race, geographical position, and so forth. Yet this objection does not touch the abstract possibility of a Science of History. No one would now deny that the changes of weather are systematic and regular, though the perplexity of the phaenomena has as yet thwarted our attempts to discover the law of their sequence. So too with history: the mere complication of the question does not prove it to be insoluble. The combined and continuous efforts of numerous observers might make considerable progress in analyzing and reducing to rule the most complex facts of national life.

The second ground on which the possibility of a Science of History in the strict sense of the words has been denied is the freedom of will. It is unnecessary here to enter on the vexed question, whether we can or cannot originate and strengthen motives at pleasure; whether the will merely collects the suffrages of reason and desire; or whether it has also a vote of its own, sufficient at times to turn the scale of the debate. For my present purpose it is sufficient to remark, that even if the existence of this self-determining power of the mind be fully granted, History may still be proper matter for science.

Geometry is not less a science, because no one ever saw a perfect circle; nor Political Economy, because other laws of our nature are for ever clashing with the instincts of selfishness. In all our intellectual and material, as distinguished from our moral and spiritual, interests, we are the creatures of circumstances. Reason desires always to choose the best, but it must be the best of existing things or lines of action. We cannot make ourselves wiser or richer than our times, circumstances, and constitutions will allow.

From these considerations it follows, that even if we cannot have a Science of History, we may yet have history written in a scientific manner. The true historian will not forget, that what is obscure to him will be clear to those who come after. He will trace the sequence of cause and effect whenever he can, and as far as he can. Formerly he needed no other qualification than a lively imagination and a brilliant style. Now he must tell us not only how things happened, but why things happened as they did. He must leave the court or the camp and mix with the common people. He must show us how the national character has been hardened and moulded by the various influences of time and place. He must watch the gathering and silent working of those subtle forces which undermine and overthrow the most venerable institutions, the most deeply-rooted beliefs. He must tell us whence come and whither go those tempests which in times of upheaving and revolution sweep over the national mind. Nowhere, perhaps, would such an investigation have been easier or more fruitful than in Greece. The physical conformation of the country, which isolated the little towns each in its mountain basin, and familiarized so large a proportion of the population with the sea and the keen spirit of adventure which springs from a sea-faring life, the warm bright air and simple diet of salad and salt fish, the chief conditions of an idle and talkative people, the pride of race, the influence of language and religion, can be distinctly traced shaping and tempering the nature of the Hellenes. One of the greatest charms of Greek history is its freshness and simplicity: there is as yet so little complexity about life or action, that psychological anatomy is easier and

safer than it has ever been since. We can scarcely exaggerate the value of a really scientific account of Greek civilization, which should point out the exact difference between ancient and modern state life, and reason out in detail the mutual action and reaction of Athenian or Spartan institutions and character. And perhaps it is not the least among the many claims of Thucydides upon our veneration, that he almost rose to the true conception of the historian's office. He writes not like Herodotus ², to save great men and glorious actions from oblivion; nor like Livy ³, to preach the beauty and expediency of thrift and simple habits; nor even like Tacitus ⁴, to give a faithful and impartial narrative of the age in which he lived—but to forewarn ⁵. He regards the events of history as springing from a cause which is in the main permanent and uniform, and he bequeaths his book to statesmen of all ages, that in the light of the past they may judge the present and foresee the future.

This cause is Human Nature, a phrase to which, except for its vagueness, we can take no exception. When Thucydides says again, if we may attribute to him a sentiment which he puts into the mouth of Archidamus, that there is little difference between man and man, except what is the result of education ⁶, we seem to discern a reference to the fact, that in a free and civilized state the influence and comparative greatness of the individual are diminished by the spread of knowledge and consequent elevation of the masses; and here we perhaps find an explanation of the absence of individuality so conspicuous in his history. For Greek greatness was the work not of a man, but of a people. No doubt also the speeches of the Corinthian envoy ⁷, of Archidamus ⁸, of Pericles ⁹, are meant as descriptions of the types of character which were to be tested by, and to decide, the Peloponnesian War. But here Thucydides stops. He has not analyzed the influences which co-operated to produce the Ionic and Doric idiosyncrasies. He has given us

² Preface.³ Preface.⁴ *Hist.* i. 1.⁵ i. 22. 4.⁶ i. 84. 7.⁷ i. 68 sqq.⁸ i. 80 sqq.⁹ ii. 35 sqq.

the effect, he has not given us the cause. And when we come to look more closely into it, we find that his conception of human nature is shallow and unsatisfactory. It includes, apparently, none but the rude primitive instincts common alike to the civilized man and the savage, pre-eminent among which is the lust of dominion¹, instincts which cultivation refines and disguises, but cannot quite eradicate. He seems to regard his fellow-creatures with a gloomy and misanthropical eye, and their passions not as the mainspring of improvement, but as a disturbing element, which reason is always striving to eliminate, but which are always fretting under restraint, and at times of social convulsion break forth into cruelty, anarchy, and unbelief². Thus Historical Science, according to Thucydides, can predict only the calamities of mankind.

We have noticed what seem to be the principal shortcomings of Thucydides as an historical writer: the perplexed arrangement of materials; the blending of fact and opinion and some little want of frankness in the expression of opinion; the narrowness of his plan; the shallow, prosaic manner in which he has dealt with the myths. These defects are proper, for the most part, to the times in which he lived; times, as has already been said, of rapid but as yet imperfect growth. His artistic and literary faults may be ascribed partly to the same cause, partly to the great disproportion between his powers of conception and expression³. We may say of Thucydides, as Addison said of Milton, that "the language sunk under him." The art of writing philosophically in regular and luminous prose is seldom created by a single effort; the vocabulary wants a range and precision unknown to poetry; and the mere construction of sentences fitted to give complete expression to an abstruse, or exact, or nicely qualified thought, is no easy matter to a man who has never read any thing but verse and easy, unpretentious narratives. The antitheses, trajections, hyperbata, and anacolutha, with which the pages of Thucydides

¹ v. 105. 2.

² iii. 82.

³ Thucydides has been compared in this respect to Bishop Butler. We may add, Oliver Cromwell.

bristle, the false ornament and ungainly movement which mark his style, spring chiefly from the novelty of the effort to clothe such thoughts as his in a garb of prose. His ideas quite outrun his powers of interpretation and utterance ; and hence the same charge of intentional obscurity which was brought against Heraclitus has been brought also against Thucydides⁴. Yet his very failings are more instructive than the faultless mediocrity of smaller men. As we become better acquainted with him, and pierce more easily through the rough husk which often envelopes his meaning, we become more and more sensible of the height and massiveness of his intellect. His rugged grandeur and unconscious sublimity excite in us a feeling of reverence which would be checked and stifled by a neater and more artificial style. Without undertaking to maintain the truth or the applicability in modern times of all those axioms and generalisations in which he delights, it may be safely asserted, that few writers are so profound and instructive, or offer such rich treasures to those who will be at the pains to appropriate them. The proud hope with which he entered on his task has been amply fulfilled. His work is still read and valued by the thoughtful student of history. In some respects, indeed, it has attained an importance which he little anticipated. The history of the Peloponnesian War has become a battle-ground of modern parties, and the Athenian Ecclesia has been held up alternately as a warning and an example to the English House of Commons.

⁴ *Greek Anthol.* ix. 583 (Tauch.); Marc. 35.

ΕΥΓΓΡΑΦΗΣ Α.

ANALYSIS OF THE FIRST BOOK.

PREFACE, in which Thucydides sets forth the dignity of his subject, and the pre-eminent importance of the Peloponnesian War, as compared with the previous enterprises or struggles of the Greek race	CHAPS. i.—xxiii.
The events which brought the long-smouldering animosities between the Athenians and Peloponnesians to a crisis were—	
I. The assistance rendered by Athens to the Corcyraeans, who were at war with the Corinthians	xxiv.—lv.
Epidamnus, a Corcyraean colony, being reduced to the verge of ruin by the hostilities of its exiled aristocrats (xxiv.), throws itself into the arms of Corinth (xxv.). This results in a collision between Corcyra and Corinth (xxvii. xxviii.), and the latter state having been defeated in a naval engagement (xxix.), prepares a powerful armament for the reduction of Corcyra (xxx. xxxi.). The Corcyraeans apply for aid to Athens, and a debate ensues before the ecclesia, in which the Corcyraean envoys plead for admission to the Athenian alliance (xxxii.—xxxvi.), while the Corinthian envoys oppose them (xxxiii.—xliii.). The Athenians conclude a defensive alliance with the Corcyraeans (xliv.), and send a squadron of ten ships to their aid (xlv.). Second sea-fight between the Corcyraeans and Corinthians, in which the former are defeated, notwithstanding the active co-operation of the Athenian ships (xlvi.—l.). Arrival of a second squadron of twenty sail from Athens (li.), upon which the Corinthians retreat, in great indignation against the Athenians, whose conduct they regard as an infraction of the 'Thirty Years' Peace (lii.—lv.).	
II. The countenance afforded by Corinth to the revolt of the Thraceward allies of Athens	lvi.—lxv.
Soon after the events before narrated, Potidaea, on the isthmus of Pallene, a colony of Corinth, but a tributary ally of Athens, instigated by	

Corinth and Perdiccas, King of Macedonia, and by a promise of help from the Lacedaemonians, revolts, together with the Chalcidians and Bottiaeans (lvi.—lviii.), and the Corinthians send a body of troops under Aristeus son of Adeimantus to their aid (lx.). An Athenian force under Callias defeats the Potidaeans and their allies, and blockades the town on its northern side (lxi.—lxiii.), and soon afterwards a second armament invests the place on the south side also (lxiv.). Aristeus breaks out of Potidaea, and with the aid of the Chalcidians harasses the blockading force (lxv.).

432. end of Oct. Roused by the angry complaints of Corinth and Aegina, the Lacedaemonians invite the allies to state their grievances against the Athenians
 Speech of the Corinthians, calling for war. . . . lxvi.—lxvii.
 Reply of an Athenian embassy which happened to be at Sparta lxxiii.—lxxviii.
 Speech of Archidamus, the Spartan king lxxx.—lxxxv.
 And of Sthenelaidas, an Ephor lxxxvi.
 The Lacedaemonians, in their regular assembly, at which none but Spartan citizens were allowed to vote, pronounce that the Athenians had broken the peace, and resolve to summon a congress of their allies in order to secure greater vigour and unanimity in the conduct of the impending war lxxxvii.
 But though these events were made use of by either side as pretexts, the real cause of the war was the fear inspired in the Lacedaemonians by the extraordinary development of the Athenian power lxxxviii.
 478. * Capture of Sestos (forming the point of contact between the history of Thucydides and that of Herodotus) (lxxxix.). The Lacedaemonians try to prevent the rebuilding of the walls of Athens, which, however, is effected without positive opposition, chiefly by the craft of Themistocles (lxxxix.—xciii.). Formation of the Confederacy of Delos (xciv.—xcvii.). Athenians capture Eion and Scyros, vanquish the Carystians, and reduce Naxos and others of their allies to a state of subjection little better than slavery (xcviii.). Causes which gradually transformed Athens from a leader of free and equal allies into an imperial state (xcix.). Battles of Eurymedon. Revolt of the Thasians (c.), to whom the Lacedaemo-

* This sketch of Greek affairs between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars is known as the Summary of Thucydides. The dates given are Clinton's.

464. nians promise aid. Earthquake at Sparta, and revolt of the Helots and Perioeci (ci.).
461. The Spartans ignominiously dismiss the Athenian contingent under Cimon, and Athens, casting off her alliance with Sparta, enters into a league with Argos and Thessaly (cii.).
455. Reduction of the Helots. League between Athens and Megara (ciii.). The Athenians
460. send a fleet to Egypt to aid Inaros, who had revolted from the Persian king (civ.). Battles of Haliae, Cecryphaleia, Aegina, Megara (cv. cvi.). Long walls built from Athens to Phalerum and Peiraeus. Battles of Tanagra
456. and Oenophyta. Athens, mistress of Phocis, Boeotia, and Opuntian Locris, subdues Aegina and sends a fleet round Peloponnesus (cvii. cviii.). Destruction of the Athenian armament in Egypt (cix. cx.). Expeditions of the Athenians to Pharsalus, Sicyon, and Acarnania (cx.). Five Years' Truce between the Athenians and Peloponnesians. Expedition of Cimon to Cyprus and Egypt (cxii.). Battle of Coroneia and destruction of the Athenian predominance on the mainland (cxiii.). Revolt of Euboea. Invasion of Attica by a Lacedaemonian army under King Pleistoanax. Thirty Years' Peace. Revolt of Samos and
440. Byzantium (cxiv. cxv.); they are reduced in the ninth month (cxvi.—cxvii.).
432. beg. of Nov. The Lacedaemonians, having obtained a favourable oracle from Delphi, call a congress of the allies cxviii.—cxix.
- Speech of the Corinthians cxx.—cxxiv.
- A majority of the states represented votes for war cxxv.
- Here follow a series of diplomatic manœuvres, each party trying to cast on the other the responsibility of commencing hostilities and violating the Truce. The Lacedaemonians call upon the Athenians to expel those who had incurred the wrath of Athena by the murder of the adherents of Cylon; this demand was pointed against the Alcmaeonids and Pericles. cxxvi.
- The Athenians retort by calling upon the Lacedaemonians to expel the "pollution of Tænarus," viz. those who had forced Pausanias to die of hunger though he had taken sanctuary in the temple of Athena of the Brazen House. Medism of Pausanias, whose insolence was the chief cause of the formation of the Confederacy of Delos. His intrigue with Xerxes is discovered and he is recalled home from Byzantium. He instigates the Helots to revolt, is betrayed by one of his letter-bearers,

466. and starved to death, having been walled up in the temple of Athena (cxxvii.—cxxxiv.). Themistocles, the Athenian, was implicated in the guilt of Pausanias. He flies to Admetus, king of the Molossians, and thence to Persia, where he dies. His character (cxxxiv.—cxxxviii.).

CHAPS.

The Lacedaemonians send their ultimatum
which, on the advice of Pericles, is rejected
by the Athenians

cxxxix.

cxl.—cxliv.

Chapp. i.—xxiii. form what is commonly called the *Προῤῥμιον* or Preface. Those of them which treat of the early history of Greece are also frequently referred to under the name of Archaeologia, but neither of these names is used by the Author himself. The object of these introductory chapters is to prove the statement made at the outset, that the Peloponnesian War was the greatest which had ever broken out in Greece, by a sketch of the history of Greece before the Trojan War (ii.—viii.), of the Trojan War itself (ix.—xi.), and of the course of events after the Trojan War down to the consolidation of the Spartan and Athenian alliances (xii.—xix.). Chapter xxiii. vindicates the bad eminence of the Peloponnesian War on another ground, viz. the disasters and moral and physical convulsions which attended it. Chapp. xx. xxi. and xxii. are inserted rather out of place; the first two contain an account of the difficulty experienced by the historian in getting at the truth in matters of ancient date owing to the easy credulity of the common people, the exaggerations of poets, and the romancing spirit of logographers; the third explains how far the speeches are to be regarded as authentic, comments on the conflicting nature of the evidence on which the narrative is based, and concludes with a half apology for the rejection of pretty but baseless legends, and a statement of the object with which Thucydides wrote.

ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ

ΞΥΓΓΡΑΦΗΣ Α.

1. 1. Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὥς ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀρξάμενος εὐθὺς καθισταμένου καὶ ἐλπίσας μέγαν τε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων, τεκμαιρόμενος ὅτι

CH. I. 1. Ἀθηναῖος] “An Athenian.” The insertion of the article would imply that he had been mentioned before, and so was already known to the reader, or that he was a man of some note, which he modestly disclaims.

ξυνέγραψε] Lat. *compono*, *conscribo*. ξυν-, of collecting and piecing together the materials. From his frequent use of this verb, Thuc. is called by the grammarians ὁ ξυγγραφεύς, “the great historian.” The aorist has been supposed to imply that the preface was written *after* the rest of the work, but by a comparison of ii. 70. 5, and similar passages, we see that this tense is here used with reference not so much to the time of writing as to the time of reading, and is analogous to the Latin epistolary perfect.

τὸν πόλ. τῶν Πελ. καὶ Ἀθ.] Diodorus was the first to give this struggle the name of the Peloponnesian War. Thuc., though he distinctly states that there was in reality only *one* war, which lasted 27 years (v. 26), gives separate names to its different phases or periods. ὁ πρῶτος or ὁ δεκαετῆς πόλ. extends to the peace of Nicias (v. 20. 3; 26. 3); then comes ὁ Μαντινικὸς καὶ Ἐπιδάυριος πόλ. (v. 26. 2); then ὁ

Σικελικὸς πόλ. (vii. 85. 4); then ὁ ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας πόλ. (vii. 27. 2); and ὁ Ἰωνικὸς πόλ. (viii. 11. 3). Hence a question has been raised whether at i. 13. 3 Thuc. refers to the First or Ten Years’ War, or to the whole war. See *Introd.* ii.

ὥς] How, in what manner.

ἀρξάμενος εὐθὺς καθ.] Not, as in *Iliad* ix. 97, σέο δ’ ἄρξομαι, “having taken the beginning of the war as the starting-point of his narrative,” καθ. is gen. abs., and Thuc. says that he “began to collect his materials as soon as the war broke out.” As ἀρξ. εὐθὺς καθ. denote the time *at* which, so ἐλπίσας denotes the expectation *in* which he undertook the task.

ἀξιολ. τῶν προγ.] “Far more notable than.” A curious Attic idiom, by which an object is at once included in and excluded from the class with which it is compared. Cp. i. 10. 3; 11. 6; v. 60. 3; vi. 31. 1; al.

τεκμαιρόμενος ὅτι, with the finite verb and the part. ὁρῶν, give the two τεκμήρια, “taking as proofs of this that they were . . . and that he saw.” Cp. Hdt. viii. 10; οἰκότα κάρτα ἐλπίσαντες τὰς μὲν γε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁρέοντες ὀλίγας νέας, “entertaining a very reasonable ex-

ἀκμάζοντές τε ἦσαν ἐς αὐτὸν ἀμφοτέρω παρασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν ὄρων ξυνιστάμενον πρὸς ἑκατέρους, τὸ μὲν εὐθύς, τὸ δὲ καὶ διανοούμενον. 2. κίνησις γὰρ αὕτη μεγίστη δὴ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐγένετο καὶ μέρει τινὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς δὲ εἰπεῖν, καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀνθρώπων. 3. τὰ γὰρ πρὸ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἔτι παλαιότερα σαφῶς μὲν εὐρεῖν διὰ χρόνου πλῆθος ἀδύνατα ἦν· ἐκ δὲ τεκμηρίων ὧν ἐπὶ μακρότατον σκοποῦντί μοι πιστεῦσαι ξυμβαίνει οὐ μεγάλα νομίζω γενέσθαι οὔτε κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους οὔτε ἐς τὰ ἄλλα.

pectation, since they saw that the ships of the Hellenes were a mere handful," where ὀρέοντες gives the reason of ἐλπίσαντες.

ξυνιστάμενον] We have here a curious anacoluthon of a kind very common in Thuc. As far as ἑκατέρους, all is quite regular; then the writer bethought him that what he had stated was not strictly accurate, and so, to clear up the sense, added the following words, which quite destroy the grammatical symmetry of the sentence. To restore this we must write ὄρων πρὸς ἑκατέρους, τὸ μὲν εὐθύς ξυνιστάμενον, τὸ δὲ καὶ διανοούμενον (sc. ξυνίστασθαι).

2. κίνησις μεγίστη δὴ is pred., αὕτη being subject. If we understand the superlative to mean "absolutely the greatest," we must join it with τοῖς Ἕλλησιν alone, for μέρει τινὶ certainly introduces a limitation. Translate, "for this was certainly the greatest commotion that ever happened amongst the Grecians, reaching also to part of the Barbarians, and, as a man may say, to most nations." Hobbes. Cp. Madv. *Greek Syntax*, § 11, r. 1.

μέρει τινί] "A considerable part." Cp. λέγειν τι, opposed to οὐδὲν λέγειν, and below 23. 4; vii. 30. 2, al. Thuc. also employs the indefinite pronoun (α) with αὐτός and ἕκαστος in a distributive sense = each one singly or for himself, and (β) to denote a small number of persons, = two or three. Cp. iii. 111. 3, and the proverb ἢ τις ἢ οὐδεὶς.

ὡς εἰπεῖν modifies an expression which otherwise might seem hyperbolic, either a superlative as here, or πᾶς as at viii. 96. 4, or generally, any strong or sweeping assertion. Plato, *Rep.* 341 B, opposes ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν to ἀκριβεῖ λόγῳ. ὡς is said to have the same illative or consecutive force here which is commonly borne by ὥστε. It would seem, however, that the particle is used here, as in ὡς ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν, and similar phrases, to introduce a limitation, and that the infinitive, as in κάλλιστος ἰδεῖν (= τὴν ὕψιν), τὸ ἐπὶ σφᾶς εἶναι, &c., is really equivalent to an accusative of extent. Thus the phrase may be literally translated "as far as saying goes." Cp. ἐκὼν εἶναι, ii. 89. 10; δοκεῖν, vii. 87. 4, in which places the infinitive bears the same restrictive force.

3. αὐτῶν refers to κίνησις, which embraces a number of details, and may therefore be regarded as a plural.

ὧν is put by attraction for ἃ, the accusative governed by σκοποῦντι. It is true that the relative refers equally to πιστεῦσαι. But if it were not attracted, it would be put in the case required by the nearer of the two verbs; cp. i. 40. 6, εἰ γὰρ τοὺς κακὸν τι δρῶντας δεχόμενοι τιμωρήσετε (sc. αὐτοῖς). Translate, "but from proofs which the investigation of antiquity leads me to believe," ἐπὶ πλείστον σκοποῦντι, literally, carrying back my inquiry over a very long time.

2. 1. Φαίνεται γὰρ ἡ νῦν Ἑλλὰς καλουμένη οὐ πάλοι βεβαίως οἰκουμένη, ἀλλὰ μεταναστώσεις τε οὔσαι τὰ πρότερα καὶ ῥαδίως ἕκαστοι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπολείποντες βιαζόμενοι ὑπὸ τινων ἀεὶ πλειόνων. 2. τῆς γὰρ ἐμπορίας οὐκ οὔσης οὐδ' ἐπιμιγνύντες ἀδεῶς ἀλλήλοις οὔτε κατὰ γῆν οὔτε διὰ θαλάσσης, νεμόμενοί τε τὰ αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι ὅσον ἀποζῆν καὶ περιουσίαν χρημάτων οὐκ ἔχοντες οὐδὲ γῆν φυτεύοντες, ἄδηλον ὃν ὅποτε τις ἐπελθὼν καὶ ἀτειχίστων ἅμα ὄντων

CH. II. 1. οὐ πάλοι] “Not long,” “but a short time:” the οὐ coalesces with the adverb, the meaning of which it reverses. In the same way οὐ πάνυ frequently means “not altogether.” Sometimes, however, the force of the negative falls not on the adverb, but on the succeeding verb, so that οὐ πάλοι = not originally; οὐ πάνυ = not at all.

οὔσαι . . . ἀπολείποντες] Supply φαίνονται from the preceding φαίνεται.

ὑπὸ τινων ἀεὶ πλειόνων = “by the continual inroads of more numerous tribes.” ἀεὶ is here used after τινων, as it is more commonly used after the article in such phrases as ὁ ἀεὶ βασιλεύων.

2. τῆς γὰρ ἐμπορίας . . . ἀπανίσταντο] Three reasons are given for the frequency of these migrations. (a) Commerce, which implies the existence of settled habits and permanent abodes, was unknown, owing to the danger of travelling. (b) Agriculture was rude and irregular; therefore no capital had been amassed. (c) It was easy for a roving tribe to procure the necessities of life any where.

ἐπιμιγνύντες] Cp. ἐπιμισγόντων, i. 13. 5; ἐπιχρῆσθαι, i. 41. 1; ἐπεμίγνυντο, i. 146. So ἐπιγαμία, ἐπάλληλος, ἐπεργασία: see Don. *Neo Crat.* § 174. But the reciprocal force of these words is due not to ἐπι-, which keeps its common sense of *motion towards*, but sometimes to the second member of the compound, as in ἐπιμίγνυσθαι, ἐπάλληλος: sometimes to

the force of the relation, as in ἐπιγαμία or ἐπιμαχία, where each party has the *right* of going to the other to contract a marriage, the *duty* of going to the defence of the other's territory.

νεμόμενοι . . . ἀποζῆν] νέμεσθαι ὡς τὸ πολὺ τὸ λαμβάνειν πρόσδοον παρὰ Θουκυδίδη. Photius (quoted by Porpo). “Since each tribe made use of its own land only so far as to get a bare living from it.” So we find νέμεσθαι γῆν, i. 10. 2; πόλιν, i. 84. 2; ἐμπόρια καὶ μέταλλον, i. 100. 2. ὅσον = τοσούτον ὥστε.

φυτεύοντες] Of planting trees and vines.

ἄδηλον . . . ἀφαιρήσεται gives the reason *why* their tillage was so rude, “it being uncertain when some one else will come upon them, and deprive them of the fruits.” καὶ ἀτειχίστων ἅμα ὄντων is inserted to show how well-founded was their dread of such attacks. The object of ἀφαιρήσεται must be supplied from φυτεύοντες. ὄν is accusative, if we may base an explanation of this absolute or adverbial use of the neuter participle upon iv. 95. 2, where προσῆκον seems to be an apposition to κίνδυνον. If phrases of this kind once grew familiar, their employment would soon become wider, and the neut. sing. of the participle would be used like the neut. plur. of adjectives in apposition to an *implied* object. Cp. i. 28. 1; 120. 5; iv. 95. 2; 125. 1; v. 60. 2; and elsewhere. See Madv. § 182. Donaldson, however (*Greek Gram.* § 445),

ἄλλος ἀφαιρήσεται, τῆς τε καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγκαίου τροφῆς πανταχοῦ ἂν ἡγούμενοι ἐπικρατεῖν, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπανίσταντο, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὔτε μεγέθει πόλεων ἴσχυον οὔτε τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ. 3. μάλιστα δὲ τῆς γῆς ἡ ἀρίστη αἰεὶ τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν οἰκητόρων εἶχεν, ἥ τε νῦν Θεσσαλία καλουμένη καὶ Βοιωτία Πελοποννήσου τε τὰ πολλὰ πλὴν Ἀρκαδίας τῆς τε ἄλλης ὅσα ἦν κράτιστα. 4. διὰ γὰρ ἀρετὴν γῆς αἶ τε δυνάμεις τισὶ μείζους ἐγγιγνόμεναι στάσεις ἐνεποιοῦν ἐξ ὧν ἐφθείροντο καὶ ἅμα ὑπὸ ἀλλοφύλων μᾶλλον ἐπεβουλεύοντο. 5. τὴν γοῦν Ἀττικὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον διὰ τὸ λεπτόγεων ἀστασίαστον οὔσαν ἄνθρωποι ὥκουν οἱ αὐτοὶ

says that all these are nominative cases.

ἀναγκαίου] "The bare necessities of daily life." *ἀναγκαῖος*, which elsewhere in Thuc. has three terminations, sometimes signifies that which is absolutely necessary, the least that will suffice (as at i. 90. 3; vi. 37. 2); sometimes, that to which necessity alone could force men to submit; thus *ἀναγκαία βρώσις* at ii. 70. 1, means *unnatural* food, such as vermin, grass, or human flesh. Cp. *ἀναγκαία τύχη*, Soph. *Aj.* 485.

ἂν "is always placed after the word which produces the greatest influence on the predication, which gives its colour to the sentence, and which therefore comes nearest to the notion of an antecedent. It is therefore attracted to negatives, superlatives, demonstrative pronouns, interrogatives, and verbs of thinking." Don. *G. G.* § 508; see also Madv. § 173, r. 1.

οὐ χαλ. ἀπανίσταντο] "They used to migrate without reluctance:" cp. ii. 14. 2. δι' αὐτό, sc. διὰ τὸ μὴ χαλεπῶς ἀπανίστασθαι.

3. τῆς γῆς ἡ ἀρίστη] The superlative agrees in gender with the subst. which accompanies it in the partitive genitive: cp. i. 5. 1; 30. 3; ii. 56. 4; vi. 7. 1.

ἥ τε νῦν . . . Βοιωτία] ἡ νῦν καλουμένη goes with Βοιωτία as well

as with Θεσσαλία. Thessaly was formerly known as Haemonia, or Pelasgia (*Il.* ii. 840), though this last name was perhaps confined to the two districts of Phthiotis and Histiaeotis (*Hdt.* i. 56). The ancient name of Boeotia was Cadmeis: cp. i. 12. 3 below.

5. γοῦν, "at any rate," adduces a particular fact in support of an antecedent general statement: cp. i. 38. 3; 74. 4; 76. 1; iii. 62. 6. The Athenians boasted (*Hdt.* vii. 161) that they were *μῦνοι οὐ μετανάσται Ἑλλήνων*. But cp. *Hdt.* viii. 73.

ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον] ἐπὶ πλείστον means "as far (back) as possible." The addition of the article turns this phrase into a substantive; τὸ ἐπὶ πλείστον = the remotest antiquity. Cp. ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ, iv. 72. 2; ἐν τῷ ἐπέκεινα, viii. 104. 5, and Madv. *G. S.* § 14 b.

λεπτόγεων] "Athens stands on a bed of hard limestone rock, in most places thinly covered by a meagre surface of soil. From this surface the rock itself frequently projects, and almost always is visible, protruded like the bones under the integuments of an emaciated body, to which Plato has compared it, *Crit.* 3 B, οἷον νοσήσαντος σώματος ὅστ' ἀπεριέρρηκυίας τῆς γῆς." Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, p. 63. Compare also ἐν γῇ ἀποκρότῳ, vii. 27. 5.

αεί. 6. καὶ παράδειγμα τόδε τοῦ λόγου οὐκ ἐλάχιστόν ἐστι διὰ τὰς μετοικίας [ἐς] τὰ ἄλλα μὴ ὁμοίως αὐξηθῆναι· ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος οἱ πολέμῳ ἢ στάσει ἐκπίπτοντες παρ' Ἀθηναίους οἱ δυνατώτατοι ὡς βέβαιον ὃν ἀνεχώρουν, καὶ πολῖται γιγνόμενοι εὐθὺς ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ μείζω ἔτι ἐποίησαν πλήθει ἀνθρώπων τὴν πόλιν· ὥστε καὶ ἐς Ἰωνίαν ὕστερον ὡς οὐχ ἱκανῆς οὔσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀποικίας ἐξέπεμψαν.

3. 1. Δηλοῖ δέ μοι καὶ τόδε τῶν παλαιῶν ἀσθένειαν οὐχ ἥκιστα· πρὸ γὰρ τῶν Τρωικῶν οὐδὲν φαίνεται πρότερον

6. παράδειγμα . . . αὐξηθῆναι] τὸδε = the following fact : τοῦ λόγου is explained by διὰ τὰς μετοικίας μὴ ὁμοίως αὐξηθῆναι (cp. iii. 66. 2, ὑπόσχεσιν μὴ κτείνειν). αὐξηθῆναι is impersonal, cp. note on i. 46. 1; or we may suppose τὴν Ἑλλάδα, which was before the writer's mind, and is implied in the next five words, to be the subject. Translate, "of my statement that these migrations were the reason why the same progress was not made in the other districts." Ulrich and Schneidewin very plausibly conjecture μετοικήσεις for μετοικίας ἐς. This would make the construction perfectly clear, and give us the right word for migration. οὐκ ἐλάχιστον, = "very great," or "one of the weightiest," is an instance of the common figure of speech called Meiosis, or Litotes; in plain language, the words say much *less* than they really mean. οὐχ ἥκιστα, οὐχ ἥττον are very frequently used in the same way; cp. also οὐ χάριτι τὸ πλεῖον ἢ φόβῳ, i. 9. 3.

ὡς βέβαιον ὃν] "Thinking that it was a safe place." ὃν is the accusative, governed by the verbal notion implied in ὡς. Thus in a passage from Dem. (quoted by Madvig), ἀπεβλέψατε πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἕκαστος οὐ ποιήσων τὸ δόξαν, τὸν δὲ πλησίον πράξοντα, we find the exact construction usual after verbs of saying (οὐκ ἔφη αὐτοὶ ποιήσιν τὸ δόξαν τὸν δὲ πλησίον πράξιν): cp. iv. 5. 1, ὡς οὐχ ὑπομενοῦντας: vi. 24. 3, ὡς οὐδὲν ἂν σφαλεῖσαν μεγάλην δύνα-

μιν: vii. 31. 4, ὡς οὐχ ἱκανὰς οὔσας. Madv. *G. S.* § 182.

ὡς οὐχ ἱκανῆς οὔσης] To denote the governing idea, pretext, or outward appearance of an action, ὡς is used not only with the acc. and nom., but also with the genitive absolute. According to Madvig, this last construction is as a rule preferred where the notion of thinking is directly expressed by a verb, and not merely implied in the ὡς: see *G. S.* §§ 181, r. 2; 182, r. 1. But even where the notion of thinking is not directly expressed, it is at least equally common: cp. iv. 8. 3; 14. 5; al.

ἐξέπεμψαν] Sc. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. The aorist represents the sending out of the colonies as a single isolated act, while the imperfects throughout this chapter describe a state of things which continued for some time.

CH. III. 1. ἀσθένειαν] Thuc. might have inserted the article here, and said τὴν ἀσθένειαν, "this weakness (of which I have already been speaking)." As it is, the substantive standing without the article is almost equivalent to an adjectival predicate, = "it proves to me that the ancients were weak." Render, "the following fact also in my opinion argues weakness on the part of the ancients;" and cp. ii. 42. 3, δοκεῖ δέ μοι δηλοῦν ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν.

πρὸ . . . πρότερον is a kind of reduplication or redundancy of expression very frequent in our author, who repeatedly joins πρὸ,

κοινῇ ἐργασαμένη ἢ Ἑλλάς, 2. δοκεῖ δέ μοι, οὐδὲ τοῦνομα τοῦτο ξύμπασά πω εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρὸ Ἑλληνος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος καὶ πάνυ οὐδὲ εἶναι ἢ ἐπὶ κλησις αὕτη, κατὰ ἔθνη δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἄφ' ἑαυτῶν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν παρέχεσθαι. Ἑλληνος δὲ καὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Φθιώτιδι ἰσχυσάντων, καὶ ἐπαγομένων αὐτοῦς

πρότερον, and πρῶτον to verbs compounded with πρό: cp. inf. i. 23. 7, and elsewhere.

2. οὐδὲ εἶχεν] "It did not even bear this name as yet as a collective whole."

τὰ μὲν πρό] "In reference to the times before." Madv. *G. S.* § 14, r. 2.

καὶ πάνυ] As in καὶ μάλα, καὶ πάλαι, and similar phrases, καὶ is here equivalent to the Latin *idque* (cp. Stallbaum on Plato's *Rep.* 426 A), at least it seems to have been so originally, though in practice it does no more than strengthen the meaning of the adverb. Perhaps it may be useful here to explain the most common of the many significations borne by καί. Generally it is a simple conjunction (= *and*), in which sense it is retained by the Greeks in passages where (owing to the intervention of a relative, a participle, or a word expressing likeness or unlikeness) it is dropped in English. Take as an instance ii. 47. 5, αὐτοὶ μάλιστα ἔθνησκον ὄσφ καὶ μάλιστα προσήεσαν. Two facts are here stated about the physicians, that they were most assiduous in their attention to the sick, and that they died faster than any other class of men; and the Greeks mark this agreement of the two predicates in one and the same subject by καί. ὅς καί, ὅσπερ καί, and ὅμοιος καί, are all to be explained in this way. Again, we find καί employed in two very ordinary phrases, οὐ μόνον ἀλλὰ καί, and ἄλλοι τε καί, to introduce the most noteworthy of a large class of facts or individuals. Hence it acquires the sense of *even*, and may

often be rendered by the English affix *-self*; thus καὶ ἐγώ = I myself. Hence again it is commonly used to introduce questions or remarks which have a tinge of surprise or indignation; for instance, καὶ πῶς = "indeed!" or, "why, how can that be?" So in English we say, "and how?" meaning that the mere statement of the fact is insufficient or seems absurd unless the reason also is given. After εἰ or ἦν or the interrogative τίς, καί is used, still with the same reference to something before mentioned or implied, but not deserving of attention in comparison with what follows. In this case it is perhaps best translated by emphasizing in pronunciation the auxiliary verb: cp. i. 70. 8, ἦν ἄρα καὶ σφαλῶσιν, "if after all they *should* fail." εἶναι, παρέχεσθαι, and καλεῖσθαι are governed by δοκεῖ.

κατὰ ἔθνη παρέχεσθαι] The meaning is, that the several districts of what was afterwards called Hellas derived their names originally from the particular tribes which inhabited them (cp. note on i. 2. 3). The subject to παρέχεσθαι is κατὰ ἔθνη, which is equivalent to ἔθνη καθ' ἕκαστα: that is to say, the preposition and noun coalesce, and form as it were a single substantival expression: cp. below, καθ' ἑκάστους καλεῖσθαι, also i. 2. 3; ii. 76. 4; iv. 3. 2; 100. 2; vii. 65. 3; and Plato, *Rep.* 344 B, οἱ κατὰ μέρη ἀδικοῦντες τῶν τοιούτων ἀδικημάτων, "those who practise detached portions of such crimes," where, as Stallbaum remarks, "κατὰ μέρη vices acc. obj. sustinet."

ἰσχυσάντων . . . ἐπαγομένων]

ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ ἐς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, καθ' ἐκάστους μὲν ἤδη τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ μᾶλλον καλεῖσθαι Ἑλληνας· οὐ μέντοι πολλοῦ γε χρόνου ἡδύνατο καὶ ἅπασιν ἐκνικῆσαι. 3. τεκμηριοῖ δὲ μάλιστα Ὀμηρος· πολλῶ γὰρ ὕστερον ἔτι καὶ τῶν Τρωικῶν γενόμενος οὐδαμοῦ τοὺς ξύμπαντας ὠνόμασεν, οὐδ' ἄλλους ἢ τοὺς μετὰ Ἀχιλλέως ἐκ τῆς Φθιώτιδος, οἵπερ καὶ πρῶτοι Ἕλληνες ἦσαν, Δαναοὺς δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι καὶ Ἀργεῖους καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς ἀνακαλεῖ. 4. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ βαρβάρους εἶρηκε διὰ

The aorist is not uncommonly used to signify the first attainment of the condition denoted by the verb from which it is formed; thus ἦρξεν, "he became archon," ἐβασίλευσε, "he became king." Cp. Ar. *Eth.* x. 3. 4, ἡσθῆναι μὲν γὰρ ἔστι ταχέως . . . ἥδεσθαι δ' οὐ, "it is possible to attain to pleasure quickly . . . but it is not possible to feel pleasure quickly:" cp. Madv. *G. S.* § 111 d. Translate, "when they rose to power . . . and men kept calling them in." Thuc. is perhaps purposely indefinite in what he says here. According to the received legend, Hellen, who was the child either of Deucalion and Pyrrha or of Zeus, and whose brother was Amphictyon, had three sons, Dorus, Aeolus, and Xuthus. Of these the first became prince of the country about Erineon, the second of Thessaly, the third, Xuthus, ruled in Peloponnesus, and left two sons, Achaeus and Ion. This story, however, which aims at explaining the names and affinity of the different Greek races, is a mere invention of those who, as Pausanias complains (x. 6. 5), γενεαλογεῖν τὰ πάντα ἤθελον. Thuc. states that Hellen was son of Deucalion, but he does not give the names of his sons, whom, moreover, he regards not as eponymous heroes and progenitors of the Dorians, Ionians, &c., but as foreign princes who rose to power by their military prowess, and whose language gradually supplanted the ruder and feebler dialects of the aborigines. In other words, the name

Hellene, according to Thuc., imports nothing beyond a certain unity of language and perhaps of culture, —it did not imply unity of descent. Cp. Hdt. viii. 44, Ἴωνος δὲ τοῦ Εὐόθου στρατάρχου γενομένου Ἀθηναίοισι ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τούτου Ἴωνες.

τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ] "In consequence of this intercourse (with Hellen and his sons) the several tribes began from henceforth to be called Hellenes." μᾶλλον, which properly signifies "more than before," is frequently used as here of a state of things which, before the time spoken of, had no existence at all.

πολλοῦ . . χρόνου] "For a long time," literally, "of," or "within a long time," a partitive use of the genitive: cp. πέντε ἡμερῶν, vii. 3. 1, and Madv. *G. S.* 66 a.

καὶ ἅπασιν ἐκνικῆσαι] "Win its way into acceptance, prevail (as a name) for all." Poppo compares Tac. *Germ.* 2, "nationis nomen non in nomen gentis evaluisse." καὶ ἅπασιν implies a preceding καὶ ἐκάστοις. ἐκνικᾶν occurs again below at 21. 1.

3. ὕστερον] Cp. Hdt. ii. 53.

ὠνόμασεν] "Cogita Ἑλληνας." Poppo. But it is better to translate, "he nowhere embraced the whole people under a common name."

4. οὐ μὴν οὐδέ = "no indeed, nor yet." The particles here add a negative clause which is a development and confirmation of what has gone before; so also at vi. 55. 3. But at i. 82. 1; ii. 97. 8, they mean "nevertheless;" that is to say, they

τὸ μὴδὲ Ἑλληνᾶς πω ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ ἀντίπαλον ἐς ἐν ὄνομα ἀποκεκρίσθαι. 5. οἱ δ' οὖν ὥς ἕκαστοι Ἕλληνες κατὰ πόλεις τε ὅσοι ἀλλήλων ξυνίεσαν, καὶ ξύμπαντες ὕστερον κληθέντες, οὐδὲν πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν δι' ἀσθένειαν καὶ ἀμιξίαν ἀλλήλων ἀθρόοι ἔπραξαν. 6. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην τὴν στρατείαν θαλάσση ἤδη πλείω χρώμενοι ξυνῆλθον.

contradict an inference which a hasty reasoner might have been disposed to draw from the preceding statement. *II.* ii. 867, the Carians are called βαρβαρόφωνοι, and this epithet, though it means no more than "speaking a strange tongue," contains the first germ of the distinction between Greek and Barbarian.

ἀντίπ. ἀποκεκρίσθαι] "Because the Hellenes also had not yet been marked off, as opposed to them, under one name." Eustathius regarded ἀντίπαλον as an adjective agreeing with ὄνομα, and the insertion of the preposition between an adjective and a substantive, though very uncommon in Greek prose, may be defended by ii. 36. 5, τρόπων ἐξ οἴων, and v. 37. 2, εἴ τινα πρὸς ἄλλον. But it is perhaps better to make ἀντίπαλον either, as Poppo, an apposition to Ἕλληνας, or, as Krüger, an adverbial accusative, governed by ἀποκεκρίσθαι. Βάρβαρος and Ἕλλην were correlative terms; neither could exist without the other.

5. δ' οὖν, "however," takes up the thread of the narrative at ἡ Ἑλλάς, § 1; the rest of the chapter from δοκεῖ δέ μοι το ἀποκεκρίσθαι being regarded as a digression: cp. i. 63. 1; ii. 34. 9. The insertion of a string of words between the article and the substantive, adjective, or participle with which it is connected is quite Thucydidean. Cp. i. 39. 1, τὸν προκαλούμενον, τὸν καθιστάντα: i. 63. 2, οἱ . . . βοηθοί: so also i. 141. 9; ii. 16. 1; 43. 6; iii. 82. 1; and many other places. See *Madv. G. S.* § 10, r. 6. The sense is, "those who were called Hellenes at first in single tribes,

then in groups of states, which spoke the same language, and afterwards as a great whole." Thuc. tells us that the diffusion of the name Hellenes kept pace with the diffusion of the Hellenic tongue; further, that the language spoken by the Pelasgi and other ancient inhabitants of the Greek peninsula was not Hellenic. Compare ii. 68, where we learn that the language of Amphiloehus, an Argive chief who fought in the Trojan war, was barbarous. We are tempted to ask what name Thuc. would give to the dialect of Homer, for Homer, as we have just seen, was not a Hellenic. Compare also what Herodotus says of the Pelasgian language (i. 57).

6. στρατείαν . . ξυνῆλθον] Cp. *Soph. Aj.* 42, τήνδ' ἐπεμπίπτει βάσιν. Thuc. might have said στρατείαν ἐστράτευσαν, but substitutes ξυνῆλθον for the cognate verb.

πλείω] "More than before." "The Greeks are in the habit of joining pronouns or adjectives in the accusative case neuter with verbs of different kinds (both transitive and intransitive) in such a manner as to refer to the substantival notion contained in the verb." Wunder on *Soph. O. T.* 264. Thus μείζονα πηδήσας, *O. T.* 1301, = μείζονα πηδήματα πηδήσας. That is to say, accusatives of this kind were in their origin cognate accusatives. But a convenient idiom soon transcends the bounds of strict grammatical rule, and leaves its origin out of sight. πλείω in the present passage is little more than an adverb. Cp. *Madv. G. S.* 27 a, b.

4. Μίνως γὰρ παλαιάτος ὢν ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν ναυτικὸν ἐκτίη-
σατο καὶ τῆς νῦν Ἑλληνικῆς θαλάσσης ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐκράτ-
ησε· καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων ἠρξέ τε καὶ οἰκιστῆς πρῶτος
τῶν πλείστων ἐγένετο, Κᾶρας ἐξελάσας καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ
παῖδας ἡγεμόνας ἐγκαταστήσας. τό τε ληστικὸν ὡς εἰκὸς
καθῆρει ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐφ' ὅσον ἡδύνατο τοῦ τὰς προσ-
όδους μᾶλλον ἰέναι αὐτῷ. 5. 1. οἱ γὰρ Ἕλληνες τὸ πάλαι
καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ τε ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ παραθαλάσσιοι καὶ
ὅσοι νήσους εἶχον ἐπειδὴ ἠρξαντο μᾶλλον περαιούσθαι
ναυσὶν ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, ἐτράποντο πρὸς ληστείαν, ἡγουμένων
ἀνδρῶν οὐ τῶν ἀδυνατωτάτων κέρδους τοῦ σφετέρου αὐτῶν
ἔνεκα καὶ τοῖς ἀσθενέσι τροφῆς· καὶ προσπίπτοντες πόλεσιν
ἀτειχίστοις καὶ κατὰ κώμας οἰκουμέναις ἥρπαζον καὶ τὸν
πλεῖστον τοῦ βίου ἐντεῦθεν ἐποιοῦντο, οὐκ ἔχοντός πω αἰσχύ-

CH. IV. ἐπὶ πλεῖστον] Here of space.

ἠρξέ] "Became ruler:" cp. note on i. 3. 2 above.

Κᾶρας] According to the Cretan account (Hdt. i. 171), the Carians were driven out at a much later period by the Dorian and Ionian immigrants. Arnold tries to reconcile these conflicting statements by supposing that "of the conquered people some were expelled, and the rest united with a colony of Cretan settlers, whom Minos sent to secure his authority on his new conquests."

ἐφ' ὅσον ἡδύνατο] "As far as his power extended;" in other parts of Greece it was not suppressed till a later period: see below, 13. 5.

τὰς προσόδους] "His revenues." τοῦ with infinitive generally denotes purpose: cp. ii. 22. 1; 32. 1; 75. 1. But not always, cp. i. 87. 6; ii. 4. 2; 49. 6. μᾶλλον, more regularly than before. Thuc. taking his usual matter of fact view and judging all former ages by his own, represents Minos as influenced by purely financial considerations. The myth would have made the hero king of Crete conquer in obedience to a divine mission, because τὸ

θεῖον διὰ παντὸς ὑπὸ φύσεως ἀναγκαιᾶς, οὐ ἂν κρατῇ, ἄρχει. Herodotus (iii. 122) distinguishes between the race of gods and heroes to which Minos belonged, and the race of men in which Polycrates of Samos is comprised, but Thuc. does not appear to recognize the distinction.

CH. V. 1.] ἐπὶ "even with personal conceptions does not always imply hostility." Kr.

πόλεσιν ἀτειχίστοις] Often in Thuc. when a subst. and adj. are thus placed without an article they appear to denote not merely a fact, but a fact considered as the cause, in whole or part, of the event related, whatever it may be. Thus the adj. alone has the force of an adj. preceded by *quippe qui* in Latin, or by *ἄτε* in Greek: cp. i. 9. 2; 52. 2; 73. 4; ii. 70. 2; 84. 3; iii. 98. 2; iv. 33. 2; vii. 27. 5.

κατὰ κώμας οἰκ.] "Inhabited like villages," built, that is to say, of straggling disconnected houses, not enclosed by a ring wall. Such was Sparta, i. 10. 2.

ἔχοντος] Cp. inf. 9. 2; ii. 41. 3; 61. 2; 102. 5; iv. 8. 8; vi. 14. "In his locutionibus omnibus ἔχειν retinet suam vim, sic ut notet con-

νην τούτου τοῦ ἔργου, φέροντος δέ τι καὶ δόξης μᾶλλον. 2. δηλοῦσι δὲ τῶν τε ἡπειρωτῶν τινες ἔτι καὶ νῦν, οἷς κόσμος καλῶς τοῦτο δρᾶν, καὶ οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν τὰς πύστεις τῶν καταπλεόντων πανταχοῦ ὁμοίως ἐρωτῶντες εἰ λησται εἰσιν, ὥς οὔτε ὧν πυνθάνονται ἀπαξιούντων τὸ ἔργον οἷς τ' ἐπιμελὲς εἶη εἰδέναι οὐκ ὀνειδιζοντων. 3. ἐληίζοντο δὲ καὶ κατ' ἡπειρον ἀλλήλους. καὶ μέχρι τοῦδε πολλὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ νέμεται περί τε Λοκροὺς τοὺς Ὀζόλας καὶ Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνας καὶ τὴν ταύτην ἡπειρον. 4. τό τε σιδηροφορεῖσθαι τούτοις τοῖς ἡπειρώταις ἀπὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς ληστείας ἐμμεμένηκε. 6. 1. πᾶσα γὰρ ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐσιδηροφόρει διὰ τὰς ἀφράκτους τε οἰκήσεις καὶ οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐφόδους καὶ ξυνήθη τὴν δίαιταν μεθ' ὅπλων, ἐποίησαντο ὥσπερ οἱ βάρβαροι. 2. σημεῖον δ' ἐστὶ ταῦτα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔτι οὕτω νεμόμενα τῶν ποτε καὶ ἐς πάντας ὁμοίων διαιτημάτων. 3. ἐν τοῖς πρώτοι δὲ Αθηναῖοι τὸν τε σίδηρον

junctum quid cum quo esse. Nam quod quis habet, id cum eo conjunctum est. Nullo enim modo fieri potest, ut ἔχω idem sit quod παρ-έχω." Herm. on Viger, p. 753.

2. καλῶς = "cleverly." τοῦτο δρᾶν = ληστεύειν: cp. i. 6. 6; ii. 49. 5.

ἐρωτῶντες] Because poets are said to do what they represent others as doing. Cp. Arist. *Art.* 100, τοιαῦτα μέντοι Σοφοκλέης λυμαίνεται . . . ἐμὲ τὸν Τηρέα (where, however, there is a malicious double meaning), and Virg. *Ecl.* vi. 63. For the fact, cp. *Od.* iii. 72.

ὥς] See note on i. 2. 6 above.

ὧν = τούτων ὧν, "those from whom." οἷς = τούτων οἷς.

3. τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ = κατὰ κώμας: cp. inf. i. 10. 2.

περί with acc. of place, combines the two ideas of *among* and *round about*, and means "at different points within a given circumference."

CH. VI. 1. τὰς . . . ἐφόδους] Generally the article is used with each of two nouns which are contrasted or

dissimilar, or are not names of the same object. But this rule admits of numerous exceptions—i. 1. 1 (τῶν Πελ. καὶ Ἀθ.); 2. 3; 7; 26. 3; 54. 2; 143. 7 are instances of such exceptions in the first book.

ξυνήθη τὴν δίαιταν] "Made a habit of living." ξυνήθη is predicate.

2. τῶν . . . ὁμοίων] "Which formerly extended to all alike." Cp. viii. 46. 2, τῆς ἐς γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν ἀρχῆς.

3. ἐν τοῖς πρώτοι] "Among the first:" cp. iii. 17. 1; 81. 6; vii. 24. 3; 71. 4; viii. 90. 1. ἐν τοῖς apparently is neuter (for a feminine superlative may be joined to it), and modifies or weakens the superlative; at least it *must* do so in some passages (esp. iii. 17. 1, where ἐν τοῖς πλείσταις is followed by παραπλήσια δὲ καὶ ἔτι πλείους), and *may* do so in all. According to some, τοῖς = τούτοις. According to others, the expression is elliptical, and if written in full would be similar to Plato, *Crat.* 320, ὃ δὴ δοκεῖ ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις μέγιστον εἶναι. But if this latter opinion were correct, the

κατέθεντο καὶ ἀνειμένη τῇ διαίτῃ ἐς τὸ τρυφέρωτερον μετέστησαν. καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι αὐτοῖς τῶν εὐδαιμονων διὰ τὸ ἀβροδίαιτον οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐπειδὴ χιτῶνάς τε λινοὺς ἐπαύσαντο φοροῦντες καὶ χρυσῶν τεττίγων ἐνέρσει κρωβύλον ἀναδούμενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν. ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Ἰώνων τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς ἐπὶ πολὺ αὕτη ἢ σκευὴ κατέσχε. 4. μετρία δ' αὖ ἐσθῆτι καὶ ἐς τὸν νῦν τρόπον πρῶτοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς οἱ τὰ μείζω κεκτημένοι ἰσοδίαιτοι μάλιστα κατέστησαν. 5. ἐγυμνώθησάν τε πρῶτοι καὶ ἐς τὸ φανερόν ἀποδύντες λίπα μετὰ τοῦ γυμνάζεσθαι ἡλείψαντο. τὸ δὲ πάλαι καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὀλυμπιακῷ ἀγῶνι διαζώματα ἔχοντες περὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα οἱ ἀθληταὶ

phrase would strengthen the superlative, which does not seem to be the case.

ἀνειμένη is pred.: "relaxing their manner of life," i. e. adopting more pacific and liberal habits: dat. modi.

αὐτοῖς] A dative of reference, an attenuated form of the dat. commodi, denoting the person who is indirectly affected by the action, by whose friends or subordinates, or in whose interest the action is done. It may be translated here by the possessive, "their older men." Cp. Plato, *Rep.* 343 A, ὅς γε αὐτῇ οὐδὲ πρόβατα οὐδὲ ποιμένα γινώσκεις, "since through her negligence you don't know the difference between shepherd and sheep." Cp. inf. i. 47. 2, αὐτοῖς δ' ἐξός: 67. 1, ἀνδρῶν σφίσιν ἐνόντων: ii. 55. 5; 88. 3; 101. 5; iii. 98. 1; v. 3. 4; and elsewhere. We must not confound this use with the ethic dative. See *Adv. G. S.* § 38 *c, g.*

διὰ τὸ ἀβ.] To be joined with φοροῦντες. For the linen *chiton* was worn by women, *Hdt.* v. 87.

ἐπειδὴ = ἐξ οὗ.

κρωβύλον] See Smith, *Dict. Ant.* article Coma. The grasshoppers are said to have been σύμβολον τοῦ γηγενεῖς εἶναι: see above, i. 2. 5.

ἀφ' οὗ] "From which reason," because the rich old Athenians wore

linen tunics and grasshopper hairpins.

κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενές] "By reason of their relationship:" cp. i. 9. 2, κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον. Pollux (quoted by Poppo) speaks of the λινοὺς χιτῶν, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐφόρουν ποδήρη, καὶ αὐθις Ἰωνες.

4. μετρία] "Less costly," "homely." ἐς in its proper sense of motion towards, approaching to. "The Lacedaemonian dress consisted principally of two parts, the χιτῶν, and the χλαῖνα. The first was a narrow kind of frock, without sleeves, coming down to the knees; the other was a sort of large square shawl, which wrapped round the left arm, then passed across the back and under the right arm, from whence it was crossed over the breast, and the end finally thrown over the left shoulder." Arn.

5. ἐς τὸ φανερόν] "For all to see." "The preposition εἰς appears to denote the result [or tendency] of an action. So vii. 15. 3, μὴ ἐς ἀναβολὰς πράσσετε (do not act so as to cause delay)." Arn. "In Homer (*Il.* xxiii. 685; *Od.* xviii. 67), the combatants are girded; in Hesiod they are not. The use of the apron was discontinued at the Olympic games in the 15th Olympiad; hence the very name Gymnasium." Kr.

μετά] In the course of.

διαζώματα] Because they went

ἡγωνίζοντο, καὶ οὐ πολλὰ ἔτη ἐπειδὴ πέπαυται. 6. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔστιν οἷς νῦν, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς Ἀσιανοῖς, πυγμῆς καὶ πάλης ἄθλα τίθεται, καὶ διεζωσμένοι τοῦτο δρῶσι. 7. πολλὰ δ' ἂν καὶ ἄλλα τις ἀποδείξειε τὸ παλαιὸν Ἑλληνικὸν ὁμοιότροπα τῷ νῦν βαρβαρικῷ διαιτώμενον. 7. τῶν δὲ πόλεων ὅσαι μὲν νεώτατα ὠκίσθησαν καὶ ἤδη πλωιμωτέρων ὄντων, περιουσίας μᾶλλον ἔχουσαι χρημάτων ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς τείχεσιν ἐκτίζοντο καὶ τοὺς ἰσθμοὺς ἀπελάμβανον ἐμπορίας τε ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς προσοίκους ἑκάστοι ἰσχύος· αἱ δὲ παλαιαὶ διὰ τὴν ληστείαν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντισχοῦσαν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης μᾶλλον ὠκίσθησαν, αἷ τε ἐν ταῖς νήσοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡπείροις· ἔφερον γὰρ ἀλλήλους τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι ὄντες οὐ θαλασσιοὶ κάτω ὥκουν· καὶ

round the waist in the middle of (διά) the body: cp. ὑπόδημα, ἀναδέσμη, shoes being at the lower (ὑπό), headbands at the upper (ἀνά) part of the person.

πέπαυται] Sc. ὁ τρόπος οὗτος. The practice appears to have been retained in the rest of Hellas long after it went out of fashion at the Olympia.

6. ἔστιν οἷς] Inf. i. 12. 4; ii. 26. 2, we have ἔστιν ἃ used in a perfectly regular construction. But the verb and relative early came to be regarded as one word (it was often written so, ἔνιοι = ἔστιν οἷ), and agrees with the noun which should properly follow it in the part. gen. Thus the natural construction here would be εἰσὶν οἱ τῶν βαρβάρων τοῦτο δρῶσι. εἴ τις suffered a similar change. Cp. Soph. *Aj.* 487, ἐξέφυν πατρὸς εἴπερ τινὸς σθένοντος ἐν πλούτῳ Φρυγῶν = σθένοντος εἴπερ τις ἔσθενε.

τοῦτο δρῶσι] Sc. ἀθλεύουσι: cp. i. 5. 2 above.

7. τὸ . . . Ἑλληνικόν] Cp. above, i. 4, τὸ ληστικόν. ὁμοιότροπα, above on i. 3. 6.

CH. VII. πλωιμωτέρων ὄντων] For the neut. plur. cp. i. 1. 3. Viger supplies καιρῶν, or χω-

ρίων. But better translate with Arn., "when things began more to admit of navigation." For in such cases we should supply not any definite word, but an idea, and the simplest idea that the sense will admit.

τείχεσιν] Dat. modi. No longer κατὰ κόμας.

ἀπελάμβανον] "Used to cut off from the main land," and so, "to occupy." τοὺς ἰσθμούς, the well-known isthmuses, e. g. of Corinth. For the difficulty of besieging towns thus situated, cp. i. 64. ἑκάστοι, by a transition frequent in Thuc., refers not to the cities, but to their inhabitants.

ἀπό] "At a distance from;" μᾶλλον, "chiefly."

αἱ . . . ἡπείροις] Note on i. 6. 1 above.

ἔφερον] "Used to plunder"—of carrying off movables; usually coupled with ἄγειν, to drive off cattle and slaves. Hom. *Il.* v. 484.

καί, as in ἄλλως τε καί, adds the most important of a number of similar facts, = and especially.

οὐ θαλάσσιοι] He might have written ὅσοι μὴ ὄντες θαλ., for the description applies to a class of indefinite extent. But the negative, in-

μέχρι τοῦδε ἔτι ἀνῶκισμένοι εἰσὶ. 8. 1. καὶ οὐχ ἦσσαν λησταὶ ἦσαν οἱ νησιῶται Κᾶρές τε ὄντες καὶ Φοίνικες· οὗτοι γὰρ δὴ τὰς πλείστας τῶν νήσων ὥκησαν. 2. μαρτύριον δέ· Δήλου γὰρ καθαιρομένης ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τῶν θηκῶν ἀναιρεθεισῶν ὅσαι ἦσαν τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, ὑπὲρ ἡμισυ Κᾶρες ἐφάνησαν, γνωσθέντες τῇ τε σκευῇ τῶν ὅπλων ξυντεθαμμένοι καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ ᾧ νῦν ἔτι θάπτουσι. 3. καταστάντος δὲ τοῦ Μίνω ναυτικοῦ πλωιμώτερα ἐγένετο παρ' ἀλλήλους· οἱ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν νήσων κακοῦργοι ἀνέστησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὅτεπερ καὶ τὰς πολλὰς αὐτῶν κατώκιζε. καὶ οἱ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἄνθρωποι μᾶλλον ἤδη τὴν κτῆσιν τῶν χρημάτων ποιούμενοι βεβαιότερον ὥκουν· καὶ τινες καὶ τείχη περιεβάλλοντο, ὥς πλουσιώτεροι ἑαυτῶν γιγνόμενοι. 4. ἐφιέμενοι γὰρ τῶν κερδῶν οἱ τε ἦσσους ὑπέμενον τὴν τῶν

stead of being attached to ὅσοι, coalesces with θαλ., with which it forms one notion. κάτω, “on the coast;” opposed to ἄνω, “in the interior” (so in ἀνῶκισμένοι).

CH. VIII. 1. οὐχ ἦσσαν] “Above all:” cp. note on οὐκ ἐλάχιστον, i. 2. 6.

οὗτοι γὰρ δὴ] “For these you must know.”

2. μαρτύριον δέ] “And here is a proof of this.” In the same abrupt way are used σημείον δέ, τεκμήριον δέ, ἀπόδειξις δέ. γάρ is generally put in the beginning of the next clause. Δήλου, cp. iii. 104.

τῶν θηκῶν . . . ὅσαι ἦσαν τῶν τ.] For the order of the words compare ii. 45. 1, παισὶ δ' αὖ ὅσοι τῶνδε πάρεστε.

τῇ τε σκευῇ τῶν ὅπλων] Hdt. (i. 171) ascribes three inventions to the Carians: καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ κράνεα λόφους ἐπιδέεσθαι Κᾶρές εἰσι οἱ καταδέξαντες, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας τὰ σημήια ποιέεσθαι. καὶ ὄχανα ἀσπίσι οὗτοί εἰσι οἱ ποιησάμενοι πρῶτοι. The Scholiast adds, τοῖς οὖν ἀποθνήσκουσι συνέθαπτον ἀσπιδίσκιοι· μικρὸν καὶ λόφον, σημείον τῆς εὐρέσεως. ξυντεθαμμένοι is Göller's reading; al. ξυντεθαμμένη.

3. ἐκ] The Greeks used to say, almost indifferently, that a thing was *in* a place, or that it presented itself to the eye or to the mind, or exercised its influence *from* a place: cp. 64. 1, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τεῖχος: vi. 32. 2, ὅμιλος ὁ ἐκ γῆς.

ἀνέστησαν being passive in sense is followed by ὑπό with gen.: cp. i. 9. 2, ὑπὸ Ἡρ. ἀποθανόντος.

αὐτῶν] Sc. τῶν νήσων.

τὴν κτῆσιν] The accumulation of capital, which has been before mentioned as the chief agent in promoting civilization. μᾶλλον, see note on i. 3. 2.

τείχη περ.] “Began to throw walls round themselves,” = began to fortify their cities: a statement repeated from the beginning of the last chapter.

ὥς] Cp. note on i. 2. 6 above.

πλουσ. ἑαυτῶν] “Richer than they had ever been before.” “When the same subject is compared with itself in regard to its different circumstances at different times, the comparative is followed by the genitive of the reflexive pronouns ἑαυτοῦ, σεαυτοῦ, ἑαυτοῦ.” Matthiä. Cp. iii. 11. 1.

4. γάρ refers to βεβαιότερον ὥκουν:

κρεισσόνων δουλείαν οἱ τε δυνατώτεροι περιουσίας ἔχοντες προσεποιούντο ὑπηκόους τὰς ἐλάσσους πόλεις, 5. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ μᾶλλον ἤδη ὄντες ὕστερον χρόνῳ ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἐστράτευσαν. 9. 1. Ἀγαμέμνων τέ μοι δοκεῖ τῶν τότε δυνάμει προὔχων καὶ οὐ τοσοῦτον τοῖς Τυνδάρεω ὄρκοις κατειλημμένους τοὺς Ἑλλήνης μνηστῆρας ἄγων τὸν στόλον ἀγεῖραι. 2. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ τὰ σαφέστατα Πελοποννησίων μνήμη παρὰ τῶν πρότερον δεδεγμένοι Πέλοπά τε πρώτου πλήθει χρημάτων ἃ ἦλθεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἔχων ἐς ἀνθρώπους ἀπόρους δύναμιν περιποιησάμενον τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῆς χώρας ἐπηλύτην ὄντα ὅμως σχεῖν καὶ ὕστερον τοῖς ἐκγόνοις ἔτι μείζω ξυνενεχθῆναι, Εὐρυσθέως μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλειδῶν ἀποθανόντος, Ἀτρέως δὲ μητρὸς ἀδελφοῦ ὄντος αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐπιτρέψαντος Εὐρυσθέως ὅτ' ἐστράτεψε Μυκῆνας

the reason why men dwelt more securely was that the more powerful states began to form round themselves clusters of dependents and allies, who of course would be prevented from preying on one another.

5. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ] "And they had reached this stage of progress some time before the expedition to Troy." μᾶλλον, meaning that a thing exists in a greater degree than before, ἤδη, that it has recently come into existence, are well adapted to express the attainment of a new and improved social organization. Cp. i. 3. 2.

CH. IX. 1.] The reason why Agamemnon was able to collect his army was that he was the most powerful prince in Greece, and not that the suitors of Helen were bound by their oaths to follow him. The reason preferred is given by προὔχων, the reason rejected by οὐ τοσ. . . ἄγων. According to the myth, Tyn-dareus forced all his daughter's suitors to swear that they would protect the man whom Helen should choose against any wrong that might be done to him. κατειλ., cp.

iv. 85. 6.

2. Πελοποννησίων is a part. gen. after οἱ τὰ σαφέστατα δεδεγμένοι. For its position cp. i. 126. 11, οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιτετραμμένοι τὴν φυλακὴν: iv. 111. 2, οἱ δὲ τῶν Τρωαίων ἔνδοθεν παρασκευάζοντες. Similar is Hdt. vii. 161, μάτην γὰρ ἂν ὦδε πάραλον Ἑλλήνων στρατὸν πλεῖστον εἴημεν ἐκτημένοι. μνήμη, because the old traditions were stored up in the memory, and not preserved in writing.

ἀνθρώπους ἀπόρους] Cp. note on πόλεσιν ἀτειχίστοις, i. 5. 1 above.

σχεῖν] Note on i. 5. 1. Arnold, quoting Gölner, "ἔχειν accipias dictum pro continere, in se habere causam et rationem, sive ansam dare alicui rei," translates "gave occasion to the name of the country." Poppo regards ἐπωνυμία as meaning "the right of naming."

μείζω ξυνενεχθῆναι] "Greater fortune befell them." Cp. Hdt. iv. 157, οὐδὲν σφι χρηστὸν συνεφέρετο.

Εὐρυσθέως] Hyllus and the other children of Heracles after the death of their father were driven from

τε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον Ἀτρεΐ· τυγχάνειν δὲ αὐτὸν φεύγοντα τὸν πατέρα διὰ τὸν Χρυσίππου θάνατον· καὶ ὥς οὐκέτι ἀνεχώρησεν Εὐρυσθεύς, βουλομένων καὶ τῶν Μυκηναίων φόβῳ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν καὶ ἅμα δυνατὸν δοκοῦντα εἶναι καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τεθεραπευκότα τῶν Μυκηναίων τε καὶ ὅσων Εὐρυσθεύς ἦρχε τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀτρεά παραλαβεῖν, καὶ τῶν Περσειδῶν τοὺς Πελοπίδας μείζους καταστήναι. 3. ἃ μοι δοκεῖ Ἀγαμέμνων παραλαβὼν καὶ ναυτικῶς τε ἅμα ἐπὶ πλέον τῶν ἄλλων ἰσχύσας, τὴν στρατείαν οὐ χάριτι τὸ πλείον ἢ φόβῳ ξυναγαγὼν ποιήσασθαι. 4. φαίνεται γὰρ ναυσί τε πλείσταις αὐτὸς ἀφικόμενος καὶ Ἀρκάσι προσπαρασχών, ὥς Ὀμηρος τοῦτο δεδήλωκεν, εἴ τῳ ἱκανὸς τεκ-

their homes by Eurystheus, and found a shelter in Attica. The vengeance of the Perseid king of Mycenae was not yet satisfied; he attacked them in their asylum, and fell by the hand of Hyllus, or by that of Iolaus, the old companion and nephew of Heracles. See Grote, vol. i. ch. iv.

κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον] Cp. κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενές, i. 6. 3.

φεύγοντα] φεύγειν here = to be living in exile, a sense which it very commonly bears. Madv. G. S. § 110 a, r. 2. Chrysippus, son of Pelops, was murdered by his half-brothers, Atreus and Thyestes, at the instigation of their mother, Hippodamia. But the Schol. gives a different account, ὁ γὰρ Πέλοψ τὸν Χρυσίππου τὸν υἱὸν ἀνείλεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀτρεὺς φοβούμενος μὴ τὸ αὐτὸ πάθῃ ἔφυγεν.

βουλομένων καί] Not Eurystheus only, but his subjects *also*.

Περσειδῶν] Eurystheus was son of Sthenelus and grandson of Perseus.

3. ἃ] "This power," described in § 2.

τε is in all MSS. but one, and is supported by vi. 44. 3; vii. 78. 3; viii. 68. 2; 76. 5; where as here there is no following τε or καί. Nevertheless Poppo says that καί

. . . τε is not Greek, and Krüger agrees with him. δέ, γε, and τι, have been proposed as substitutes for τε. Darpe says, "In Thuc. saltem tot sunt loci (places in which καὶ . . . τε occur) ut apud illum usus constet . . . Videmus γε in hac materiâ viris doctis esse quasi deum ex machina."

οὐ χάριτι τὸ πλείον ἢ φόβῳ] "Rather by fear than by favour," or "far less by favour than by fear." Cp. note on οὐκ ἐλάχιστον above, i. 2. 6. Homer, *Od.* v. 307, had said that the Greeks died round Troy, χάριν Ἀτρεΐδῃσι φέροντες.

4. πλείσταις] Hom. *Il.* ii. 576.

προσπαρασχών] Sc. ναὺς. προσ- = besides. See *Il.* ii. 612.

ὥς = for.

εἴ τῳ ἱκανὸς τεκμηριῶσαι] Thuc. thought that the narrative of Homer was in the main based upon historical facts, though like all poetry it was touched up and coloured to suit the fancy of its author, and so in parts deserved only a qualified belief (see below, 10. 3; ii. 41. 3; vi. 2. 1). For the infinitive with adjectives denoting or implying ability or readiness, cp. i. 50. 6; ii. 61. 2; iv. 126. 5; v. 111. 2; viii. 96. 5, and Madv. G. S. § 149.

μηριῶσαι, 5. καὶ ἐν τοῦ σκήπτρου ἅμα τῇ παραδόσει εἶρηκεν αὐτόν

πολλῇσι νήσοισι καὶ Ἀργεῖ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν.

οὐκ ἂν οὖν νήσων ἔξω τῶν περιοικίδων, αὐταὶ δὲ οὐκ ἂν πολλαὶ εἶησαν, ἡπειρώτης ὢν ἐκράτει, εἰ μή τι καὶ ναυτικὸν εἶχεν. 6. εἰκάζειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ στρατείᾳ οἷα ἦν τὰ πρὸ αὐτῆς. 10. 1. καὶ ὅτι μὲν Μυκῆναι μικρὸν ἦν ἢ εἴ τι τῶν τότε πόλισμα νῦν μὴ ἀξιόχρεων δοκεῖ εἶναι, οὐκ ἀκριβεῖς ἂν τις σημείῳ χρώμενος ἀπιστοίῃ μὴ γενέσθαι τὸν στόλον τοσοῦτον ὅσον οἷ τε ποιηταὶ εἰρήκασιν καὶ ὁ λόγος κατέχει. 2. Λακεδαιμονίων γὰρ εἰ ἡ πόλις ἐρημωθείη, λειφθείη δὲ τά

5. ἐν τοῦ σκήπτρου . . . τῇ παραδόσει] *Il.* ii. 601. Thuc. describes the passage by the subject-matter of which it treats, for the poem had not yet been divided into books. Similarly *Hdt.* ii. 116 refers to the ἀριστεία of Diomedes.

οὐκ ἂν . . . ἐκράτει, according to the rule, should mean "he would not be ruling." There is however usually (though not always) this difference between the imperfect and the aorist when used to denote an unfulfilled or impossible hypothesis not in present but in past time, that the former implies the duration or permanence of the result or condition spoken of, while the latter does not. See *Madv.* § 117 *a*, r. 1. In English and Latin the imperfect is in closer relation to present time; hence we must translate "ditionem non obtinisset," he would not have ruled.

ἔξω] "Besides," or, perhaps, as the Schol. takes it, in a local sense, "beyond."

οὐκ ἂν . . . εἶησαν] "Would not be." We should have expected οὐκ ἦσαν, "were not," but the writer preferred to make this clause, though stating a matter of fact, harmonize with the conditional form of the whole sentence.

CH. X. 1. μικρόν] "And though Mycenæ was a small place, and some

perhaps of the old towns seem now-a-days to be of no importance, we cannot regard this as sufficient ground for disbelieving." σημείῳ χρώμενος ὅτι is like τεκμαιρόμενος ὅτι in the first chapter. The antithesis to μὲν does not begin before § 3, where it is introduced by νομίζειν δέ: it is an antithesis of conception rather than of expression, the grammatical symmetry of the sentence being destroyed by the insertion of § 2. "We may not indeed regard the small size of the Homeric towns as a proof of the insignificance of the Trojan war, but from Homer's own statements we may conclude that it was not to be compared with the present struggle." For a neut. sing. in the predicate agreeing with a subject of masc. or fem. gender or in the plural number, cp. *Eur. Andr.* 209, ἡ Λάκαινα πόλις μέγ' ἐστίν: and *Herc. Fur.* 1295, κεκλημένῳ δὲ φωτὶ μακαρίῳ ποτὲ αἰ μεταβολαὶ λυπηρόν: also i. 63. 2 below. The imperfect ἦν is used, according to Krüger, because Mycenæ had been utterly destroyed by the Argives in the year 468 B.C. For another instance of the verb agreeing in number with the predicate, cp. iv. 102. 3, and *Madv. G. S.* § 4.

κατέχει] Intransitive, = prevails.

τε ἱερὰ καὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τὰ ἐδάφη, πολλὴν ἂν οἶμαι ἀπυστίαν τῆς δυνάμεως προελθόντος πολλοῦ χρόνου τοῖς ἔπειτα πρὸς τὸ κλέος αὐτῶν εἶναι· καίτοι Πελοποννήσου τῶν πέντε τὰς δύο μοίρας νέμονται, τῆς τε ξυμπάσης ἡγούνται καὶ τῶν ἔξω ξυμμάχων πολλῶν· ὅμως δὲ οὔτε ξυνοικισθείσης πόλεως οὔτε ἱεροῖς καὶ κατασκευαῖς πολυτελέσι χρησαμένης, κατὰ κώμας δὲ τῷ παλαιῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τρόπῳ οἰκισθείσης, φαίνοιτ' ἂν ὑποδεεστέρα· Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο παθόντων διπλασίαν ἂν τὴν δύναμιν εἰκάζεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς φανεράς ὄψεως τῆς πόλεως ἢ ἔστιν· 3. οὐκουν ἀπιστεῖν εἰκός, οὐδὲ τὰς ὄψεις τῶν πόλεων μᾶλλον σκοπεῖν ἢ τὰς δυνάμεις, νομί-

2.] **κατασκευή** generally = instrumentum, the stock or furniture of a farm, house, &c.: cp. ii. 14. 1. Here used of buildings which are the standing furniture of a city.

τοῖς ἔπειτα] "In the eyes of," "among men of after time." Cp. Soph. *O. C.* 1446, ἀνάξια γὰρ πᾶσιν ἔστε δυστυχεῖν.

πρὸς τὸ κλέος] "Looking at" (or "considering") "how great their fame was."

τῶν πέντε τὰς δύο] "Two out of the five divisions," which according to Pausanias were Laconia, Messenia, Argolis, Arcadia (including Elis), and Achaia. But Thuc. does not use the name Argolis, and apparently knows no general appellation for the district so called: cp. ii. 56. 4, Ἐπίδαυρον τῆς Πελοποννήσου. Hence it is better to translate "two-fifths." Kr. compares Ar. *Pol.* ii. 6. 11, ἔστι τῶν γυναικῶν σχεδὸν τῆς πάσης χώρας τῶν πέντε μερῶν τὰ δύο. The article is commonly joined with a number forming part of a larger number previously mentioned, perhaps because of an implied contrast to the whole or to the other part: cp. i. 74. 1; ii. 47. 2.

ξυμπάσης] But compare ii. 9. 2. **πολλῶν** is predicate—οἱ ἔξω ξύμμαχοι ὧν ἡγούνται πολλοί εἰσι.

ξυνοικισθείσης πόλεως] Seidler, who is most probably right, regard-

ing πόλεως as governed by δύναμις, and ξυνοικισθείσης as a predicate, translates, "since it belonged to a town which was neither compactly built nor adorned with costly buildings." According to Madv. *G. S.* § 8, r. 2 d, the article is omitted with πόλις, ἄστυ, ἀγρός, and some other words, "when they denote opposition between the parts of a given and presupposed locality, and are governed by prepositions;" and as neither of these conditions is here fulfilled, Krüger thinks we must translate "because neither had a compact city been built," or else expunge πόλεως,—and yet it is difficult to say what the passage would mean without it. He, however, quotes πόλεως στασιαζούσης from viii. 95. 2, which with Soph. *O. T.* 630, καὶ μοὶ πόλεως μέτεστιν, perhaps (?) justifies Arnold in rendering πόλεως *the* city, though in both passages we might translate *a* city. οὐ ξυνοικ. = κατὰ κώμας οἰκισθείσης (see above, 5. 1). Sparta was composed of four villages, the names of which are said to have been Pitane, Messoa, Limnae, and Cynosura (cp. however below, 20. 4). ὑποδεεστέρα, sc. τοῦ κλέους: the subject is ἡ δύναμις. ὑποδεεστέρα, Kr.

εἰκάζεσθαι] Sc. ἂν οἶμαι. ἀπιστεῖν, sc. μὴ γενέσθαι τὸν στόλον τοσοῦτον.

ζειν δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκείνην μεγίστην μὲν γενέσθαι τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς, λειπομένην δὲ τῶν νῦν, τῇ Ὀμήρου αὖ ποιήσῃ εἴ τι χρὴ κἀνταῦθα πιστεύειν, ἣν εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον μὲν ποιητὴν ὄντα κοσμήσαι, ὅμως δὲ φαίνεται καὶ οὕτως ἐνδεεστέρα.

4. πεποίηκε γὰρ χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων νεῶν, τὰς μὲν Βοιωτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν, τὰς δὲ Φιλοκλήτου πεντήκοντα, δηλῶν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τὰς μεγίστας καὶ ἐλαχίστας ἄλλων γοῦν μεγέθους πέραν ἐν νεῶν καταλόγῳ οὐκ ἐμνήσθη.

5. αὐτερέται δὲ ὅτι ἦσαν καὶ μάχιμοι πάντες ἐν ταῖς Φιλοκλήτου ναυσὶ δεδήλωκε. τοξότας γὰρ πάντας πεποίηκε τοὺς προσκώπους. 6. περίνεως δὲ οὐκ εἰκὸς πολλοὺς ξυμπλεῖν ἔξω τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν μάλιστα ἐν τέλει, ἄλλως τε

3. μεγίστην . . . τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς] Cp. note on ch. i. 1.

αὖ . . . κἀνταῦθα] "Again . . . on this point also;" referring to 9. 4 above. χρή, "if we are justified in believing:" cp. i. 91. 1.

ἦν] Sc. στρατιάν. ἐπὶ (as at 21. 1, below) denotes the result towards which the action expressed by the verb moved or tended. So in Latin *in majus celebrare*. Translate, "though it is probable that he has exaggerated it, like all poets, for the sake of effect." Krüger makes ποίησιν the antecedent, and wishes to read ἐνδεεστέρα, but if we keep the feminine it is better to make the same word object to κοσμήσαι and subject to φαίνεται. Cp. ii. 84. 2, ὅπερ ἀναμένων τε περιέπλει καὶ εἰώθει γίγνεσθαι.

καὶ οὕτως] "Even so;" even if we accept this exaggerated estimate.

4. πεποίηκε] ἐπιτηδείως τὸ τὸν ποιητὴν πεποιηκέναι, ὥσπερ λέγομεν τὸν φιλόσοφον ὅτι ἐφιλοσόφησεν. Sch. "He has made the Boeotian ships contain," "represented them as containing."

χιλ. καὶ διακ.] ὁ μὲν Εὐριπίδης καὶ Λυκόφρων χιλίας ναῦς λέγουσι τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ἀγαγεῖν, ὁ δὲ Ὀμηρος χιλίας ἑκατὸν ἐξήκοντα ἔξ (1186 it should be). Euripides, Lycophron,

and Thuc. are content with round numbers; Homer, in the true spirit of a ballad writer, tries to be exact. The genitive is partitive.

ἀνδρῶν] So we say that a ship is of so many tons burden. The genitive denotes a quality to which the object is regarded as belonging: cp. τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης εἶναι, 113. 3; and εἶναι ἐτῶν τριάκοντα. Similar is ἄστρον εὐφρόνη, Soph. *El.* 19 (see Mr. Jebb's note). The reference is to *Il.* ii. 510, 719.

τὰς μεγ. καὶ ἐλαχ.] For omission of article before ἐλαχίστας see note on ch. 6. 1. "The Ithacan ships only carried 20 men apiece. *Od.* i. 280; iv. 669: cp. *Il.* i. 309." Porro.

ἄλλων is governed by ἐμνήσθη: "he has made no mention of others as concerning size." περί with gen. is frequently inserted in this way to explain the exact meaning or scope of a previous assertion: cp. ii. 51. 5; 62. 1.

ἐν] In the case of.

6. τῶν . . ἐν τέλει] Sc. ὄντων: "the principal officers." According to Krüger, τέλος is applied to magistrates as being charged with the execution or fulfilment of the resolutions of the state. τέλη alone is used in the same sense as οἱ ἐν τέλει, 58. 1.

καὶ μέλλοντας πέλαγος περαιώσεσθαι μετὰ σκευῶν πολεμικῶν, οὐδ' αὖ τὰ πλοῖα κατάφρακτα ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰ τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ ληστικώτερον παρεσκευασμένα. 7. πρὸς τὰς μεγίστας δ' οὖν καὶ ἐλαχίστας ναῦς τὸ μέσον σκοποῦντι οὐ πολλοὶ φαίνονται ἐλθόντες ὥς ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος κοινῇ πεμπόμενοι. 11. 1. αἴτιον δ' ἦν οὐχ ἡ ὀλιγανθρωπία τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἡ ἀχρηματία. 2. τῆς γὰρ τροφῆς ἀπορία τὸν τε στρατὸν ἐλάσσω ἤγαγον καὶ ὅσον ἤλπιζον αὐτόθεν πολεμοῦντα βιοτεύσειν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀφικόμενοι μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν, (δῆλον δέ· τὸ γὰρ ἔρυμα τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οὐκ ἂν

μέλλοντας, which cannot refer to the *περίνεως* alone, would more naturally be in the gen. abs., or in the dative agreeing with αὐτοῖς after *ξυμπλεῖν*. Hobbes translates, “especially being to pass the sea with munition of war, and in bottoms without decks, built after the old and piratical fashion.” With *ληστικώτερον* cp. *στρατιωτικώτερον*, ii. 83. 3.

7.] δ' οὖν is Bekker's emendation. One MS. reads οὖν, the rest γοῦν.

σκοποῦντι] Cp. *ἐσπλέοντι*, 24. 1; *ἀπτομένῳ*, ii. 49. 4; *ἰόντι*, v. 10. 6. Such participial datives explain the way in which you must look at a statement, the position in which you must stand if you wish to form a correct judgment.

οὐ πολλοί] Yet if we multiply 1200, the number of the ships, by 85, the mean between 120 and 50, we get 102,000 as the grand total of the Greek forces. The passage proves how strong a hold the traditional poetry had upon the most cultivated and sceptical minds.

ὥς] “Not many considering that they were sent.” The army was not absolutely small, but it was small in relation to the whole population of Greece: cp. i. 21. 1; iii. 113. 12; iv. 84. 3; vi. 20. 2.

CH. XI. 2.] ἐλάσσω is pred.

βιοτεύσειν = τροφὴν ἔξειν. Sch. αὐτόθεν, from the country itself, without importing provisions.

ἐπειδὴ δέ] According to Bekker, δέ could scarcely be used here to answer a preceding τε unless there were a sharp opposition between the clauses, in which case the participle, repeating the sense of the former clause, might stand with δέ before ἐπειδὴ. Thus ἀφικόμενοι δέ ἐπειδὴ. For instances of τε . . . δέ cp. *Soph. Ant.* 1096; *Trach.* 333. An argument like this of Bekker's becomes very uncertain when applied to an author so regardless as Thuc. of all the conventional rules for the arrangement of words. He means, that *though* the army was too small, *yet* they conquered.

γάρ = “for otherwise.” Translate, “for if they had not been victorious they could not have built.” It has been objected, that οὐκ ἂν ἐτειχίσαντο means, not *non potuissent munire*, but *non munivissent*; and if we render, “they would not have built the wall,” it seems odd to allege their victory and consequent security as the reason for strengthening their camp. To escape this difficulty some refer δῆλον to what follows: “they did not employ all their forces, for otherwise they would not have needed the protection of a wall.” But this is out of the frying-pan into the fire. τὸ ἔρυμα, the well-known wall of II. viii. 337, 436, though the Scholiast says that Thuc. is speaking of an earlier and slighter bulwark.

ἐτείχισαντο,) φαίνονται δ' οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει χρησάμενοι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς γεωργίαν τῆς Χερσονήσου τραπόμενοι καὶ ληστείαν τῆς τροφῆς ἀπορία. 3. ἥ καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ Τρῶες αὐτῶν διεσπαρμένων τὰ δέκα ἔτη ἀντεῖχον βία, τοῖς αἰὲ ὑπολειπομένοις ἀντίπαλοι ὄντες. 4. περιουσίαν δὲ εἰ ἦλθον ἔχοντες τροφῆς καὶ ὄντες ἀθρόοι ἄνευ ληστείας καὶ γεωργίας ξυνεχῶς τὸν πόλεμον διέφερον, ῥαδίως ἂν μάχῃ κρατοῦντες εἶλον, οἳ γε καὶ οὐκ ἀθρόοι, ἀλλὰ μέρει τῷ αἰὲ παρόντι ἀντεῖχον. 5. πολιορκία δ' ἂν προσκαθεζόμενοι ἐν ἐλάσσονί τε χρόνῳ καὶ ἀπονώτερον τὴν Τροίαν εἶλον. 6. ἀλλὰ δι' ἀχρηματίαν τά τε πρὸ τούτων ἀσθενῆ ἦν καὶ αὐτά γε δὴ ταῦτα ὀνομαστότατα τῶν πρὶν γενόμενα δηλοῦνται τοῖς ἔργοις ὑποδεέστερα ὄντα τῆς φήμης καὶ τοῦ νῦν περὶ

φαίνονται δ'] δέ marks and emphasizes the commencement of the apodosis. cp. ii. 46. 1; 65. 5; 72. 6; iii. 98. 1; v. 16. 1. In the first and fourth of these passages no opposition is intended; probably it is used in much the same sense as δὴ ("I say," or "you must know"). Very similar is the employment of the particle alone, or with οὖν after a parenthesis: cp. below, 18. 1.

ἐνταῦθα repeats the protasis (cp. οὕτως, 10. 3): "not even when victorious."

γεωργίαν] Under the command of Acamas and Antiochus, says the Scholiast. ληστείαν (cp. *Il.* ix. 328; *Od.* iii. 105): Achilles boasts that he had commanded in 23 such expeditions.

3. ἥ] "On which account also the Trojans were the better able to hold out." αὐτῶν διεσπαρμένων repeats and explains ἥ: "since the forces of the enemy were divided." τὰ δέκα ἔτη, the famous ten years. Cp. τὸ ἔρμα. βία, = in open field. Kr.

ἀντίπαλοι] Krüger notices that this word, which usually denotes *hostility*, in Thuc. means only *equality in strength*.

4. ἦλθον] The actions denoted by the aorists ἦλθον, εἶλον, ἐνεόχμωσε, are regarded as mere points at which

some long train of events began or ended. It was not necessary to dwell upon the time spent in the assembling of the Greek host or the capture of the city, because that time was quite insignificant compared with the ten years of war which followed the one and resulted in the other.

κρατοῦντες] Since they were superior.

εἶλον] Krüger would strike out the first εἶλον and δ' after πολιορκία. Hermann proposes to omit from εἶλον το ἀντεῖχον.

οἳ γε = *for* they held out. The relative with γε is equivalent to the Latin *qui quidem*, and gives a reason for the preceding statement. Soph. *O. C.* 427, 1354.

6. καὶ αὐτά γε δὴ] καὶ . . . γε = and . . . too. καὶ . . . δὴ are often used as in καὶ τὸ δὴ μέγιστον, to introduce the most important of a number of instances. Here the two phrases are united: cp. iv. 92. 4. "And it is manifest that in the sober reality even this expedition, though far more famous than any that had preceded it, fell far short of its reputation." For τῶν πρὶν after the superlative, see note on 1. 1. We have here the antithesis between ὄνομα and ἔργον, in which Thuc. delights.

αὐτῶν διὰ τοὺς ποιητὰς λόγου κατεσχηκότος. 12. 1. ἐπεὶ καὶ μετὰ τὰ Τρωικὰ ἢ Ἑλλάς ἔτι μετανίστατό τε καὶ κατωκίετο ὥστε μὴ ἡσυχάσασα αὖξηθῆναι, 2. (ἢ τε γὰρ ἀναχωρησις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξ Ἰλίου χρονία γενομένη πολλὰ ἐνεόχμωσε, καὶ στάσεις ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐγίγνοντο, ἀφ' ὧν ἐκπίπτουντες τὰς πόλεις ἔκτιζον. 3. Βοιωτοὶ τε γὰρ οἱ νῦν ἐξηκοστῷ ἔτει μετὰ Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν ἐξ Ἀρνης ἀναστάντες ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν τὴν νῦν μὲν Βοιωτίαν, πρότερον δὲ Καδμηίδα γῆν καλουμένην ᾠκησαν· ἣν δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπο-

κατεσχηκότος by its position after the subst. and article should be predicate, but is a mere epithet. Cp. i. 90. 1; 96. 3; iii. 56. 2; v. 5. 1; vi. 37. 1 (ἐπιούσης); vii. 23. 3; and also vi. 31. 5; 46. 3; and Soph. *O. T.* 203; τὰ σὰ . . . βέλεα ἀδάματα, where the same irregularity occurs in the case of adjectives. It will be observed that in all these passages one or more attributes or attributive phrases come between the article and the noun. This however is not the case at Soph. *Aj.* 572, ὁ λυμεὼν ἐμός: Eur. *Hipp.* 683, Ζεὺς ὁ γεννήτωρ ἐμός: Theoc. xxvii. 58, τῶμπέχονον ἐμόν: Arist. *Ach.* 686, στρογγύλοισι τοῖς ῥήμασιν: Pseudo-Anacreon, ἡ γῆ μέλαινα πίνει: Homer, *Od.* ix. 464, τὰ μῆλα ταναύποδα: to which many other passages might be added. So in inscriptions we read τῷ Διὶ ὀλυμπίῳ: τοῦ Διὸς σωτήρος: τῇ Ἑκάτῃ Τριγλανθίνῃ: τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀρισταίῳ. It is useless and indeed impossible to correct all these. See Dindorf's note on Soph. *Aj.* l. c.

CH. XII. 1. ἐπεὶ καί] "For even after the Trojan War Greece was still seeking, or settling in, new abodes, so that she could not rest and thrive." Three MSS. have ἡσυχάσασαν. Both constructions are admissible after ὥστε and similar particles. Cp. the present passage and i. 91. 4, ἡ πόλις τετείχισται ὥστε ἰκανὴ εἶναι σώζειν τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, with vii. 34. 6, ναυμαχήσαντες δὲ ἀντίπαλα μὲν καὶ ὡς αὐτοὺς ἐκατέ-

ρους ἀξιοῦν νικᾶν. See Lobeck on Phryn., p. 750, note.

2. ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ] "In great part," "in many cases." ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ (which Poppo and Krüger read here) = for the most part. ὡς introduces a limitation. Cp. note on i. 1. 2.

ἀφ' ὧν] ἡ πόλεων ἡ στάσεων, says the Scholiast; the latter substantive is the right one to supply. ἀπό = in consequence of: cp. 23. 8; 24. 3.

τὰς πόλεις] The cities which we know to have been founded in this way, by Teucer, Philoctetes, Diomedes, and Menestheus, according to the Schol.; but, as Poppo observes, the following γάρ shows that Thuc. is thinking of the settlements of the Boeotians and Dorians. And it is perhaps worth while to observe, that the στάσεις just spoken of are not those which followed the return of the army from Troy, otherwise they could not be given as the cause of the two great migrations which Thuc. proceeds to mention.

3. μετὰ Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν] "The article is not generally used before the name of an epoch: cp. i. 23. 6; ii. 2. 1; vi. 4. 3." Kr. We do not know how many years Thuc. considered to have elapsed since the fall of Troy. The date given by Eratosthenes (B.C. 1184) depended on a calculation based on the fabulous pedigree of the Spartan kings. See Grote, p. i. ch. xvi.

καί is to be joined with πρότερον. Thuc. is probably trying to recon-

δασμὸς πρότερον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ἐς Ἴλιον ἐστράτευσαν Δωριῆς τε ὀγδοηκοστῷ ἔτει ξὺν Ἡρακλείδαις Πελοπόννησον ἔσχον·) 4. μόλις τε ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ ἡσυχάσασα ἡ Ἑλλὰς βεβαίως καὶ οὐκέτι ἀνισταμένη ἀποικίας ἐξέπεμπε· καὶ Ἴωνας μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ νησιωτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς ὥκισαν, Ἰταλίας δὲ καὶ Σικελίας τὸ πλεον Πελοποννήσιοι τῆς τε ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἔστιν ἄ χωρία· 5. πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ὕστερον τῶν Τρωικῶν ἐκτίσθη.

13. 1. Δυνατωτέρας δὲ γιγνομένης τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τὴν κτῆσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ποιουμένης τὰ πολλὰ τυραννίδες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καθίσταντο, τῶν προσόδων μειζόνων γιγνομένων· πρότερον δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέρασι πατρικαὶ βασιλείαι· ναυτικά τε ἐξηρτύετο ἡ Ἑλλὰς καὶ τῆς

cile the statement of Homer (*Il.* ii. 494), which he has already adopted (above, 10. 4), with a different account.

ἀφ' ὧν, referring to ἀποδασμός, = "some of whom," and so stands as subject to ἐστράτευσαν. Cp. note on 3. 2, above. καὶ = οὐ μόνον ἦσαν ἐν τῇ γῇ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐστράτευσαν.

4. Ἰταλίας] Tarentum was in Iapygia, Metapontum was in Italy: see vii. 33. According to Niebuhr the latter name was applied by the Greeks to the country of the Oenotri, and grew ever narrower as that nation was driven southwards by the Lucanians. Its northern frontier at one time extended from Posidonia to Tarentum; in the time of Thuc. from Metapontum to Laus; in that of Aristotle from the Scylletic to the Iametic Gulf (*Pol.* vii. 10. 3). Sophocles in a fragment of his *Triptolemus* calls the east coast of Brutium Italy, the west coast Oenotria. By the Italians themselves the name of Italy was given to the whole peninsula south of the Tiber and Garganus, and gradually extended with the conquests of Rome till it reached the Alps.

ἔστιν ἄ] ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔνια· λέγει δὲ Ἀμπρακιώτας Ἀνακτορίους. Sch.

CH. XIII. 1. τὴν κτῆσιν] See above, 8. 3. ἔτι μᾶλλον, still more rapidly than at the period there described.

τὰ πολλὰ] For the most part.

τυραννίδες] διὰ τοῦτο δὲ ἦσαν καὶ ταῦτα ἀσθενή· ἡ γὰρ τυραννὶς οὐκ ἐὰν τελέως αὖξιν τὰ πράγματα. Sch. Cp. ch. 17 below: The tyrannies were generally established by the democratic party in the course of their struggle for power with the oligarchies who had succeeded the Homeric kings. Poppo says Thuc. does not mean that the tyrannies followed immediately upon the downfall of the monarchical form of government; certainly if he does mean this it is not correct.

ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέρασι] "With stated prerogatives." ἐπί, properly signifying *rest upon*, is here used of the foundations on which these monarchies were constructed, or the conditions on which they existed. Cp. ii. 80. 6. What the prerogatives were we learn from *Ar. Pol.* iii. 9. 10, στρατηγὸς γὰρ ἦν καὶ δικαστὴς ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς κύριος. Cp. *Hdt.* vi. 56, 57, 58. πατρικός, which at vii. 69. 2; viii. 6. 3 means belonging to, or transmitted from, one's ancestors, here = hereditary.

θαλάσσης μᾶλλον ἀντείχοντο. 2. πρῶτοι δὲ Κορίνθιοι λέγονται ἐγγύτατα τοῦ νῦν τρόπου μεταχειρίσαι τὰ περὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ τριήρεις πρῶτον ἐν Κορίνθῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ναυπηγηθῆναι. 3. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ Σαμίους Ἀμεινοκλῆς Κορίνθιος ναυπηγὸς ναῦς ποιήσας τέσσαρας. ἔτη δ' ἐστὶ μάλιστα τριακόσια ἐς τὴν τελευταίαν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ὅτε Ἀμεινοκλῆς Σαμίους ἦλθε. 4. ναυμαχία τε παλαιτάτη ὣν ἴσμεν γίνεται Κορινθίων πρὸς Κερκυραίους. ἔτη δὲ μάλιστα καὶ ταύτη ἐξήκοντα καὶ διακόσιά ἐστι μέχρι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου. 5. οἰκοῦντες γὰρ τὴν πόλιν οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ αἰεὶ δὴ ποτε ἐμπόριον εἶχον, τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ πάσαι κατὰ γῆν τὰ πλείω ἢ κατὰ θάλασσαν, τῶν τε ἐντὸς Πελοποννήσου καὶ τῶν ἔξω, διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐπιμισγόντων, χρήμασί τε δυνατοὶ ἦσαν, ὥς καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ποιηταῖς δεδήλωται ἀφνειὸν γὰρ ἐπωνόμασαν τὸ χωρίον. ἐπειδὴ τε οἱ Ἕλληνες μᾶλλον ἐπλώιζον, τὰς ναῦς κτησάμενοι τὸ ληστικὸν καθήρουν· καὶ ἐμπόριον παρέχοντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν δυνατὴν ἔσχον χρημάτων προσόδῳ τὴν πόλιν. 6. καὶ Ἰωσιν ὕστερον πολὺ γίνεται ναυτικὸν ἐπὶ Κύρου Περσῶν πρώτου βασιλευντος

ἀντείχοντο] Sc. οἱ Ἕλληνες, implied in Ἕλλας. For a similar transition, cp. note on ἕκαστοι, ch. 7 above.

2. μεταχειρίσαι] Cp. μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχειν, i. 138. 4.

ἐν Κορίνθῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος] τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν Κορίνθῳ would be the more usual order; cp., inter alia, v. 33. 1.

3.] μάλιστα with numerals = about, more or less, as nearly as possible.

ὅτε = since: in which same sense ὡς or ἐπειδὴ might have been used. "This war" is probably the whole Peloponnesian War, though it has been supposed that Thuc. is speaking of what he elsewhere calls the First or Ten Years' War.

Σαμίους ἦλθε] Cp. 61. 1; 107. 9. It is a kind of dative of reference, and denotes indifferently the person to whom you come or from whom you go. Cp. Soph. O. C. 81, ὧ τέκ-

νον, ἣ βέβηκεν ἡμῖν ὁ ξένος; and note on αὐτοῖς, 5. 3 above.

4. παλαιτάτη] Περιάνδρου τοῦ υἱοῦ Κυψέλου τυραννοῦντος Κορίνθου διὰ τὸν φόνον Λυκόφρονος τοῦ υἱέως αὐτοῦ. Sch. Cp. Hdt. iii. 53.

ταύτη] "Since this." Generally a participle is added, as at iii. 29. 2.

5. ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ] "Upon their isthmus." αἰεὶ δὴ ποτε, "all along;" from the very first and at every moment since. δὴ strengthens αἰεὶ, and ποτε shows that αἰεὶ applies to every single instant of the past time referred to. Cp. ii. 102. 3; iii. 95. 1; vi. 82. 2.

ἐπιμισγόντων] On 2. 2 above.

ἀφνειόν] II. ii. 570.

τὰς ναῦς] Mentioned in § 2. καθήρουν, sc. οἱ Κορίνθιοι.

ἀμφοτέρωθεν] κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν. Cp. i. 100. 1; 112. 4; and for the adverbial accusative, note on i. 3. 6 above.

6.] πρώτου βασιλεύοντος = ὃς πρῶ-

καὶ Καμβύσου τοῦ υἱέος αὐτοῦ, τῆς τε καθ' ἑαυτοὺς θαλάσσης Κύρῳ πολεμοῦντες ἐκράτησάν τινα χρόνον. 7. καὶ Πολυκράτης Σάμου τυραννῶν ἐπὶ Καμβύσου ναυτικῶ ἰσχύων ἄλλας τε τῶν νήσων ὑπηκόους ἐποιήσατο, καὶ Ῥήνειαν ἐλὼν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Δηλίῳ. 8. Φωκαῆς τε Μασσαλίαν οἰκίζοντες Καρχηδονίους ἐνίκων ναυμαχοῦντες. 14. 1. δυνατώτατα γὰρ ταῦτα τῶν ναυτικῶν ἦν. 2. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πολλαῖς γενεαῖς ὕστερα γενόμενα τῶν Τρωικῶν τριήρεσι μὲν ὀλίγαις χρώμενα, πεντηκοντόροις δ' ἔτι καὶ πλοίοις μακροῖς ἐξηρτυμένα ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνα. 3. ὀλίγον τε πρὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν καὶ τοῦ Δαρείου θανάτου, ὃς μετὰ Καμβύσῃν Περσῶν ἐβασίλευσε, τριήρεις περί τε Σικελίαν τοῖς τυράννοις ἐς πλῆθος ἐγένοντο καὶ Κερκυραίοις. ταῦτα γὰρ τελευταῖα πρὸ

τος ἐβασίλευε. For these wars see Hdt. i. 163 sqq.; for the history of Polycrates, *infra*, iii. 104, and Hdt. iii. 39 sqq., 120 sqq.

8. ἐνίκων] The imperfect is not uncommonly used of a past action mentioned simply as an event, that is to say, without any special reference to the time occupied in its performance, when, nevertheless, that time was not inconsiderable. So ἐτελεύτων, ἔπλεον, ἔπεμπον, *passim*; ἀπέβαινε, iii. 26. 5; ἔθαπτεν, iii. 58. 6; ἐκέλευε, iii. 112. 4; ἔλεγε, iv. 38. 2; ἦν, iv. 90. 2; ἐγίγνετο, iv. 131. 1. Generally the tense is used either to give the limits of time within which something took place, or to represent a past action with more picturesqueness, as if the speaker saw it re-enacted at full length. Cp. Virg. *Aen.* i. 484, "Exanimusque auro corpus vendebat Achilles." The battle is not that described by Hdt. i. 166, for it took place *while* the Phocaeans were founding Massilia (οἰκίζοντες), and so about B.C. 598.

CH. XIV. 2. γενεαῖς] A generation in Hdt. is a fixed period of 33½ years (ii. 142, γενεαὶ γὰρ τρεῖς ἀνδρῶν ἑκατὸν ἑτεᾶ ἔστι), and this is a fair average value for the word, though it usually admits of more looseness in the computation.

γενόμενα goes with ταῦτα — "though they came into existence." χρώμενα belongs to φαίνεται — "it is clear that they still continue to employ."

πεντηκοντόροις] Carried fifty oars, twenty-five on each side, arranged in a single bank. A trireme, with its three banks of oars, was no longer, and therefore quite as handy, while its speed was far greater than that of vessels of this class. πλοῖα μακρά (not νῆες μακραί) were long undecked boats, such as are spoken of above, ch. 10. 6. They were distinguished by their length from νῆες στρογγύλαι, round, tub-shaped merchant ships. ἐκεῖνα = τὰ παλαιά. Sch. Darius died B.C. 485. ἐβασίλευσε, "became king."

3. περί] Above, i. 5. 3. Gelo (began to reign in Syracuse B.C. 485) offered to lend the Spartans and Athenians 200 triremes for the war against Xerxes. Hdt. vii. 158. Anaxilaus of Rhegium and Messene, Thero of Agrigentum, and Hippocrates of Gela are also probably referred to.

ἐς πλῆθος] "So as to form (*in*) considerable numbers." Cp. ἐς τὸν νῦν τρόπον, ἐς τὸ φανερόν, i. 6. 4, 5.

ταῦτα γάρ] "For these were the last fleets, before the expedition of

τῆς Ξέρξου στρατείας ναυτικά ἀξιόλογα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κατέστη. 4. Αἰγινῆται γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι βραχέα ἐκέκτηντο, καὶ τούτων τὰ πολλὰ πεντηκοντόρους· ὁψέ τε ἀφ' οὗ Ἀθηναίους Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπεισεν Αἰγινῆταις πολεμοῦντας, καὶ ἅμα τοῦ βαρβάρου προσδοκίμου ὄντος, τὰς ναῦς ποιήσασθαι αἰσπερ καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν· καὶ αὗται οὕτω εἶχον διὰ πάσης καταστροφάματα.

15. 1. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ναυτικά τῶν Ἑλλήνων τριαῦτα ἦν, τὰ τε παλαιὰ καὶ τὰ ὕστερον γενόμενα. 2. ἰσχύν δὲ περιεποιήσαντο ὅμως οὐκ ἐλαχίστην οἱ προσσχόντες αὐτοῖς χρημάτων τε προσόδῳ καὶ ἄλλων ἀρχῇ. ἐπιπλέοντες γὰρ τὰς νήσους κατεστρέφοντο, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι μὴ διαρκῇ εἶχον χώραν. 3. κατὰ γῆν δὲ πόλεμος, ὅθεν τις καὶ δύναμις παρεγένετο, οὐδεὶς ξυνέστη· πάντες δὲ ἦσαν ὅσοι καὶ ἐγένοντο πρὸς ὁμόρους τοὺς σφετέρους ἐκάστοις· καὶ ἐκδήμους στρατείας πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐαυτῶν ἐπ' ἄλλων καταστροφῇ οὐκ ἐξήεσαν

Xerxes, which came into note in Hellas."

4. εἴ τινες ἄλλοι] "Perhaps a few other states." We may, if we like, supply ναυτικά ἐκέκτηντο, but it is needless.

ὁψέ τε ἀφ' οὗ, "it is late since," is certainly an awkward expression, or seems so to us who have notions of grammatical precision and are used to rigid stereotyped phrases. But we have οὐ πολλὰ ἔτη ὥς or ἐπειδὴ, "it is not many years *when*," and there is no reason why we should not have the inverted idiom, ὁψέ ἀφ' οὗ. Krüger wishes to strike out the last two words.

Αἰγινῆταις] The war between Athens and Aegina is placed in B.C. 491, consequently τοῦ βαρβάρου refers to the expedition of Darius under Datis and Artaphernes.

τὰς ναῦς] "Their well-known fleet," with which they fought at Salamis. καὶ couples the two facts which are stated about these ships—one, that Themistocles persuaded the Athenians to make them; the other, that they were employed in the great

naval battle. See note on i. 3. 2. διὰ πάσης, "had not decks through-out," "were only half-decked." Krüger considers this to be an adverbial phrase, like ἀπὸ πρώτης: the feminine is used because μοῖρα was originally understood.

CH. XV. 2. ὅμως] "Nevertheless, notwithstanding the insignificance of their fleets." οὐκ ἐλαχίστην, note on i. 2. 6.

διαρκῇ, at vi. 90. 4, is used of that which is amply sufficient in quantity. So here of a territory large enough to hold an increasing population.

3. τις καὶ δύναμις] "Which not only broke out but *also* resulted in an acquisition of power."

ὅσοι καὶ ἐγ.] "As many as actually did arise."

σφετέρους] The reflexive refers not to πόλεμοι, the nominative to the verb, but to ἐκάστοις, in which the agent and real subject is contained. Kr. compares αὐτοῖς . . . σφετέρους, i. 97. 1.

στρατείας . . . ἐξήεσαν] Cp. στρατείας ξυνῆλθον, i. 3. 6.

οἱ Ἕλληνες. 4. οὐ γὰρ ξυνεστήκεσαν πρὸς τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις ὑπήκοοι, οὐδ' αὖ αὐτοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης κοινὰς στρατείας ἐποιοῦντο, κατ' ἀλλήλους δὲ μᾶλλον ὥς ἕκαστοι οἱ ἀστυγέι-
τονες ἐπολέμουν. 5. μάλιστα δὲ ἐς τὸν πάλαι ποτὲ γενόμε-
νον πόλεμον Χαλκιδέων καὶ Ἐρετριέων, καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ἕλλη-
νικὸν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἐκατέρων διέστη.

16. i. Ἐπεγένετο δὲ ἄλλοις τε ἄλλοθι κωλύματα μὴ αὐξη-
θῆναι, καὶ Ἰωσι προχωρησάντων ἐπὶ μέγα τῶν πραγμάτων
Κῦρος καὶ ἡ Περσικὴ ἐξουσία Κροῖσον καθελοῦσα καὶ ὅσα
ἐντὸς Ἀλυοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς θάλασσαν ἐπεστράτευσεν καὶ τὰς
ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πόλεις ἐδούλωσε, Δαρεῖος δὲ ὕστερον τῷ Φοινί-
κων ναυτικῷ κρατῶν καὶ τὰς νήσους. 17. i. τύραννοί δὲ
ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς πόλεσι, τὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν μόνον
προορώμενοι ἔς τε τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἐς τὸ τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον αὐξέειν

4. ξυνεστήκεσαν πρὸς] Cp. i. i. 1, ξυνιστάμενον πρὸς, and iii. 11. 5, πρὸς ὃ τι χρὴ στήναι. Two reasons are given why there was no great expedition to a distance from home: 1. the Greek states "had not grouped themselves as subjects round the chief cities," there was no central power to compel service as there had been in the days of Agamemnon; 2. the separate states would not of their own free choice (αὐτοί, voluntarily) join in an equal league for purposes of war. ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης, on διὰ πάσης, above.

κατ' ἀλλήλους = one with another. μᾶλλον = on the contrary.

5. πάλαι] The date is uncertain. K. F. Hermann, quoted by Krüger, places it about 650 B.C. There is a brief mention of this war in Hdt. v. 99. The subject of dispute was the possession of the Lelantian plain, which lay between the two cities.

CH. XVI. i.] κωλύματα takes the construction of the verb from which it is derived. Similarly at iv. 67. 3 we have κώλυμα προσθεῖναι, for κωλύω is constructed either with or without μή.

Ἰωσι] Considering the position of τε after both ἐπεγένετο and ἄλλοις,

Ἰωσι ought to be governed by the first verb. Really, however, it is governed by ἐπεστράτευσεν, and we have here an anacoluthon.

ἐξουσία in a concrete sense = forces, army.

ἐντός] Within, on this side of, to the westward of.

ἐδούλωσε] As Cyrus enslaved them for his own interest the middle might have been used (so δουλωσόμενος, 18. 2). But here Thuc. merely states a fact without saying who gained by it. Compare σιδηροφορεῖσθαι and ἐσιδηροφόρει above, 5. 4; 6. i.

τὰς νήσους] Thuc. is here at variance with Hdt. who states (i. 169) that the Ionic islanders gave themselves up to Cyrus after the subjugation of their brethren on the mainland.

CH. XVII. i. τὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν] "Providing only for their own selfish interests, with a view to their personal safety and the aggrandizement of their private families." Elsewhere ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν generally means "by themselves," "in a state of isolation:" ii. 63. 3; v. 67. 1; viii. 63. 4. σῶμα is governed by ἐς, and αὐξέειν relates to οἶκον alone.

δι' ἀσφαλείας ὅσον ἐδύναντο μάλιστα τὰς πόλεις ᾧκουν, ἐπράχθη τε ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἔργον ἀξιόλογον, εἰ μὴ εἴ τι πρὸς περιοίκους τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκάστοις. οἱ γὰρ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐχώρησαν δυνάμεως. 2. οὕτω πανταχόθεν ἢ Ἑλλάς ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον κατείχετο μήτε κοινῇ φανερόν μηδὲν κατεργάζεσθαι, κατὰ πόλεις τε ἀτολμοτέρα εἶναι.

18. 1. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ τε Ἀθηναίων τύραννοι καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ πρὶν τυραννευθείσης οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ τελευταῖοι πλὴν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων κατελύθησαν, (ἢ γὰρ Λακεδαίμων μετὰ τὴν κτῆσιν τῶν

δι' ἀσφαλείας] Cp. iv. 30. 2, διὰ προφυλακῆς ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι: vi. 11. 6, δι' ὀλιγαρχίας ἐπιβουλεύειν. διὰ, “through,” denotes the concomitant circumstances through which you must pass to accomplish any purpose, or in the midst of which an action may be regarded as situated. ἀσφάλεια is that policy which avoids danger by doing nothing, a safe inaction. ᾧκουν, they managed or governed.

ἀπ' αὐτῶν] “There is a mixed meaning in the word ἀπό,” says Arnold, “partly expressive of derivation and partly of agency. Nothing great proceeded from them; nothing great was done by them.”

εἴ τι] “Perhaps something:” cp. on 14. 4. ἐκάστοις is dative of agent after ἐπράχθη, and though not the grammatical subject, is connected with the reflexive αὐτῶν in much the same way as at 15. 3. Thuc. does not mean to say that the tyrants were not warlike (cp. Plato, *Rep.* 566 E), but that their selfish isolation rendered any great national enterprise impossible.

οἱ γάρ] οὐ λέγω περὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, οἱ γὰρ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Sch. It has been proposed to transpose this clause and insert it after τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ in the beginning of the next chapter. But the reason why the Sicilian despots were not put down by the Lacedaemonians was not their power but

their distance. No doubt there are many places where these words would look more at home, but until there is some good reason for believing that they have been transplanted, we must give the copyists credit for having left them where they found them. The only difficulty is in the γάρ, which does not ordinarily mean as much as the Scholiast makes it mean here.

2. πανταχόθεν] “By hindrances of every kind.”

μήτε . . . τε] When the second clause has a verb of its own, as is the case here, τε is affirmative; when the two clauses have only one verb in common, τε is negative: cp. Eur. *Herc. F.* 1106, ἀλλ' οὔτε Σισύφειον εἰσορῶ πέτρον Πλούτωνά τ'.

κατὰ πόλεις τε] Sc. οὔσα, = owing to the want of union or concert among the states.

CH. XVIII. 1. οἱ ἐκ] Above, i. 8. 3. ἐπὶ πολὺ of space: “in many parts,” e. g. in Megara, Corinth, Sicyon. καὶ πρὶν is “even before a despot established himself in Athens.”

ὑπὸ Λακ.] Cp. vi. 59; Hdt. v. 63 sqq.; also i. 122. 6 below.

ἢ γὰρ Λακ.] πόθεν, φησὶν, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς τυράννους κατέλυσαν; ἐκ τῆς εὐνομίας καὶ τοῦ ἀεὶ τῇ αὐτῇ πολιτεία χρῆσθαι. κτῆσιν, which is the reading of nearly all the MSS., has been altered by most editors into κτίσιν, apparently be-

νῦν ἐνοικούντων αὐτὴν Δωριέων ἐπὶ πλείστον ὧν ἴσμεν χρόνον στασιάσασα ὅμως ἐκ παλαιάτου καὶ εὐνομήθη καὶ αἰεὶ ἀτυράννευτος ἦν· ἔτη γάρ ἐστι μάλιστα τετρακόσια καὶ ὀλίγῳ πλείω ἐς τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου, ἀφ' οὗ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῇ αὐτῇ πολιτείᾳ χρῶνται, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ δυνάμενοι καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι καθίστασαν·) μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν τυράννων κατάλυσιν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον καὶ ἡ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχη Μήδων πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἐγένετο. 2. δεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει μετ' αὐτὴν αὐθις ὁ βάρβαρος τῷ μεγάλῳ στόλῳ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δουλωσόμενος ἦλθε. 3. καὶ μεγάλου κινδύνου ἐπικρεμασθέντος οἳ τε Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν ξυμπολεμησάντων Ἑλλήνων ἡγήσαντο δυνάμει προὔχοντες, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπιόντων τῶν Μήδων διανοηθέντες ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀνασκευασάμενοι ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐμβάντες ναυτι-

cause Isocrates (*Paneg.* c. 16) calls the Dorians οικιστὰς Σπάρτης, and Thuc., v. 16. 3, has Λακεδαίμονα κτίζοντες. Surely these reasons are absolutely insufficient if the MSS. are made for any thing but to be corrected. Δωριέων, = by the Dorians, is a genitive of the agent after a verbal noun. Similar are αὐτοῦ, ii. 49. 8; γένους, iv. 61. 4; κρατούντων, v. 110.

ὧν = τούτων οὗς. στασιάσασα, cp. Hdt. i. 65. Εὐνομία was the special boast of Sparta (Hdt. loc. cit.) and Lycurgus was said to be son of Eunomus. It is strange that Thuc. while giving a definite date for the commencement of the Spartan constitution should avoid naming its author. Had he any doubts about the personality of Lycurgus? See Grote, pt. ii. ch. 6. μάλιστα, see i. 13. 3 above.

καθίστασαν] "Settled," "reduced to order, affairs in the other states;" for a τυραννίς was a state of ἀκαταστασία or anarchy.

μετὰ δέ] "After, I say:" δέ resumes.

2. τῷ μεγάλῳ στόλῳ] "With that vast armament." The article is used as at i. 11. 2, τὸ ἔρμα.

δουλωσόμενος] "To bring it under his yoke." The active would mean to bring it under *the* yoke. Cp. on ch. 16 above. The construction is ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλ. ἦλθε δουλωσόμενος αὐτήν. Similar instances of participles with which a different case must be supplied from that governed by the finite verb are ii. 65. 13, περιπεσόντες: ii. 102. 7, εὐρών: iii. 59. 1, λαβόντας: vi. 58. 1, πλασάμενος.

3. ξυμπολεμησάντων . . . ἡγήσαντο] Cp. note on ἰσχυσάντων, i. 3. 2. "They became leaders of those who joined them in the war." So Krüger. But if we translate simply "they led" it is perhaps better here, as ἐγένοντο does not mean "they began to become." The aorist participle is used here of a past action, the fact of its being contemporaneous with another action being left out of account. Cp. ἐπαινέσαντες, i. 86. 1; καθελόντες, 101. 4; ὀνομάσας, ii. 68. 3; εἰκάσαντες, iii. 20. 4.

ἀνασκευασάμενοι] τὰ σκεύη ἀναλαβόντες. Sch. In this clause the aorist participles retain their proper signification: "after they had removed their furniture they became," &c.

κοὶ ἐγένοντο. 4. κοινῇ τε ἀπωσάμενοι τὸν βάρβαρον ὕστερον οὐ πολλῶ διεκρίθησαν πρὸς τε Ἀθηναίους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους οἱ τε ἀποστάντες βασιλέως Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ ξυμπολεμήσαντες. 5. δυνάμει γὰρ ταῦτα μέγιστα διεφάνη· ἴσχουν γὰρ οἱ μὲν κατὰ γῆν, οἱ δὲ ναυσί. 6. καὶ ὀλίγον μὲν χρόνον ξυνέμεινεν ἡ ὁμαιχμία, ἔπειτα δὲ διενεχθέντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπολέμησαν μετὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων πρὸς ἀλλήλους· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων εἰ τινὲς που διασταίεν, πρὸς τούτους ἤδη ἐχώρουν. 7. ὥστε ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἐς τόνδε αἰὲν τὸν πόλεμον τὰ μὲν σπενδόμενοι τὰ δὲ πολεμοῦντες ἢ ἀλλήλοις ἢ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ξυμμάχοις ἀφισταμένοις εὖ παρεσκευάσαντο τὰ πολέμια καὶ ἐμπειρότεροι ἐγένοντο μετὰ κινδύνων τὰς μελέτας ποιούμενοι. 19. 1. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐχ ὑποτελεῖς ἔχοντες φόρου τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἡγοῦντο, κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν δὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς μόνον ἐπιτηδείως ὅπως πολιτεύσωσι θεραπεύοντες· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ναῦς τε τῶν πόλεων τῷ χρόνῳ παραλαβόντες πλὴν Χίων καὶ Λεσβίων καὶ χρή-

4. διεκρίθησαν πρὸς] Cp. ἐς ξυμμάχίαν διέστη, i. 15. 5.

5. ταῦτα] τὰ πράγματα τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. Sch.

6. διασταίεν] “Were at variance.” Like the Corcyraeans they joined one alliance or the other in order to obtain assistance against their private foes. Cp. iv. 61. 1; Hom. II. 1. 6.

ἤδη is used of that which begins to be immediately after a given point of time or space: thus ἀπὸ ταύτης ἤδη Αἴγυπτος (Hdt. iii. 5), “immediately beyond this lake Egypt begins.” Cp. i. 3. 2; 8. 5.

7. μετὰ κινδύνων] Because they performed their exercises in the midst of dangers; that is, as Arnold paraphrases, “their field of exercise was not the parade, but the field of battle.”

CH. XIX. 1. ἡγοῦντο] Sc. αὐτῶν—the reverse construction of that noticed above on δουλωσόμενος. Here the participle as it were takes precedence of the finite verb, and is allowed to determine the case of the

object. Cp. ii. 76. 1, ἐν ταρσοῖς πηλὸν ἐνείλλοντες εἰσέβαλλον, and iv. 18. 1, ἐφ' ἧ νῦν ἀφιγμένοι ὑμᾶς αἰτούμεθα.

κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν] “By way of an oligarchy.” σφίσιν αὐτοῖς = the Lacedaemonians: a rare instance of the primary used for the secondary reflexive. σφεῖς denotes the subject of the main verb (see next chapter), σφεῖς αὐτοί the subject of the verb by which it is immediately governed, whether it be in a principal or a subordinate clause. Cp. i. 128. 2, where σφίσιν αὐτοῖς refers to the subject, not of γενέσθαι, but of νομίζουσι.

πολιτεύσωσι] Subjunctive after a past tense: an inversion of the ordinary rule, in which Thuc. delights. For a moment the writer realizes the past so vividly that it seems to be re-enacting itself before his eyes: he throws himself into the position of the agents, and represents *their* purpose as still present to the mind and still unaccomplished.

ματα τοῖς πᾶσι τάξαντες φέρειν. 2. καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς ἐς τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἢ ἰδία παρασκευὴ μείζων ἢ ὥς τὰ κράτιστά ποτε μετὰ ἀκραιφνοῦς τῆς ξυμμαχίας ἦνθησαν.

20. 1. Τὰ μὲν οὖν παλαιὰ τοιαῦτα εὖρον, χαλεπὰ ὄντα παντὶ ἐξῆς τεκμηρίῳ πιστεῦσαι. 2. οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὰς ἀκοὰς τῶν προγεγενημένων, καὶ ἦν ἐπιχώρια σφίσιν ἦ, ὁμοίως ἀβασανίστως παρ' ἀλλήλων δέχονται. 3. Ἀθηναίων γοῦν το πλῆθος Ἰππαρχον οἶονται ὑφ' Ἀρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος τύραννον ὄντα ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἴσασιν ὅτι Ἰππίας μὲν πρεσβύτατος ὢν ἦρχε τῶν Πεισιστράτου νιέων,

φέρειν is epexegetic: "having fixed sums of money for all, that they should pay them." Or perhaps there is a mixture of two constructions, χρήματα τοῖς πᾶσι τάξαντες and τοὺς πάντας τάξαντες φέρειν χρήματα.

2.] ὥς = "when," Kr. and Bl. Better say that μείζων ἢ ὥς with a verb is much the same as μείζων ἢ κατὰ with a substantive, and signifies "out of all proportion to" (not *as*, in the same degree that, they flourished, but more). ἀκραιφνοῦς is pred. "This refers to the period a little before the conclusion of the 30 years' treaty, when the Athenians were masters not only of the islands and the Asiatic Greek colonies, but had also united to their confederacy Boeotia and Achaia on the continent of Greece itself." Arn. But Grote is most probably right in making αὐτοῖς refer to the Lacedaemonians as well as to the Athenians, and ξυμμαχίας to the δμαιοχμία mentioned in the sixth section of last chapter. Each of the rival states was now as powerful as both together had been in the years immediately succeeding the Persian War. (Pt. ii. ch. 44.)

CH. XX. 1. χαλεπὰ . . . πιστεῦσαι] Krüger reads πᾶν τι (which, like ἑκαστος, being plural in signification might stand with χαλεπά), and regarding the construction as similar to that in Arist. *Clouds*, 385, τουτὶ τῷ χρη πιστεύειν, translates,

"though each fact in the series may be hard to believe upon proof." So Eur. *Hel.* 710, λόγοις ἐμοῖσι πιστευσον τάδε. But the difficulty surely is not to believe a thing on proof given, but to believe the proof itself. The construction seems to be exactly the same as at ii. 61. 2, ταπεινὴ ὑμῶν ἢ διάνοια ἐγκαρτερεῖν ἀ ἐγνώτε (where ἄ = τούτοις ἄ), the infinitive and dative being added by way of epexegetis or limitation to the adjective—"though they are hard, if, that is, one must believe each successive link in the chain of proof." So nearly Arnold, who says that the phrase is equivalent to περὶ ὧν χαλεπὸν ἐστι πιστεῦσαι, "being hard for believing every argument one after the other." The antithesis to τὰ μὲν οὖν is ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων: "though each separate argument does not carry conviction with it, yet on the whole the conclusion is well established."

2.] σφίσιν is used here simply to denote the subject of the main verb without any properly reflexive sense; that is to say, it does not convey the notion that οἱ ἄνθρωποι were acting upon, or for, or thinking about themselves. Cp. i. 30. 3; 115. 5.

ὁμοίως] All the same as if they had no local interest. For γοῦν cp. on i. 2. 5.

3. τύραννον ὄντα] "Was tyrant when he was killed." ἦρχε τῶν Ἀθηναίων δηλονότι. Sch.

"Ιππαρχος δὲ καὶ Θεσσαλὸς ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν αὐτοῦ. ὑποτοπήσαντες δέ τι ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ παραχρῆμα Ἀρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων ἐκ τῶν ξυνειδότην σφίσιν Ἰππία μεμνηνύσθαι, τοῦ μὲν ἀπέσχοντο ὡς προειδότης, βουλόμενοι δὲ πρὶν ξυλληφθῆναι δράσαντές τι καὶ κινδυνεύσαι, τῷ Ἰππάρχῳ περιτυχόντες περὶ τὸ Λεωκόριον καλούμενον τὴν Παναθηναϊκὴν πομπὴν διακοσμοῦντι ἀπέκτειναν. 4. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὄντα καὶ οὐ χρόνῳ ἀμνηστούμενα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες οὐκ ὀρθῶς οἴονται ὥσπερ τοὺς τε Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέας μὴ μιᾷ ψήφῳ προστίθεσθαι ἐκάτερον, ἀλλὰ δυοῖν· καὶ τὸν Πιτανάτην λόχον αὐτοῖς εἶναι, ὃς οὐδ' ἐγένετο πώποτε. 5. οὕτως ἀταλαίπωρος τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡ ζήτησις τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐτοῖμα μᾶλλον τρέπονται. 21. 1. ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων τεκμηρίων ὅμως τοιαῦτα ἂν τις νομίζων μάλιστα ἂ διήλθον οὐχ ἁμαρτάνοι καὶ οὔτε ὡς

ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ] ἐν ᾗ δηλονότι συνεθετο ἀνελεῖν τὸν τύραννον. Sch. καὶ couples παραχρῆμα to ἡμέρα—"and at the very moment when their plot was to have been executed." For ἐκ compare note on ἀπό, i. 17. 1 above.

δράσαντές τι καὶ κινδυνεύσαι] "To do some great thing worth the peril of their lives;" literally to do something, and then run the risk. καὶ couples the participle and infinitive: cp. above on i. 3. 2. In this redundant use it is almost equivalent to εἶτα: cp. Pind. *Nem.* iv. 32, *ρέζοντά τι καὶ παθεῖν ἔοικε* (quoted by Bl.). So τε is used Aesch. *Ag.* 98. For τι, see i. 1. 2 above.

Λεωκόριον] ἐλίμωξέ ποτε ἡ Ἀττική, καὶ λύσις ἦν τῶν δεινῶν, παίδων σφαγῇ. Λεῶς οὖν τις τὰς ἑαυτοῦ κόρας ἐπιδέδωκε, καὶ ἀπήλλαξε τοῦ λιμοῦ τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τούτων ἱερὸν ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, καλούμενον Λεωκόριον. Sch. It stood in the Ceramicus within the walls. Arn.

4.] προστίθεσθαι = se adjungere; "give their vote in favour of any thing." Hdt. vi. 57 ad fin. makes the statement which Thuc. here

contradicts, and so falls under the reproof. It is, however, questionable whether Thuc. could have seen the work of Herodotus, and so probably, as Arnold suggests, "the censure, if designed to touch Herodotus at all, was not meant for him particularly; but rather for Hellenicus and those earlier writers whom Herodotus in this instance carelessly followed."

Πιτανάτην λόχον] Hdt. ix. 53. "The denial of the existence of a Pitane'sian lochus is, in other words, a denial of the demus of Pitane (Hdt. iii. 55) ever having been of sufficient importance to allow its inhabitants to form a constituent part of the national army." Arn. οὐδ' ἐγένετο = never even did, much less does, exist.

CH. XXI. I.] ἐκ with νομίζων, "if he were to think (as a conclusion) from." ὅμως, "though it is not easy," παντὶ ἐξῆς τεκμηρίῳ πιστεύσαι.

τοιαῦτα . . . μάλιστα] Sc. εἶναι: "that the events I have narrated were such or nearly such (as they are here described)." μάλιστα as with nume-

ποιηται ὑμνήκασι περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον κοσμοῦντες μᾶλλον πιστεύων, οὔτε ὥς λογογράφοι ξυνέθεσαν ἐπὶ τὸ προσαγωγότερον τῇ ἀκροάσει ἢ ἀληθέστερον, ὄντα ἀνεξέλεγκτα καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ χρόνου αὐτῶν ἀπίστως ἐπὶ τὸ μυθῶδες ἐκνευικηκότα· εὐρήσθαι δὲ ἡγησάμενος ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων σημείων ὥς παλαιὰ εἶναι ἀποχρώντως. 2. καὶ ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος, καίπερ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν ᾧ μὲν ἂν πολεμῶσι τὸν παρόντα ἀεὶ μέγιστον κρινόντων, παυσαμένων δὲ τὰ ἄρχαῖα μᾶλλον θαυμαζόντων, ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων σκοποῦσι δηλώσει ὅμως μείζων γεγεννημένος αὐτῶν. 22. 1. καὶ ὅσα μὲν λόγῳ εἶπον ἕκαστοι ἢ μέλλοντες πολέμησιν ἢ ἐν αὐτῷ ἤδη ὄντες, χαλεπὸν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν αὐτὴν τῶν λεχθέντων διαμνημονεῦσαι ἦν, ἐμοί τε ὦν αὐτὸς ἤκουσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοθεν ποθεν ἐμοὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν ὥς δ' ἂν ἐδόκουν ἐμοὶ ἕκαστοι

rals above, i. 13. 3. νομίζων, πιστεύων, and ἡγησάμενος are all prostates to the apodosis οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοι.

ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον] Above, i. 10. 3. λογογράφοι· αἰνίττεται τὸν Ἡρόδοτον (Sch.), but the reference is rather to the whole class of chroniclers of which Hdt. was the last representative. The word means simply "prose-writers." Hdt. calls his own work λόγοι, v. 36, and uses λόγιος and λογοποιός in the same sense as λογογράφος. The early writers, from Cadmus of Miletus to Hecataeus, dealt largely in myths, and were almost if not quite destitute of the critical faculty. Hence Thuc. uses λογογράφος in a half-contemptuous way, with an implied antithesis to ξυγγραφεύς.

ἐπὶ . . . ἀληθέστερον] "Aiming rather at what was attractive to the ear than at the truth." For the double comparative see Madv. G. S. 93 a.

ὄντα ἀνεξέλεγκτα] "Tales which can neither be proved nor disproved," agreeing with ἄ implied in ὥς ὑμνήκασι . . . ξυνέθεσαν. αὐτῶν, = τῶν ξυντεθέντων, is rather awkwardly inserted.

ἀπίστως] "Which, for the most part, have won their way out into the region of fable, so as to be undeserving of belief." Thuc. is fond of using adverbs in this proleptic way to express a result, not a modification of the verb. Cp. i. 140. 3, ἀμαθῶς: iii. 83. 1, ἀπίστως: iv. 62. 3, δικαίως: vi. 58. 1, ἀδήλως: and many others.

σημείων] "If not from τεκμηρίων or conclusive proofs, yet from the clearest signs."

ὥς . . . εἶναι] "Considering their antiquity." For ὥς see on i. 10. 7 above; for the inf. on i. 1. 2.

2.] ἐν ᾧ ἂν perhaps = "while they are actually fighting," opposed to παυσαμένων, "when the struggle is over." Cp. i. 42. 2.

ἔργων] Cp. i. 11. 6. αὐτῶν = τῶν ἀρχαίων.

CH. XXII. 1.] λόγῳ is opposed to ἔργα. ὅσα εἶπον defines τῶν λεχθέντων, which is opposed to τῶν πραχθέντων.

αὐτῷ = τῷ πολεμεῖν. ὦν = τούτων ᾧ.

ἂν] With εἶπεῖν. Translate, "I have framed the speeches to represent what it seemed to me would have been the most appropriate lan-

περὶ τῶν αἰὲ παρόντων τὰ δέοντα μάλιστα εἰπεῖν, ἐχομένῳ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς ξυμπάσης γνώμης τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων, οὕτως εἴρηται. 2. τὰ δ' ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ παρατυχόντος πυνθανόμενος ἡξίωσα γράφειν, οὐδ' ὥς ἐμοὶ ἐδόκει, ἀλλ' οἷς τε αὐτὸς παρῆν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσον δυνατόν ἀκριβεῖα περὶ ἐκάστου ἐπεξελθόν. 3. ἐπιπόνως δὲ εὐρίσκετο, διότι οἱ παρόντες τοῖς ἔργοις ἐκάστοις οὐ ταῦτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔλεγον, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐκατέρων τις εὐνοίας ἢ μνήμης ἔχοι. 4. καὶ ἐς μὲν ἀκρόασιν ἴσως τὸ μὴ μυθῶδες αὐτῶν ἀτερπέστερον φανεῖται· ὅσοι δὲ βουλή-

guage for either party to hold concerning the successive events." τῆς ξυμπ. γνώμης = the general sense. So that the speeches as given by Thuc., though they do not profess to be *verbatim* reports of actual speeches, are not mere fictions or pieces of rhetorical display. They state, (1) the real sentiments of the speaker, or of the party which he represents, even though those sentiments may never have been put into words at all (for instance, the Melian dialogue describes what Thuc. thought to be the Athenian views, though they never can have been uttered with such insolent perspicuity); (2) what in the historian's judgment was the position and aspect of affairs at the time. Hence the speeches form a running commentary and double-sided criticism from opposite points of view, upon the bare narrative of events, which, for the most part, is all that is given. By these means Thuc. professes to put the reader in a position to judge for himself, instead of supplying him with conclusions ready cut and dried; but it is impossible to say how far—for instance, in the case of Cleon—he has contrived dexterously to insinuate an unfavourable view of persons and causes under the semblance of the coldest impartiality.

2. ὥς ἐμοὶ ἐδόκει] ἐπειδὴ φιλαθήναιος δοκεῖ τοῦτο λέγει. Sch. Repeat ἡξίωσα γράφειν with these words

and with what follows. οἷς = ταῦτα οἷς.

παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων . . . ἐπεξελθόν] "But (I have held myself bound to record) those things of which I was an eye-witness, and those which I had drawn by inquiry from my informants with the utmost accuracy concerning the several details." So Krüger who with the Sch. regards ἐπεξελθόν as = ἐρευνῶν. There is rather a harsh change of construction—after οἷς αὐτὸς παρῆν we should have expected ἀ . . . ἐπεξ-ῆλθον. Cp. note on i. 60. 1. τῶν ἄλλων, perhaps *the* others alluded to above in τοῖς ἄλλοθεν ποθεν ἐμοὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν.

3. εὐρίσκετο] Imperfect of the long process of inquiry.

ἐκατέρων belongs to εὐνοίας alone. Each man's account differed according to his party bias and the weakness or strength of his memory. εὐνοίας . . . μνήμης: see Madv. *G. S.* 49, r. 2.

4. τὸ μὴ μυθῶδες] μὴ with the article is usually general and indirect, as opposed to οὐ, which is particular and direct, and so this phrase should mean that an uncertain number of plain prosaic passages were scattered up and down a narrative which in the main was fabulous. Thuc. however meant to say that he had admitted no myth (as matter of history)—a positive negation for which we should have expected οὐ. But

σονται τῶν τε γενομένων τὸ σαφὲς σκοπεῖν καὶ τῶν μελ-
λόντων ποτὲ αὖθις κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον τοιούτων καὶ παρα-
πλησίων ἔσεσθαι, ὠφέλιμα κρίνειν αὐτὰ ἀρκούντως ἔξει.
5. κτῆμά τε ἐς αἰὲ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα
ἀκούειν ξύγκειται.

23. 1. Τῶν δὲ πρότερον ἔργων μέγιστον ἐπράχθη τὸ Μη-
δικόν· καὶ τοῦτο ὅμως δυοῖν ναυμαχίαι καὶ πεζομαχίαι
ταχεῖαν τὴν κρίσιν ἔσχε· 2. τούτου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου μῆκος τε
μέγα προὔβη παθήματά τε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι ἐν αὐτῷ τῇ
Ἑλλάδι οἷα οὐχ ἕτερα ἐν ἴσῳ χρόνῳ. 3. οὔτε γὰρ πόλεις
τοσαῖδε ληφθεῖσαι ἡρημώθησαν, αἱ μὲν ὑπὸ βαρβάρων αἱ
δ' ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀντιπολεμούντων, εἰσὶ δ' αἱ καὶ οἰκήτορας
μετέβαλον ἀλίσκόμεναι, οὔτε φυγαὶ τοσαῖδε ἀνθρώπων καὶ

from a comparison of 35. 1; 142. 6; iii. 47. 5; iv. 126. 2; also Eur. *Iph. in A.* 823, οὐς μὴ πάρος προσ-
εῖδες, and Soph. *Ant.* 771, οὐ τήν γε μὴ θιγοῦσαν, it will appear that the Greeks often spoke of a perfectly definite person or thing as if it were indefinite. Translate, "such parts of my work as are not mythical," "if any portion should appear to be too prosaic." αὐτῶν = τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γραφέντων.

ὠφέλιμα κρίνειν αὐτά] (1) Supply τούτους, "it will be sufficient that those consider them (αὐτά as above) useful who shall wish to study the exact truth of those things which have happened already, and will one day happen again, according to the laws of human nature, in the same or a very similar manner." (2) Supply τούτοις — "it will be sufficient if I can regard them as useful for those who," &c.; so Sch. For τοιαῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια cp. i. 143. 3; vii. 78. 1. τὸ ἀνθρώπειον = the sum of the appetites, tendencies, and instincts which make up the active side of human nature: cp. v. 105. 2. Observe that Thuc. regards this sum as invariable, or nearly so; he thinks that the same great impulses which sway mankind at one era will sway them at another.

He does not mean that historical events recur in cycles, but that human nature, being incapable of much further development, would always tend to reproduce the same or similar phaenomena.

5. ξύγκειται] Sc. αὐτά.

CH. XXIII. 1.] δέ, nearly = δ'οὖν, "however," resumes the argument from the end of ch. xxi. Ch. xxii. is a digression.

δυοῖν] ναυμαχίαι δύο ἐν Ἀρτεμισίῳ, ἐν Σαλαμῖνι, πεζομαχίαι δύο, ἐν Πύλαις, ἐν Πλαταιαῖς is one explanation. Kriiger thinks the reference is to Salamis and Plataea, and to the land and sea fight at Mycale. δυοῖν is what we should call a gen. of material, if it were not that it here refers to immaterial objects. ταχεῖαν is predicate — "found its decision soon in two sea and two land engagements."

2. οἷα οὐχ ἕτερα] "Such as never happened at any other period in the same space of time."

3. σφῶν αὐτῶν] "By one another" — by their Greek brethren. "Such was the fate of Plataea, iii. 68, and Thyrea, iv. 57." Kr.

καὶ . . . μετέβαλον] Not even, but also changed inhabitants. καὶ couples these tales to those just mentioned. "Such were Aegina, ii.

φόνος, ὁ μὲν κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν πόλεμον ὁ δὲ διὰ τὸ στασιάζειν.
 4. τά τε πρότερον ἀκοῇ μὲν λεγόμενα, ἔργῳ δὲ σπανιώτερον
 βεβαιούμενα, οὐκ ἄπιστα κατέστη, σεισμῶν τε πέρι, οἱ ἐπὶ
 πλείστον ἅμα μέρος γῆς καὶ ἰσχυρότατοι οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐπέσχον,
 ἡλίου τε ἐκλείψεις, αἱ πυκνότεραι παρὰ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν χρό-
 νου μνημονευόμενα ξυνέβησαν, αὐχμοὶ τε ἔστι παρ' οἷς
 μεγάλοι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ λιμοί, καὶ ἡ οὐχ ἥκιστα
 βλάβασα καὶ μέρος τί φθείρασα ἡ λο μώδης νόσος. 5. ταῦτα
 γὰρ πάντα μετὰ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἅμα ξυνεπέθετο. 6. ἤρ-
 ξαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Πελοποννήσιοι λύσαντες τὰς
 τριακοντούτεις σπονδὰς αἱ αὐτοῖς ἐγένοντο μετὰ Εὐβοίας
 ἄλωσιν. 7. διότι δὲ ἔλυσαν τὰς αἰτίας προέγραψα πρῶτον
 καὶ τὰς διαφοράς, τοῦ μή τινα ζητῆσαί ποτε ἐξ ὅτου τοσοῦτος
 πόλεμος τοῖς Ἑλλησι κατέστη. 8. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀληθε-
 στάτην πρόφασιν ἀφανεστάτην δὲ λόγῳ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
 ἡγοῦμαι, μεγάλους γιγνομένους καὶ φόβον παρέχοντας τοῖς
 Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἀναγκάσαι ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν. αἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ φανε-

27, Potidaea, ii. 70, Skione, v. 32, Melos, v. 116." Kr.

οὔτε . . . φόνος] ἐγένοντο is strangely omitted.

4. οὐκ ἄπιστα κατέστη] "Became not incredible," for the experience of this time seemed to establish their probability. Thuc. does not mean that the mere occurrence of earthquakes, &c., was improbable in itself, but their occurrence in conjunction and as it were in sympathy with the moral convulsions of mankind.

οἱ αὐτοί, "as well," "besides," repeats ἅμα. ἐπέσχον, "prevailed." "Earthquakes are mentioned ii. 8. 3; iii. 87. 4; 89. 2; iv. 52. 1; v. 45. 4; 50. 5; vi. 95. 1; viii. 6. 5; 41. 2." Kr.

ἡλίου τε ἐκλείψεις] Here there is a break in the construction, which from this point proceeds as if the sentence had begun with σεισμοὶ τε γὰρ ἐπέσχον. "See ii. 28; iv. 52. 1; Xen. *Hell.* ii. 3. 4. Certainly too few for the πυκνότεραι." Kr.

παρά] "By the side of," "compared with:" for its use after the comparative, cp. iv. 6. 1.

ἔστι παρ' οἷς = παρ' ἐνίοις. ἀπ' αὐτῶν = in consequence of: cp. on 12. 2. For μέρος τι, see on 1. 2.

5. ξυνεπέθετο] ξυν- repeats ἅμα. "Fell upon Greece in a swarm simultaneously with the war."

6. Εὐβοίας ἄλωσιν] For the omission of the article before the name of a well-known epoch, cp. 12. 3.

7. προέγραψα πρῶτον] For the pleonasm, cp. 3. 1 above.

8. πρόφασιν (which generally signifies a pretext, but is here the same as αἰτίαν) is accusative of apposition to the predicate of the sentence: "the real reason was, I think, that the Athenians," &c. See Don. *G. G.* 467. Krüger, however, thinks that we have here a confusion between two forms of expression, τὴν ἀ. πρόφασιν τοὺς Ἀ. ἡγοῦμαι μεγάλους γιγνομένους, and τοὺς Ἀ. ἡγοῦμαι μ. γ. ἀναγκάσαι ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν. ἐς τὸ φανερόν] Cp. i. 6. 5.

ρὸν λεγόμεναι αἰτίαι αἶδ' ἦσαν ἐκατέρων ἀφ' ὧν λύσαντες τὰς σπονδὰς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον κατέστησαν.

24. 1. Ἐπίδαμνός ἐστι πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέοντι τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον· προσοικοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν Ταυλάντιοι βάρβαροι, Ἰλλυρικὸν ἔθνος. 2. ταύτην ἀπώκισαν μὲν Κερκυραῖοι, οἰκιστῆς δ' ἐγένετο Φάλιος Ἐρατοκλείδου Κορίνθιος γένος τῶν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους, κατὰ δὲ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον ἐκ τῆς μητροπόλεως κατακληθείς. ξυνώκισαν δὲ καὶ τῶν Κορινθίων τινὲς καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου Δωρικοῦ γένους. 3. προελθόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἐγένετο ἡ τῶν Ἐπιδαμνίων πόλις μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος. στασιάσαντες δὲ ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἔτη πολλὰ ὥς λέγεται ἀπὸ πολέμου τινὸς τῶν προσοίκων βαρβάρων, ἐφθάρησαν καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τῆς πολλῆς ἐστερήθησαν. 4. τὰ δὲ τελευταῖα πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ὁ δῆμος αὐτῶν ἐξεδίωξε τοὺς δυνατοὺς, οἱ δὲ ἀπελθόντες μετὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐληίζοντο τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν. 5. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντες Ἐπιδάμνιοι ἐπειδὴ ἐπιέζοντο, πέμπουσιν ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν πρέσβεις ὥς μητρόπολιν οὔσαν δεόμενοι μὴ σφᾶς περιορᾶν φθειρομένους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τε φεύ-

CH. XXIV. 1. ἐσπλέοντι] Cp. σκόποῦντι above, 10. 7, and note there. Epidamnus was afterwards called Dyrrhachium by the Romans, who wished to avoid the ominous sound of *damnum*. Its modern name is Durazzo.

Ἰόνιον κόλπον included at the time of Thuc. the southern part of the Adriatic as well as the sea between Italy and Greece southward of the Iapygian promontory. Arn.

2. ἀπώκισαν] B.C. 627. γένος, cp. Soph. *Phil.* 239, and Madv. *G. S.* 31 c.

δῆ = of course, as was natural, as you know. Cp. Aesch. *Eum.* 3, and Paley's note.

κατακληθείς] "Called down." κατὰ of motion from a higher or more dignified place, e. g. from a capital to the provinces, from a metropolis to the colonies. So in Latin, *deducere coloniam*.

3. ὥς λέγεται refers to what follows—"in consequence as it is said of," &c. Others join ἀπὸ πολέμου with ἐφθάρησαν, in which case ὥς λέγεται refers to the whole sentence.

4. τὰ τελευταῖα = just before the war: we have here an accusative in apposition with the predicate of the sentence: cp. πρόφασιν, i. 23. 8.

δυνατοὺς] "The powerful," = the rich or aristocratic party. We might have expected the Corcyraean democrats to sympathize with the democrats of Epidamnus, but "it was the Epidamnian oligarchy who were principally connected with Corcyra, from whence their forefathers had emigrated, while the Demos or small proprietors and tradesmen of Epidamnus may perhaps have been of miscellaneous origin, and at any rate had no visible memorials of ancient lineage in the mother island." Grote, vol. vi. p. 71.

γοντας ξυναλλάξαι σφίσι καὶ τὸν τῶν βαρβάρων πόλεμον καταλῦσαι. 6. ταῦτα δὲ ικέται καθεζόμενοι ἐς τὸ Ἑραῖον ἐδέοντο. 7. οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι τὴν ίκετείαν οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ ἀπράκτους ἀπέπεμψαν. 25. 1. γνόντες δὲ οἱ Ἐπιδάμνιοι οὐδεμίαν σφίσιν ἀπὸ Κερκύρας τιμωρίαν οὔσαν, ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἶχοντο θέσθαι τὸ παρόν· καὶ πέμψαντες ἐς Δελφοὺς τὸν θεὸν ἐπήρουντο εἰ παραδοῖεν Κορινθίους τὴν πόλιν ὡς οἰκισταῖς, καὶ τιμωρίαν τινὰ πειρῶντο ἀπ' αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι. 2. ὁ δ' αὐτοῖς ἀνείλε παραδοῦναι καὶ ἡγεμόνας ποιεῖσθαι. 3. ἐλθόντες δὲ οἱ Ἐπιδάμνιοι ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον κατὰ τὸ μαντεῖον παρέδοσαν τὴν ἀποικίαν, τὸν τε οἰκιστὴν ἀποδεικνύντες σφῶν ἐκ Κορίνθου ὄντα καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον δηλοῦντες. ἐδέοντό τε μὴ σφᾶς περιορᾶν διαφθειρομένους, ἀλλ' ἐπαμῦναι. 4. Κορίνθιοι δὲ κατὰ τε τὸ δίκαιον ὑπεδέξαντο τὴν τιμωρίαν, νομίζοντες οὐχ ἥσσουν ἑαυτῶν εἶναι τὴν ἀποικίαν ἢ Κερκυραίων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ μίσει τῶν Κερκυραίων, ὅτι αὐτῶν παρημέλουν ὄντες ἀποικοὶ· οὔτε γὰρ ἐν πανηγύρεσι ταῖς κοιναῖς διδόντες γέρα

5. βαρβάρων πόλεμον] Cp. above, i. 18. 1, τὴν κτῆσιν τῶν νῦν ἐνοικούντων αὐτὴν Δωριέων, where as here the genitive hovers between the two ideas of possession and of agency. So vii. 34. 6, τὴν τοῦ ἀνέμου ἅπωσιν.

CH. XXV. 1. ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἶχοντο] Could not tell what move to make. Literally, “were held in a strait, and so perplexed, how to arrange the matter before them.” ἐν ἀπ. εἶχοντο being equivalent in sense to a single verb, governs the infinitive: cp. iii. 22. 7. θέσθαι, “to arrange for their own advantage,” is frequently used of accommodating the moves of draughtsmen to the number gained by a throw of the dice, as in backgammon. Krüger quotes Plato, *Rep.* 604 C, ὥσπερ ἐν πτώσει κύβων πρὸς τὰ πεπτωκότα τίθεσθαι τὰ αὐτοῦ πράγματα.

4. ὑπεδέξαντο] Took upon themselves, engaged to furnish, the aid required. They did so (1) κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον, because they thought it just, and νομίζοντες explains why they

thought so—they had supplied the οἰκιστῆς to the Corcyraean colony, and therefore were, if not the μητρόπολις, at any rate the grandmother state of Epidamnus; and (2) μίσει τῶν Κερ.

οὔτε γάρ] γάρ severs the participles which follow from the preceding finite verb παρημέλουν, so that they are left quite “in the air.” Probably Thuc. meant to close the sentence with some verb expressing the exasperation of the Corinthians at these instances of neglect, but he was tempted to put in a little bit of information as to the strength of the Corcyraean navy, and then thought it better to start afresh with a different construction, οἱ Κορ. ἔπεμπον.

πανηγύρεσι] The high festivals of the Corcyraeans, which were common or open to themselves, their colonies, and their kindred, and at which the best seats ought to have been set aside for the θεωροί or sacred deputies from the mother country. γέρα· τὰς τιμὰς καὶ προεδρίας. Schol.

τὰ νομιζόμενα οὔτε Κορινθίῳ ἀνδρί, προκαταρχόμενοι τῶν
 ἱερῶν, ὥσπερ αἱ ἄλλαι ἀποικίαι, περιφρονοῦντες δὲ αὐτοὺς
 καὶ χρημάτων δυνάμει ὄντες κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ὁμοῖα
 τοῖς Ἑλλήνων πλουσιωτάτοις καὶ τῇ ἐς πόλεμον παρασκευῇ
 δυνατώτεροι, ναυτικῶ δὲ καὶ πολὺν προέχειν ἔστιν ὅτε ἐπαιρό-
 μενοι, καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Φαιάκων προενοίκησιν τῆς Κερκύρας
 κλέος ἐχόντων τὰ περὶ τὰς ναῦς. 5. ἥ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξηρτύοντο
 τὸ ναυτικὸν καὶ ἦσαν οὐκ ἀδύνατοι· τριήρεις γὰρ εἴκοσι καὶ
 ἑκατὸν ὑπῆρχον αὐτοῖς, ὅτε ἦρχοντο πολεμεῖν. 26. 1. πάντων
 οὖν τούτων ἐγκλήματα ἔχοντες οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἔπεμπον ἐς τὴν
 Ἐπίδαμνον ἄσμενοι τὴν ὠφέλειαν, οἰκήτορά τε τὸν βουλό-

Among these honours appears to have been the custom of handing to a Corinthian the lock of hair cut from the victim's forehead, that he might cast it into the flames as the first-fruits of the sacrifice. See Buttmann, *Lexil.* s. v. Ἀρχομαι. προκαταρχόμενοι then, as the Scholiast explains it, signifies διδόντες τὰς καταρχάς. He adds, ἔθος γὰρ ἦν ἀρχιερέας ἐκ τῆς μητροπόλεως λαμβάνειν.

καὶ χρημάτων. . . δυνατώτεροι] καὶ χρημάτων δυνάμει κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον (ὁμοῖα τοῖς Ἑλλήνων πλουσιωτάτοις) καὶ τῇ ἐς πόλεμον παρασκευῇ δυνατώτεροι ὄντες τῶν Κορινθίων, is the construction according to Krüger. But then ὁμοῖα τοῖς Ἑλλ. πλουσ. is awkward, for it makes poor sense to say that "in respect of money they were more powerful than the Corinthians, equally with the most wealthy of the Greeks." On the other hand ὄντες ὁμοῖα τοῖς πλουσ., = πλούσιοι ὄντες ὁμοίως τοῖς πλουσ., "being as wealthy as the wealthiest," the explanation preferred by Poppo and Arnold, is scarcely borne out by the passages usually quoted as parallel. For in Hdt. iii. 57, ὁμοῖος, the reading of Sancroft's MS., has been adopted. Hdt. iii. 35 has been similarly corrected, and in the others the quality in respect of which the comparison is made is put before ὁμοῖα, which is followed by the

dative of the article and μάλιστα, and thus retains its proper adverbial force (ut qui maxime). See Hdt. vii. 141, ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὁμοῖα τοῖσι μάλιστα. So also below, vii. 29. 4. Nor is it of much avail to quote Hdt. vi. 100, Ἀισχίνης ἐὼν τῶν Ἐρετριέων τὰ πρῶτα, for the article makes all the difference. Poppo says, "Noli ὁμοῖοι conjicere," but it is tempting. ὄντες = ὅτι ἦσαν: cp. τεκμαιρόμενος ὄρων, i. 1. 1.

καὶ πολὺ] Cp. καὶ πάνν, i. 3. 2. ἐπαιρόμενοι προέχειν (cp. iii. 83. 3, καταφρονοῦντες κὰν προαισθῆσθαι), "elated with the thought of their great superiority by sea." The construction is ἐπαιρόμενοι προέχειν καὶ (ἐπαιρόμενοι) κατὰ τὴν προενοίκησιν. With the genitive Φαιάκων cp. βαρβάρων in the preceding chapter, and for the double genitive of the agent and of the object see vii. 34. 6. Thuc. does not in the least mean to express his belief in the Homeric account of the Phaeacians.

CH. XXVI. 1.] πάντων is governed by ἐγκλήματα, which takes the construction of the verb from which it is formed. For the imperfect ἔπεμπον, see note on ἐνίκων, i. 13. 8. τὴν ὠφέλειαν is the aid which had been asked for.

οἰκήτορα] There is here a break in the construction. The first accusative is governed by a participle of its own, κελεύοντες: the second,

μενον ἰέναι κεύδοντες καὶ Ἀμπρακιωτῶν καὶ Λευκαδίων καὶ ἑαυτῶν φρουρούς. 2. ἐπορεύθησαν δὲ πεζῇ εἰς Ἀπολλωνίαν, Κορινθίων οὖσαν ἀποικίαν, δέει τῶν Κερκυραίων μὴ κωλύωνται ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν περαιούμενοι. 3. Κερκυραῖοι δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἤσθοντο τοὺς τε οἰκήτορας καὶ φρουροὺς ἤκοντας εἰς τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον, τὴν τε ἀποικίαν Κορινθίοις δεδομένην, ἐχαλέπαινον· καὶ πλεύσαντες εὐθὺς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ναυσί, καὶ ὕστερον ἑτέρῳ στόλῳ, τοὺς τε φεύγοντας ἐκέλευον κατ' ἐπήρειαν δέχεσθαι αὐτούς, ἦλθον γὰρ εἰς τὴν Κέρκυραν οἱ τῶν Ἐπιδαμνίων φυγάδες, τάφους τε ἀποδεικνύντες καὶ ξυγγένειαν, ἣν προῖσχόμενοι ἐδέοντο σφᾶς κατάγειν, τοὺς τε φρουροὺς οὓς Κορίνθιοι ἔπεμψαν καὶ τοὺς οἰκήτορας ἀποπέμπειν· οἱ δὲ Ἐπιδάμνιοι οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ὑπήκουσαν. 4. ἀλλὰ στρατεύουσιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τεσσαράκοντα ναυσὶ μετὰ τῶν φυγάδων ὡς κατάξοντες καὶ τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς προσλαβόντες. προσκαθεζόμενοι δὲ τὴν πόλιν προεῖπον Ἐπιδαμνίων τε τὸν βουλόμενον καὶ τοὺς ξένους ἀπαθεῖς ἀπιέναι. 5. εἰ δὲ μή, ὡς πολεμίοις χρήσασθαι, ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, οἱ

φρουροὺς, still belongs to the main verb ἔπεμπον.

2. μὴ κωλύονται] For the subjunctive, cp. on 19. 1 above.

3. κατ' ἐπήρειαν] "By way of," "out of, sheer malice," the object of ἐπήρεια being οὐχ ἵνα τι αὐτῷ ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἐκείνῳ, "not to benefit oneself but to injure one's enemy." Ar. *Rhet.* ii. 2.

τάφους] Of their Corcyraean ancestors. The absence of the article before this word perhaps gives the idea of this being a common plea of suppliants in a similar position, — "pointing, as exiles do, to ancestral tombs and community of race." Cp. νεκρούς, i. 54. 2.

οὐδὲν αὐτῶν] αὐτῶν is most probably neuter — "listened to none of their requisitions." Cp. below, 29. 1; for a similar use of the word cp. i. 1. 3; 22. 4.

4. ἀλλά would cause no difficulty if it were followed by a passive verb. There is no ellipse. ἀλλά

expresses the opposition between submission (which the Epidamnians had refused) and war: "they did not obey, but on the contrary the Corcyraeans attack them." Any other writer would probably have said "but are attacked by the Corcyraeans." ὡς before κατάξοντες denotes the intention or professed design.

τὴν πόλιν] Governed by προσκαθεζόμενοι: the preposition and verb have coalesced so as to form a new *active* notion, that of beleaguering, hence προσ- no longer requires the dative. προσίζειν and προσστῆναι also are joined with an accusative, Aesch. *Supp.* 189; Pers. 203, but for a different reason, because they are equivalent to ἵζειν πρὸς, στῆναι πρὸς. Cp. καθεζόμενοι εἰς, i. 24. 6 above.

5. εἰ δὲ μή = otherwise. χρήσασθαι: the future would seem more natural, and is adopted by Krüger and Bekker. But the aor.

μὲν Κερκυραῖοι, ἔστι δὲ ἰσθμὸς τὸ χωρίον, ἐπολιόρκουν τὴν πόλιν. 27. 1. Κορίνθιοι δ', ὥς αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἐπιδάμνου ἦλθον ἄγγελοι ὅτι πολιερκοῦνται, παρεσκευάζοντο στρατιάν, καὶ ἅμα ἀποικίαν ἐς τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον ἐκήρυσσον ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ τὸν βουλόμενον ἵεναι· εἰ δέ τις τὸ παραντίκα μὲν μὴ ἐθέλοι ξυμπλεῖν, μετέχειν δὲ βούλεται τῆς ἀποικίας, πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς καταθέντα Κορινθίας μένειν. 2. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ πλείοντες πολλοὶ καὶ οἱ τὰργύριον καταβάλλοντες. 3. ἐδεήθησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν Μεγαρέων ναυσὶ σφᾶς ξυμπροπέμψειν, εἰ ἄρα κωλύοιντο ὑπὸ Κερκυραίων πλεῖν. οἱ δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο αὐτοῖς ὀκτὼ ναυσὶ ξυμπλεῖν καὶ Παλῆς Κεφαλλήνων τέσσαρσι· 4. καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίων ἐδεήθησαν, οἱ παρέσχον πέντε. Ἐρμιονῆς δὲ μίαν καὶ Τροιζήνιοι δύο, Λευκάδιοι δὲ δέκα καὶ Ἀμπρακιῶται ὀκτώ. 5. Θηβαίους δὲ χρήματα ἤτησαν καὶ Φλιασίους, Ἡλείους δὲ ναῦς τε κενὰς

infin. (which is given here by the great majority of the MSS.) is often used in the same way. If we compare iv. 70. 2, λέγων ἐν ἐλπίδι εἶναι ἀναλαβεῖν Μέγαρα, with what immediately precedes, οἰόμενος τὴν Νίσαιαν ἔτι καταλήψεσθαι ἀνάλωτον, we shall see that the two tenses may be used of the same thing, but with this difference, that the future denotes that the one action *follows* the other, while the aorist drops all notion of time (which must then be fixed by the context) and is nearly equivalent to a verbal substantive. Thus προεἶπον χρήσεσθαι = they proclaimed that they would treat as enemies; προεἶπον χρήσασθαι = they proclaimed the treating as enemies: but this distinction disappears in an English translation.

CH. XXVII. 1. αὐτοῖς . . . ἦλθον] Cp. note on 13. 3 above.

ἀποικίαν . . . ἐκήρυσσον] "Proclaimed that they were about to send a colony." Observe the double construction of the verb—1. with ἀποικίαν, 2. with ἵεναι and μένειν.

ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ] "Sc. μοίρα, on condition of equal and similar

rights. ἴση of quantity, ὁμοία of quality" (Kr.). The Scholiast adds, τοῖς Ἐπιδαμνίοις δηλονότι, i. e. the immigrants were to be in all respects the political equals of the original colonists. But from i. 34. 1, it would rather seem as if we ought to supply τοῖς λειπομένοις, those who stayed at home in Corinth.

ἐθέλοι . . . βούλεται] "If any one should not choose to sail at once with the rest, and yet desires to share in the colony." The optative marks a second hypothesis less probable or more remote than the first. "The Corinthian or Aeginetan drachma was worth 10 oboli; so that 50 of these amount to something more than 83 Attic drachmae" (each of which contained 6 obols). Arn.

3. ξυμπροπέμψειν] The future infin. after verbs of asking, desiring, wishing, or intending is common enough, though the aorist may be used. Cp. note on χρήσασθαι above.

εἰ ἄρα κωλύοιντο] "If after all," "if by chance they should be hindered."

καὶ χρήματα. 6. αὐτῶν δὲ Κορινθίων νῆες παρεσκευάζοντο τριάκοντα καὶ τρισχίλιοι ὀπλίται.

28. 1. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπύθοντο οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τὴν παρασκευήν, ἐλθόντες ἐς Κόρινθον μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Σικυνίων πρέσβων, οὓς παρέλαβον, ἐκέλευον Κορινθίους τοὺς ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ φρουροὺς τε καὶ οἰκήτορας ἀπάγειν ὥς οὐ μετὸν αὐτοῖς Ἐπιδάμνου. 2. εἰ δέ τι ἀντιποιοῦνται, δίκας ἤθελον δοῦναι ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ παρὰ πόλεσιν αἷς ἂν ἀμφοτέροι ξυμβῶσιν· ὁποτέρων δ' ἂν δικασθῇ εἶναι τὴν ἀποικίαν, τούτους κρατεῖν. 3. ἤθελον δὲ καὶ τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς μαντεῖῳ ἐπιτρέψαι. 4. πόλεμον δὲ οὐκ εἶων ποιεῖν· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀναγκασθήσονται ἔφασαν, ἐκείνων βιαζομένων φίλους ποιεῖσθαι οὓς οὐ βούλονται ἑτέρους τῶν νῦν ὄντων μᾶλλον ὠφελείας ἔνεκα. 5. οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι ἀπεκρίναντο αὐτοῖς, ἦν τὰς τε ναῦς καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀπὸ Ἐπιδάμνου ἀπάγωσι, βουλεύσεσθαι· πρότερον δ' οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν τοὺς μὲν πολιορ-

CH. XXVIII. 1. ὥς οὐ μετὸν αὐτοῖς] On the ground that they had nothing to do with Epidamnus. See note on i. 2. 6.

2. εἰ δέ τι ἀντιποιοῦνται] “And if on any grounds they (the Corinthians) lay claim to the town, they were ready to submit to arbitration.” Observe that besides the regular forms of direct and indirect or reported speech the Greeks have also a mixed style, in which as here the moods and tenses remain as in the direct, while the persons are those required by the indirect oration. This offer of the Corcyraeans, according to the interpolitical law of Greece, should have operated as a bar to the commencement of hostilities. Cp. below, i. 85. 3, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν διδόντα οὐ πρότερον νόμιμον ὥς ἐπὶ ἀδικοῦντα ἰέναι.

αἷς = παρ' αἷς. Cp. οἷς = ἐν οἷς, i. 41. 2; iii. 56. 6. ἀμφοτέροι ξυμβῶσιν, sc. δίκας δοῦναι.

ὁποτέρων] “And that they shall be masters (of the colony) to whom it shall have been adjudged to belong.” The gen. depends on εἶναι, = to be of or belong to.

4. οὐκ εἶων] “Urged them not.” εἰ δὲ μή, “otherwise, they said, they also would be compelled, if the Corinthians appealed to force, to seek assistance by making friends whom they did not wish to make—friends of a very different character from their present allies,” i. e. the Epidamnian exiles and Illyrians, above, 26. 4. εἰ δὲ μή without a verb denotes not only the opposite to an affirmative condition preceding (=if not), but to the preceding condition and discourse generally, even if that be negative (=in the opposite case, otherwise): Madv. G. S. 194 b. μᾶλλον is “rather than remain as they were,” and belongs to the whole clause. καὶ αὐτοί, “they also (as well as the Corinthians),” refers only to φίλους ποιεῖσθαι.

5. ἀπάγωσι, the present, may signify as Krüger thinks, “if they are willing to withdraw.” Cp. below, i. 53. 3, εἰ λύετε, “if you are for breaking the treaty.” Arnold and Poppo read ἀπαγάγωσι, which is supported by a few bad MSS.

τοὺς μὲν] “It was not right that the Epidamnians should be besieged

κείσθαι, αὐτοὺς δὲ δικάζεσθαι. 6. Κερκυραῖοι δὲ ἀντέλεγον, ἦν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ ἀπαγάγωσι, ποιήσιν ταῦτα· ἐτοῖμοι δὲ εἶναι καὶ ὥστε ἀμφοτέρους μένειν κατὰ χώραν, σπονδὰς δὲ ποιήσασθαι ἕως ἂν ἡ δίκη γένηται.

29. 1. Κορίνθιοι δὲ οὐδὲν τούτων ὑπήκουον, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πλήρεις αὐτοῖς ἦσαν αἱ νῆες καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι παρήσαν, προπέμψαντες κήρυκα πρότερον πόλεμον προερούντα Κερκυραίοις, ἄραντες ἐβδομήκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ πέντε δισχιλίοις τε ὀπλίταις ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον Κερκυραίοις ἐναντία πολεμήσοντας. ἐστρατήγει δὲ τῶν μὲν νεῶν Ἀριστεὺς ὁ Πελλίχου καὶ Καλλικράτης ὁ Καλλίου καὶ Τιμάνωρ ὁ Τιμάνθους· τοῦ δὲ πεζοῦ Ἀρχέτιμός τε ὁ Εὐρυτίμου καὶ Ἰσαρχίδας ὁ Ἰσάρχου. 2. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγένοντο ἐν Ἀκτίῳ τῆς Ἀνακτορίας γῆς, οὗ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν, ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ Ἀμπρακικοῦ κόλπου, οἱ Κερκυραῖοι κήρυκά τε προέπεμψαν αὐτοῖς ἐν ἀκατίῳ ἀπερούντα μὴ πλεῖν ἐπὶ σφᾶς καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἅμα ἐπλήρουν ζεύξαντές τε τὰς παλαιὰς ὥστε πλωίμους

while they were arguing points of law." αὐτούς, the Corinthians and Corcyraeans, not the Corinthians alone, which would be σφᾶς. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, they on their part.

6. ἐτοῖμοι δὲ εἶναι] "And they professed to be ready to comply also on condition that both sides should remain *in statu quo* and conclude a treaty." If we take ὥστε in this sense, which is familiar to Thuc. (see i. 29. 3; iii. 28. 1; and elsewhere), it seems better to make ποιήσασθαι dependent on this particle than with Krüger to refer it to ἐκέλευον implied in ἀντέλεγον. Arnold adopts the explanation of Hermann, who says that ἐτοῖμός εἰμι ὥστε μένειν is the same as ἐτοῖμός εἰμι μένειν, ὥστε being often inserted after verbs which could do very well without it. He compares Soph. *Phil.* 656, ἄρ' ἐστιν ὥστε καγγύθεν θεὸν λαβεῖν: Eur. *Iph. T.* 1379, φόβος δ' ἦν ὥστε μὴ τέγξαι πόδα: Thuc. viii. 68. 8, ἐπαγγελλόμενοι . . . ὥστε βοηθεῖν. κατὰ χώραν = where they were, *in statu quo*, ab-

staining from active hostilities. Cp. ii. 58. 4; iii. 22. 7; iv. 26. 1.

CH. XXIX. 1. οὐδέν] Cp. above on 26. 3. The battle took place in the spring of B.C. 435, or according to Krüger, 434. προπέμψαντες is "having sent forward," so that there is here no pleonasm. δισχιλίοις: for some reason or other they left 1000 at home: cp. 27. 6.

ἐναντία] See note on πλείω, i. 3. 6 above.

2. ἐν Ἀκτίῳ τῆς Ἀν.] Cp. on i. 13. 2 above. τὸ ἱερόν, the well-known temple.

ζεύξαντες] ζυγώματα αὐταῖς ἐνθέντες εἰς τὸ συνέχεσθαι (Sch.), that is to say they strengthened the old ships by girders or balks of timbers stretching within the ship from one side of it to the other. Göller, however, and Arnold take ζεύξαντες of undergirding, i. e. passing ropes under the keel of the vessel, to bind the planks together and keep them from starting. This process, however, had a name of its own (ὑποζῶσαι).

εἶναι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπισκευάσαντες. 3. ὥς δὲ ὁ κήρυξ τε ἀπήγγειλεν οὐδὲν εἰρηναῖον παρὰ τῶν Κορινθίων καὶ αἱ νῆες αὐτοῖς ἐπεπλήρωντο οὖσαι ὀγδοήκοντα, τεσσαράκοντα γὰρ Ἐπίδαμνον ἐπολιόρκουν, ἀνταναγόμενοι καὶ παραταξάμενοι ἐναυμάχησαν· καὶ ἐνίκησαν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι παρὰ πολὺ καὶ ναῦς πεντεκαίδεκα διέφθειραν τῶν Κορινθίων. τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοῖς ξυνέβη καὶ τοὺς τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον πολιορκοῦντας παραστήσασθαι ὁμολογία ὥστε τοὺς μὲν ἐπήλυδας ἀποδόσθαι, Κορινθίους δὲ δῆσαντας ἔχειν ἕως ἂν ἄλλο τι δόξη. 30. 1. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίαν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τροπαῖον στήσαντες ἐπὶ τῇ Λευκίμμῃ τῆς Κερκύρας ἀκρωτηρίῳ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους οὓς ἔλαβον αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέκτειναν, Κορινθίους δὲ δῆσαντες εἶχον. 2. ὕστερον δὲ ἐπειδὴ οἱ Κορίνθιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἡσσημένοι ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου, τῆς θαλάσσης ἀπάσης ἐκράτουν τῆς κατ' ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωρία οἱ Κερκυραῖοι, καὶ πλεύσαντες ἐς Λευκάδα τὴν Κορινθίων ἀποικίαν τῆς γῆς ἔτεμον, καὶ Κυλλήνην τὸ Ἡλείων ἐπίνειον ἐνέπρησαν, ὅτι ναῦς καὶ χρήματα παρέσχον Κορινθίοις. 3. τοῦ τε χρόνου τὸν πλεῖστον μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἐκράτουν

3. τεσσαράκοντα] Cp. above, 25. 5.

παρὰ πολὺ] Cp. ii. 89. 4, and παρὰ τοσοῦτον γινώσκω, vi. 37. 2. The Scholiast says that παρὰ πολὺ is used ἀντὶ τοῦ σφόδρα, διαφερόντως, μᾶλλον ἢ πολὺ: so that he takes it to mean “*beyond much*,” “*very decisively indeed*.” Cp. παρὰ δύναμιν, “*beyond one’s power*.” When a genitive is added the sense is slightly altered, and ἥκειν or ἔρχεσθαι παρὰ μικρόν, ὀλίγον, τοσοῦτόν· τινος mean, to come *past* or *within* a little of.

διέφθειραν = κατέδυσαν: cp. i. 50. 1. Krüger regards the word as equivalent to ἄπλους ἐποίησαν, but wrongly. Cp. vii. 34. 5, τῶν μὲν Κορινθίων τρεῖς νῆες διαφθείρονται, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων κατέδυσεν οὐδεμία ἄπλως, ἐπὶ δὲ τινες ἄπλοι ἐγένοντο. Probably a ship was ἄπλους when it was so much damaged as to be unfit for further service until it had

been repaired, and was only said διαφθεῖρεσθαι, or καταδύναι (which are apparently equivalent) when it actually sank as far as it was capable of sinking.

παραστήσασθαι] Sc. αὐτήν. The verb means “*to reduce into one’s power*,” literally, “*to make a person stand by one’s side*.” Arn. ὥστε introduces the terms of the capitulation: cp. above, 28. 6 (?); iii. 28. 1; 34. 3.

CH. XXX. 1. στήσαντες] The active and middle voice are used almost indifferently of erecting a trophy: the active means simply to erect, the middle to erect for one’s own glory. Cp. σιδηροφορεῖσθαι, i. 5. 4, with ἐσιδηροφόρει, i. 6. 1; and ἐδούλωσε, i. 16. 1, with δουλωσόμενος, i. 18. 2.

2. τῆς γῆς is a partitive genitive.

3. τοῦ . . χρόνου τὸν πλεῖστον] Cp. τῆς γῆς ἡ ἀρίστη, i. 2. 3.

τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τοὺς τῶν Κορινθίων ξυμμάχους ἐπιπλέοντες ἔφθειρον μέχρι οὗ Κορίνθιοι περιόντι τῷ θέρει πέμψαντες ναῦς καὶ στρατιάν, ἐπεὶ σφῶν οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐπόνουν, ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐπὶ Ἀκτίῳ καὶ περὶ τὸ Χειμέριον τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος, φυλακῆς ἕνεκα τῆς τε Λευκάδος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων ὅσαι σφίσι φίλαι ἦσαν. 4. ἀντεστρατοπεδεύοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι ἐπὶ τῇ Λευκίμμῃ ναυσί τε καὶ πεζῷ. ἐπέπλεόν τε οὐδέτεροι ἀλλήλοις, ἀλλὰ τὸ θέρος τοῦτο ἀντικαθεζόμενοι χειμῶνος ἤδη ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου ἑκάτεροι.

31. 1. Τὸν δ' ἐνιαυτὸν πάντα τὸν μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν καὶ τὸν ὕστερον οἱ Κορίνθιοι ὀργῇ φέροντες τὸν πρὸς Κερκυραίους πόλεμον ἐναυπηγοῦντο καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο τὰ κράτιστα νεῶν στόλον, ἐκ τε αὐτῆς Πελοποννήσου ἀγείροντες καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐρέτας, μισθῷ πείθοντες. 2. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τὴν παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν ἐφοβοῦντο, καί, ἦσαν γὰρ οὐδενὸς Ἑλλήνων ἐνσπονδοὶ οὐδὲ ἐσεγράψαντο ἑαυτοὺς

περιόντι τῷ θέρει] Most MSS. and Poppo read περιόντι τῷ θέρει. This, if it meant any thing, would mean "in the summer since it still remained;" but we may object *first*, that this translation gives a false reason for the sending of the ships, which is all the more awkward because the true reason is given immediately afterwards, ἐπεὶ σφῶν οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐπόνουν, and *second*, that it contradicts τὸ θέρος τοῦτο. Arn., Götter, and Krüger, with one MS., read περιόντι, and translate, "when the summer was drawing to a close," or "in the course of the summer." But from τὸ θέρος τοῦτο we must infer that the two forces lay in their camps the whole, or at any rate the greater part, of the summer. Translate therefore with the Scholiast, "as the summer was coming round." σφῶν is used here simply to denote the subject of the main verb, without any reflexive sense at all: cp. on i. 20. 2.

4. χειμῶνος ἤδη] "When winter had already set in." Cp. iii. 106.

3; v. 59. 1. χειμῶνος is half genitive of time and half gen. absolute.

CH. XXXI. 1. ὀργῇ φέροντες] Bearing, regarding, with anger. ὀργῇ, as an adverb, = passionately, is found in Aesch. *Ag.* 215, παρθενίου θ' αἵματος ὀργῇ περιόργως ἐπιθυμεῖν θέμις. Cp. θυμῷ φέρειν below, v. 80. 2, and οἰκτῷ φέρειν, to regard with compassion, Eur. *Andr.* 144.

2. καὶ . . . γάρ] The reason is inserted parenthetically between καί and ἔδοξεν, to which verb the conjunction belongs. ἐνσπονδοὶ being virtually a substantive, governs a genitive instead of the dative, which would more naturally follow it. Cp. Soph. *Oed. Col.* 436, οὐδεὶς ἔρωτος τοῦδ' ἐφαίνεται ὠφελῶν. ἐσεγράψαντο can only be translated here by the English pluperfect, "had not enrolled themselves." We must not, however, say that the aorist is equivalent to the pluperfect. That it seems to be so here is due to the fact, that the Greek idiom often leaves the time of an action indeterminate, and

οὔτε ἐς τὰς Ἀθηναίων σπονδὰς οὔτε ἐς τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἐλθοῦσιν ὡς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ξυμμάχους γενέσθαι καὶ ὠφέλειάν τινα πειρᾶσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν εὐρίσκεσθαι.

3. οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι πυθόμενοι ταῦτα ἦλθον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας πρεσβευσόμενοι, ὅπως μὴ σφίσι πρὸς τῷ Κερκυραίων ναυτικῷ τὸ Ἀττικὸν προσγεγόμενον ἐμπόδιον γένηται θέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἢ βούλονται. 4. καταστάσης δὲ ἐκκλησίας ἐς ἀντιλογίαν ἦλθον, καὶ οἱ μὲν Κερκυραῖοι ἔλεξαν τοιαύδε.

32. 1. “ Δίκαιον, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς μήτε εὐεργεσίας μεγάλης μήτε ξυμμαχίας προὔφειλομένης ἤκοντας παρὰ τοὺς πέλας ἐπικουρίας, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς νῦν, δεησομένους, ἀναδιδάξαι πρῶτον, μάλιστα μὲν ὡς καὶ ξύμφορα δέονται, εἰ δὲ μή, ὅτι γε οὐκ ἐπιζήμια, ἔπειτα δὲ ὡς καὶ τὴν χάριν βέβαιον ἔξουσιν· εἰ δὲ τούτων μηδὲν σαφὲς καταστήσουσι, μὴ ὀργίζεσθαι ἦν ἀτυχῶσι. 2. Κερκυραῖοι δὲ μετὰ τῆς ξυμμαχίας

does not care to note whether it happened before or after a given event, unless it is absolutely necessary to the sense that the order of the sequence should be precisely stated. Clinton places this embassy of the Corcyraeans to Athens in the year 433 B.C.

3. πρεσβευσόμενοι] “Malo πρεσβεύομενοι,” Poppo. But, as Krüger says, πρεσβεύεσθαι means “to act as ambassadors,” “to negotiate by an embassy,” so that the future might well stand here where they are said to have come with the purpose of negotiating.

θέσθαι (cp. note on 25. 1 above) is governed by ἐμπόδιον γένηται, which is equivalent to κωλύη: “lest the Athenian fleet should join the Corcyraean, and prevent them from managing the war in the way they wished.” For the subjunctive γένηται and the present βούλονται, cp. on 19. 1.

4. οἱ μὲν Κερ. answers to οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι at the end of ch. 36.

CH. XXXII. 1. Δίκαιον] “It is just, Athenians, that those who with no great services and no alliance to

appeal to have come before their neighbours, as we have come now, to beg for help.” προὔφειλομένης is perhaps better than προοφ., as the Attic writers seem to prefer the crasis whenever the second syllable is not aspirated: thus προσέξω, but προύχω. The Corcyraeans mean, “we cannot claim your aid as in payment of a debt, for we never did you any notable service, and we are not your allies, therefore we are obliged to beg for it as matter of grace” (δεῖσθαι).

ἀναδιδάξαι] The preposition (as in ἀναπείθειν, = to persuade to something different and better, ἀνανεοῦσθαι, ἀνατίθεσθαι) denotes *change*: here of the change of opinion produced by fuller information.

μάλιστα μὲν] First and above all. καὶ ξύμφορα, that what they ask is *even* advantageous: sc. τοῖς πέλας. ὅτι γε is “at any rate that.”

ἔπειτα δέ] “And secondly, that the gratitude which they (οἱ πέλας) will gain is sure and lasting.”

μὴ ὀργίζεσθαι] Sc. δίκαιον: “they have no right to be angry.”

2. Κερκυραῖοι δέ] “Now the

τῆς αἰτήσεως καὶ ταῦτα πιστεύοντες ἐχυρὰ ὑμῖν παρέξεσθαι ἀπέστειλαν ἡμᾶς. 3. τετύχηκε δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπιτήδευμα πρὸς τε ὑμᾶς ἐς τὴν χρεῖαν ἡμῖν ἄλογον καὶ ἐς τὰ ἡμέτερα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀξύμφορον, 4. ξύμμαχοί τε γὰρ οὐδενός πω ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ ἐκούσιοι γενόμενοι νῦν ἄλλων τοῦτο δεησόμενοι ἤκομεν, καὶ ἅμα ἐς τὸν παρόντα πόλεμον Κορινθίων ἐρήμοι δι' αὐτὸ καθέσταμεν, καὶ περιέστηκεν ἡ δοκοῦσα ἡμῶν πρότερον σωφροσύνη τὸ μὴ ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ ξυμμαχίᾳ τῇ τοῦ πέλας γνώμῃ ξυγκινδυνεύειν νῦν ἀβουλία καὶ ἀσθένεια φαινομένη. 5. τὴν μὲν οὖν γενομένην ναυμαχίαν αὐτοὶ κατὰ μόνας ἀπεωσάμεθα Κορινθίους· ἐπειδὴ δὲ μείζονι παρασκευῇ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὥρμηται καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀδύνατοι ὀρώμεν ὄντες τῇ οἰκείᾳ μόνον δυνάμει περιγενέσθαι, καὶ ἅμα μέγας ὁ κίνδυνος εἰ ἐσόμεθα ὑπ' αὐτοῖς, ἀνάγκη καὶ ὑμῶν καὶ ἄλλου παντὸς ἐπικουρίας δεῖσθαι, καὶ

Corcyraeans sent us because they believed that while making this request for an alliance they could also establish these points for you."

3. τετύχηκε δέ] "Now such has been the course of events that our policy must seem unreasonable to you, considering this appeal for aid, and is at the same time adverse to our own interests in the present crisis." τε . . . καὶ couple ἄλογον and ἀξύμφορον, and explain τὸ αὐτό, which, like *idem* in Latin, is used to show that two different results are produced by one and the same cause. πρὸς is used, as at iii. 44. 7, δικαιότερος γὰρ ὢν αὐτοῦ ὁ λόγος πρὸς τὴν νῦν ὑμετέραν ὀργήν, to express the relation or direction in which a thing is true, = in reference to you, as it may seem to you, — and differs slightly, if at all, from ἐς. ἡμῖν is dat. incommodi.

4. ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ] "In former time:" cp. iv. 72. 2. τοῦ here retains its old demonstrative force.

δι' αὐτό] Cp. i. 2. 2, where, as here, αὐτό is used without any definite antecedent, and its meaning

must be gathered out of the general sense of the preceding words. Here it means, "owing to this self-chosen isolation."

περιέστηκεν] "Has turned out." The verb implies change, or a reversal of one's expectations. Krüger remarks that in this passage only (except in a passage imitated from this by Dionysius) περιέστηκεν is constructed like τυγχάνειν with a participle. σωφροσύνη· ἡ ἰδιωτεία καὶ ἀπραγμοσύνη (Sch.) = good sense, or discretion. What this discretion was is explained by the infinitive of apposition, τὸ μὴ . . . ξυγκινδυνεύειν. Cp. note on i. 68. 1.

5. μὲν οὖν is not = *immo*, but οὖν carries on the narrative, = then, while μὲν answers the following δέ. For the quasi-cognate accusative ναυμαχίαν, cp. στρατείαν ξυνῆλθον, i. 3. 6; and for the double accusative after ἀπεωσάμεθα, cp., at the beginning of the last chapter, παρεσκευάζοντο τὰ κράτιστα νεῶν στόλον.

ὀρώμεν ὄντες] "We see that we are." Madv. G. S. 178 a.

ξυγγνώμη εἰ μὴ μετὰ κακίας, δόξης δὲ μᾶλλον ἁμαρτία τῇ πρότερον ἀπραγμοσύνη ἐναντία τολμῶμεν. 33. 1. γενήσεται δὲ ὑμῖν πειθομένοις καλὴ ἢ ξυντυχία κατὰ πολλὰ τῆς ἡμέτερας χρείας· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἀδικουμένοις καὶ οὐχ ἑτέρους βλάπτουσι τὴν ἐπικουρίαν ποιήσεσθε, ἔπειτα περὶ τῶν μεγίστων κινδυνεύοντας δεξάμενοι ὡς ἂν μάλιστα μετὰ ἀειμνήστου μαρτυρίου τὴν χάριν καταθήσεσθε· ναυτικόν τε κεκτήμεθα πλὴν τοῦ παρ' ὑμῖν πλείστον. 2. καὶ σκέψασθε τίς εὐπραξία σπανιωτέρα ἢ τίς τοῖς πολεμίοις λυπηροτέρα, εἰ ἦν ὑμεῖς ἂν πρὸ πολλῶν χρημάτων καὶ χάριτος ἐτιμήσασθε

ξυγγνώμη] “And it is pardonable if with no sinister intentions, but rather from an error of opinion, we force ourselves to adopt (τολμῶμεν) a line of conduct so directly opposed to our former modest isolation.” μὴ μετὰ κακίας δόξης δὲ μᾶλλον ἁμαρτία are joined by some critics with τῇ πρότερον ἀπραγμοσύνη. But if these words described the foundation or reason for the former policy of the Corcyraeans, we should expect them, according to the Thucydidean usage noticed above on i. 3. 5, to come *between* τῇ πρότερον and ἀπραγμοσύνη, and οὐ would be required instead of μὴ. And until the Corinthians began to speak, no one would have supposed that a bad motive could be ascribed to conduct so laudable in the eyes of a Greek. Join the words therefore with ἐναντία τολμῶμεν: as that verb denotes the reluctance with which they abandoned their old attitude of neutrality, so μὴ μετὰ κακίας κ.τ.λ. declare, that in doing so they were not base (not animated, that is, by mere malice against the Corinthians), though they might be inconsistent.

CH. XXXIII. 1. ἢ ξυντυχία] “The conjuncture of our request,” = our request coming at such a juncture. In what follows, ὅτι is slightly out of place; it should come *before* πρῶτον μὲν, so as to apply equally to ἔπειτα. Though it is not necessary to suppose a trajection;

the second reason may be stated as if it were an independent fact. καταθήσεσθε is a conjectural emendation (Arn., Krüg.) for καταθήσθε, the reading of all the MSS. The construction is καταθήσεσθε ὡς ἂν μάλιστα κατάθοισθε or (καταθεῖσθε). “Secondly, by receiving men whose dearest interests are at stake, you will win a gratitude that is bound up with the most imperishable testimony possible,”—the testimony, that is, of the national salvation, which the Corcyraeans could never forget. “καταθήσεσθε, as Göller observes, is a metaphor taken from laying up money in a bank that it may be drawn out afterwards with interest.” Arn.

τε introduces a third reason.

2. λυπηροτέρα, εἰ] “We might have expected λ. ἢ εἰ. But as it would be quite correct to say, εἰ αὕτη (ἢ δύναμις) πάρεστιν αὐτεπάγγελτος, τίς εὐπραξία σπανιωτέρα; so ἢ is absent sometimes even when the comparative comes first. Cp. Eur. Alc. 879, τί γὰρ ἀνδρὶ κακὸν μεῖζον ἁμαρτεῖν πιστῆς ἀλόχου; ‘what greater disaster can befall a man than to lose a trusted wife?’” Kr. ἦν . . . προσγενέσθαι, “that very power whose adherence to your side you would have valued above much money and influence,” or, “you would have lavished money and influence to secure.”

δύναμιν ὑμῖν προσγενέσθαι, αὕτη πάρεστιν αὐτεπάγγελτος ἄνευ κινδύνων καὶ δαπάνης διδοῦσα ἑαυτήν, καὶ προσέτι φέρουσα ἐς μὲν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀρετήν, οἷς δὲ ἐπαμυνεῖτε χάριν, ὑμῖν δ' αὐτοῖς ἰσχύν· ἃ ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ ὀλίγοις δὴ ἅμα πάντα ξυνέβη, καὶ ὀλίγοι ξυμμαχίας δεόμενοι οἷς ἐπικαλοῦνται ἀσφάλειαν καὶ κόσμον οὐχ ἥσσον διδόντες ἢ ληψόμενοι παραγίγνονται. 3. τὸν δὲ πόλεμον, δι' ὅνπερ χρήσιμοι ἂν εἶημεν, εἴ τις ὑμῶν μὴ οἶεται ἔσεσθαι, γνώμης ἁμαρτάνει καὶ οὐκ αἰσθάνεται τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους φόβῳ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πολεμῶντας καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους δυναμένους παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ὑμῖν ἐχθροὺς ὄντας καὶ προκαταλαμβάνοντας ἡμᾶς νῦν ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐπιχείρησιν, ἵνα μὴ τῷ κοινῷ ἔχθῃ κατ' αὐτῶν μετ' ἀλλήλων στῶμεν, μηδὲ δυοῖν φθάσαι ἁμαρτωσιν, ἢ κακῶσαι ἡμᾶς ἢ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς βεβαιώσασθαι. 4. ἡμέτερον δ' αὖ ἔργον προτερῆσαι, τῶν μὲν διδόντων, ὑμῶν δὲ δεξαμένων τὴν ξυμμαχίαν, καὶ προεπιβουλεύειν αὐτοῖς

ἐς] “As regards,” “in the eyes of:” cp. *πρός* in the last chapter. So *ad* is used for *apud* in Latin (Virg. *Aen.* vi. 481, *fleti ad superos*). But while *ad* often signifies *rest near*, ἐς always retains the notion of reference, that is of mental motion. ἀρετῇ is the reputation of virtue, glory. Cp. iii. 58. 1, and Soph. *Phil.* 1420, ἀθάνατον ἀρετὴν ἔσχον.

ὀλίγοις δὴ] To very few.

οἷς is governed by παραγίγνονται. “ἀσφάλειαν refers to ἰσχύν, κόσμον to ἀρετήν.” Kr.

3. φόβῳ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ] “Through fear of you.” The possessive is equivalent to a genitive of the object. Cp. i. 69. 9, αἱ ὑμέτεραι ἐλπίδες, and i. 77. 7, τὸ ἡμέτερον δέος; also ὑμετέραν ἐπιχείρησιν just below.

δυναμένους] “Have great influence.” For this use of the verb cp. above, 18. 1.

προκ. ἡμᾶς . . ἐς] “Are seizing upon us now as a preliminary step to the attack upon you.”

μηδὲ δυοῖν φθάσαι ἁμαρτωσιν] “And that of two advantages they may not fail to grasp the one before

any effectual resistance can be offered—our destruction, or their own security.” ἁμαρτεῖν δυοῖν is to fail in respect of both, i. e. in gaining one at any rate of two things. And so the phrase is used by Sophocles, *El.* 1320, ὡς ἐγὼ μόνη οὐκ ἂν δυοῖν ἡμαρτον ἢ γὰρ ἂν καλῶς ἔσωσ' ἑμαυτὴν ἢ καλῶς ἀπωλόμην. φθάσαι is an exegetical infinitive introduced to limit ἁμαρτωσιν: they were not afraid that they should miss their object altogether, but that they should not accomplish it *before* the Corcyraeans and Athenians united their forces, and so made success more difficult and more costly. The antithesis is not very clearly cut; it is not easy to see the distinction between the security of Corinth and the overthrow of her enemies.

4. καὶ προεπιβουλεύειν] “And to make our stroke at once, rather than wait to parry theirs.” ἀντεπιβουλεύειν is to counterplot or act on the defensive, which is the less profitable game in war. Cp. iii. 12. 3; 83. 2; vi. 87. 5.

μᾶλλον ἢ ἀντεπιβουλεύειν. 34. I. ἤν δὲ λέγωσιν ὥς οὐ δίκαιον τοὺς σφετέρους ἀποίκους ὑμᾶς δέχεσθαι, μαθέτωσαν ὥς πᾶσα ἀποικία εὖ μὲν πᾶσχουσα τιμᾷ τὴν μητρόπολιν ἀδικουμένη δὲ ἀλλοτριούται· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ δοῦλοι ἄλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ ὁμοίοι τοῖς λειπομένοις εἶναι ἐκπέμπονται. 2. ὥς δὲ ἡδίκουν σαφές ἐστι· προκληθέντες γὰρ περὶ Ἐπιδάμνου ἐς κρίσιν πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ ἴσῳ ἐβουλήθησαν τὰ ἐγκλήματα μετελθεῖν. 3. καὶ ὑμῖν ἔστω τι τεκμήριον ἃ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ξυγγενεῖς δρῶσιν, ὥστε ἀπάτη τε μὴ παράγεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν, δεομένοις τε ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος μὴ ὑπουργεῖν. ὁ γὰρ ἐλαχίστας τὰς μεταμελείας ἐκ τοῦ χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις λαμβάνων ἀσφαλέστατος ἂν διατελοίη. 35. I. λύσετε δὲ οὐδὲ τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων σπονδὰς δεχόμενοι ἡμᾶς μηδετέρων

CH. XXXIV.] In this and the following chapter the Corcyraeans address themselves to the bearing of Greek interpolitical law, and of the treaty obligations of the Athenians upon the proposed alliance. The two points are abruptly introduced and briefly discussed. The Corcyraeans felt that there was not much to be said upon them, and get back as soon as possible to the ground they had occupied before. The first point, whether a colony has any right to make war upon the mother country, is very soon dismissed. "If a child has duties towards its parent, a parent has corresponding duties towards her child: you have not fulfilled those duties." And even here the speaker manages to slip in an appeal to Athenian interests: "Do not make any presents to your enemies—if you do, you will repent it."

I. ἐκπέμπονται] Sc. οἱ ἀποικοί, to be supplied from πᾶσα ἀποικία: cp. above, i. 27. 1.

2. μετελθεῖν] To go after, attend to, settle the points at issue.

3. τεκμήριον] A proof of their nature, a warning.

ἀπάτη is opposed to ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος: "Do not suffer them to gain their

point," say the Corcyraeans, "either by fraudulent misrepresentations or by an open straightforward request." With the adverbial phrase ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος, cp. similar ones at i. 51. 2; ii. 44. 4; 89. 3; iii. 43. 3; iv. 79. 2; and elsewhere.

ἐλαχίστας is pred. ἀσφαλέστατος, sc. ὢν.

CH. XXXV. I. οὐδέ] "And you will not be violating the treaty either." In the last chapter they had argued, οὐκ ἀδικήσετε τοὺς ἀποίκους αὐτῶν δεχόμενοι: now they proceed, οὐδὲ λύσετε τὰς σπονδὰς. There we dealt with sentiment, here with law. The Thirty Years' Truce expressly stipulated, that either Athens or Sparta might enrol new allies, provided that any state so enrolled by the one did not already belong to the other confederacy. This was undeniable, and there could be no question as to the right of the Athenians to admit Corcyra, though under existing circumstances it might not be politic in them to do so. See ch. 115. 1.

μηδετέρων] We should certainly have expected οὐδετέρων, for the statement is perfectly definite and there is no vagueness or uncertainty about the person whom it concerns.

όντας ξυμμάχους. 2. εἴρηται γὰρ ἐν αὐταῖς τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἥτις μηδαμοῦ ξυμμαχεῖ ἐξεῖναι παρ' ὁποτέρους ἂν ἀρέσκηται ἐλθεῖν. 3. καὶ δεινὸν εἰ τοῖσδε μὲν ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἐνσπόνδων ἔσται πληροῦν τὰς ναῦς καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων ὑπηκόων, ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς προκειμένης τε ξυμμαχίας εἴρξουσιν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλοθεν ποθεν ὠφελείας, εἴτα ἐν ἀδικήματι θήσονται πεισθέντων ὑμῶν ἃ δεόμεθα. 4. πολὺ δὲ ἐν πλείονι αἰτία ἡμεῖς μὴ πείσαντες ὑμᾶς ἔξομεν. ἡμᾶς μὲν γὰρ κινδυνεύοντας καὶ οὐκ ἐχθροὺς ὄντας ἀπώσεσθε· τῶνδε δὲ οὐχ ὅπως κωλυταὶ ἐχθρῶν ὄντων καὶ ἐπιόντων γενήσεσθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρχῆς δύναμιν προσλαβεῖν περιόψεσθε ἣν οὐ

Cp. note on i. 22. 4. This passage, however, is far more anomalous than that, for instead of τοὺς μηδετέρων we have ἡμᾶς, which makes it quite impossible to apply the same explanation here. Perhaps, however, the irregularity may be accounted for thus. The treaty spoke of τοὺς μηδ. ὄντας ξυμμάχους, any state which is not in alliance either with Athens or with Sparta. Now, say the Corcyraeans, we fall under this description—we are such a πόλις ἥτις μηδαμοῦ ξυμμαχεῖ. They wished to quote the exact words of the treaty, and so did not care to change the negative.

2. ἥτις = ἐκείνη ἥτις, “it is lawful for it to join whichever side it may be pleased to join.” ἀρέσκεσθαι, “to be pleased,” generally takes a dative, as at i. 129. 2. Here it signifies “to choose,” and governs an infinitive.

3. εἴτα often means *and yet*, and is used to point out some glaring inconsistency, but, as it would seem, only after participles (cp. Soph. O. C. 277, καὶ μὴ θεοὺς τιμῶντες εἴτα τοὺς θεοὺς μοίραις ποιεῖσθε μηδαμῶς), or in indignant questions. Here it occurs after the finite verb. There is however no such difficulty in the asyndeton as to prevent us from giving εἴτα here the same sense which it bears

in the passage quoted from Sophocles. The context, however, makes it better to translate, “and moreover,” or “and to crown all.” Kr., putting a full stop after ὠφελείας, and a comma after δεόμεθα, reads εἴτε . . . πολὺ δὲ, κ.τ.λ.

ἐν ἀδικ. θήσονται] “Shall count it as a crime if you are persuaded to accede to our request.”

4. οὐχ ὅπως] “Not only not.” The full phrase perhaps would be οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως, or οὐχ ὁρῶ ὅπως: “It is impossible that you should stop them,”—that would be too much to expect, and we will leave it out of consideration, but you will even permit them to do a thing which you might easily prevent. Cp. iii. 42. 7, οὐχ ὅπως ζημιοῦν ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἀτιμάζειν, “to say nothing of punishing, you ought not even to dishonour.”

ἐπιόντων] This word is opposed to κινδυνεύοντας. “We are in a situation of danger, but they are the voluntary assailants of others.” Arn.

προσλαβεῖν περιόψεσθε] περιῶδειν is to look idly about, and governs either an infinitive or a participial accusative. Thus at ii. 20. 2, we have οὐκ ἂν περιῶδειν τμηθῆναι, and at ii. 18. 7, περιῶδειν αὐτὴν τμηθεῖσαν. In the first case (the infinitive being

δίκαιον, ἀλλ' ἢ καὶ κἀκείνων κωλύειν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρας μισθοφόρους, ἢ καὶ ἡμῖν πέμπειν καθ' ὃ τι ἂν πεισθῇτε ὠφέλειαν, μάλιστα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς δεξαμένους βοηθεῖν. 5. πολλὰ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὑπέipoμεν τὰ ξυμφέροντα ἀποδείκνυμεν· καὶ μέγιστον ὅτι οἳ τε αὐτοὶ πολέμιοι ἡμῖν ἦσαν, ὅπερ σαφεστάτη πίστις, καὶ οὗτοι οὐκ ἀσθενεῖς, ἀλλ' ἱκανοὶ τοὺς μεταστάντας βλάψαι· καὶ ναυτικῆς καὶ οὐκ ἡπειρώτιδος τῆς ξυμμαχίας διδομένης οὐχ ὁμοία ἢ ἀλλοτριώσεις· ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν, εἰ δύνασθε, μηδένα ἄλλον ἐὰν κεκτῆσθαι ναῦς· εἰ δὲ μή, ὅστις ἐχυρώτατος, τοῦτον φίλον ἔχειν. 36. I. καὶ ὅτῳ τάδε ξυμφέροντα μὲν δοκεῖ λέγεσθαι, φοβεῖται δὲ μὴ δι' αὐτὰ πειθόμενος τὰς σπονδὰς λύσῃ, γνῶτω τὸ μὲν δεδιὸς

equivalent to an abstract substantive) we may translate, "that they would not look tamely on the ravaging of their land;" in the second, "that they would shrink from seeing it ravaged." In the first case the verb means *to permit*; in the second it retains its proper signification, *to look round upon*, sometimes with a further notion of not trying to rectify or avenge what has happened. Thus, Hdt. iii. 65, μὴ περιῖδεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίην αὐτῆς ἐς Μήδους περιελθοῦσαν, "don't overlook the fact that the sovereignty has reverted to the Medes."

ἀλλ'] Sc. δίκαιόν ἐστι. καὶ κείνων, theirs also—as well as ours. Either hinder us both, say the Corcyraeans, or help us both, or, which is best of all, join us in crushing them.

καθ' ὃ τι ἂν πεισθῇτε] "In such a manner," "to such an extent, as you shall have been persuaded." Cp. i. 69. 3; iv. 118. 6; vi. 8. 3.

5. ὑπέipoμεν] προείπομεν, Sch. οἱ αὐτοί, the same as to you. The reference is to 33. 3. ἦσαν is connected with ὑπέipoμεν—"we said before that they were." Kr. compares Arist. *Ran.* 810, τῷ σῷ δεσπότη ἐπέτρεψαν ὅτι τῆς τέχνης ἔμπειρος ἦν. So Plato, *Rep.* 335 E, οὐκ ἦν σοφός. "is not wise, as we agreed."

πίστις here = a pledge of good faith, security, guarantee.

μεταστάντας = ἀποστάντας, and means the Corcyraeans. Poppo. Kr. objects that the ability of the Corinthians to injure the Corcyraeans is no reason why the Athenians should admit the Corcyraeans into their alliance. He would read μεταστήσαντας, "you if you reject us." But the speaker may be referring to 33. I, περὶ τῶν μεγίστων κινδυνεύοντας.

οὐχ ὁμοία] "It is not the same thing—it is far more foolish to reject it." And this being equivalent to οὐ χρὴ ἀλλοτριεῖν αὐτήν contains the notion "you ought," which governs ἐὰν and ἔχειν.

CH. XXXVI. I. δι' αὐτά] "Lest if he be talked over he must violate the treaty in order to gain them."

τὸ μὲν δεδιὸς] The fear of breaking his engagements. τὸ θαρσοῦν, the confidence and quietness of conscience which results from their scrupulous observance. The neuter participle and article are here used, as elsewhere the infinitive and article, to express the abstract action of the verb. Thus, τὸ δεδιὸς αὐτοῦ, as Arnold says, exactly corresponds to the English idiom, "his being afraid:" cp. i. 142. 6; ii. 59. 4; iii. 43. 4; v. 9. 4; vi. 24. 2; vii.

αὐτοῦ ἰσχὺν ἔχον τοὺς ἐναντίους μᾶλλον φοβήσων· τὸ δὲ θαρ-
σοῦν μὴ δεξαμένου ἀσθενὲς ὄν πρὸς ἰσχύοντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς
ἀδεέστερον ἐσόμενον καὶ ἅμα οὐ περὶ τῆς Κερκύρας νῦν τὸ
πλέον ἢ καὶ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν βουλευόμενος, καὶ οὐ τὰ κράτιστα
αὐταῖς προνοῶν ὅταν ἐς τὸν μέλλοντα καὶ ὅσον οὐ παρόντα
πόλεμον τὸ αὐτίκα περισκοπῶν ἐνδοιάζη χωρίον προσλαβεῖν
ὃ μετὰ μεγίστων καιρῶν οἰκειοῦται τε καὶ πολεμοῦται. 2. τῆς
τε γὰρ Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας καλῶς παράπλου κείμεναι, ὥστε
μήτε ἐκεῖθεν ναυτικὸν εἶσαι Πελοποννησίους ἐπελθεῖν, τό
τε ἐνθένδε πρὸς τὰ κεῖ παραπέμψαι, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ξυμφορώ-
τατόν ἐστι. 3. βραχυτάτῳ δ' ἂν κεφαλαίῳ τοῖς τε ξύμπασι
καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον, τῷ δ' ἂν μὴ προέσθαι ἡμᾶς μάθοιτε, τρία
μὲν ὄντα λόγου ἄξια τοῖς Ἑλλησι ναυτικά, τὸ παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ

68. 1. Madvig (180 *b*, r. 2) says that the usage is confined to poets and Thuc. Kr. quotes some passages from imitators of Thuc. Translate, "let him be assured that this tenderness of conscience will be more formidable to his enemies if fortified by our alliance, while any confidence which he might gain by rejecting us, if it leave him weak while his foes are strong, will be much less likely to inspire them with dread." πρὸς means *against*, as at i. 70. 1. For the causative sense of ἀδεής, cp. vi. 87. 4.

ἢ καὶ seems to be a fusion of two modes of expression—οὐ περὶ τῆς Κερκύρας τὸ πλέον ἢ περὶ τῶν Ἀ., and οὐ μόνον περὶ τῆς Κ. ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν Ἀ. Cp. on i. 3. 2. βουλευόμενος] Sc. γνῶτω, on which προνοῶν also depends.

ἐς τὸν πόλεμον] "When, from excessive caution about the affairs of to-day, he hesitates to gain as a help in the impending and all but present war a state whose friendship or hostility is pregnant with such mighty issues."

2. Ἰταλίας, to Italy, is the objective genitive after παράπλου, which itself may be called a genitive of respect or reference. Cp. ii. 90. 5;

91. 5; iii. 92. 5; iv. 47. 3; 60. 2. The name Italy, at this time, was applied by Italians to the whole peninsula south of Etruria. In a Greek mouth however, it embraces only that district which would be bounded by a line drawn from Metapontum to Laus—some writers indeed appear to have made the limits still narrower. Tarentum and Iapygia were not in Italy (see vii. 33. 3), and Aristotle called Latium a district of Opica. See Niebuhr's *Hist. of Rome*, ad init., and note on i. 12. 4.

ἐπελθεῖν, of coming to help, not to attack: cp. i. 5. 1.

τὸ . . ἐνθένδε] That which is here, and would sail from hence. Cp. οἱ ἐκ τῶν νήσων κακοῦργοι, i. 8. 3.

3. βραχυτάτῳ] "By a very short summary—embracing at once the whole matter and its every detail—by the following consideration." τοῖς ξύμπασι καὶ (τοῖς) καθ' ἕκαστον are added somewhat needlessly to explain κεφαλαίῳ, with which they are in apposition,—as also is τῷ δέ: all three are instrumental datives after μάθοιτε.

τρία μὲν ὄντα] A pendent nominative. Thuc. forgot how he had

τὸ ἡμέτερον καὶ τὸ Κορινθίων· τούτων δ' εἰ περιόψεσθε τὰ δύο ἐς ταῦτόν ἐλθεῖν καὶ Κορίνθιοι ἡμᾶς προκαταλήψονται, Κερκυραίοις τε καὶ Πελοποννησίοις ἅμα ναυμαχήσετε· δεξάμενοι δὲ ἡμᾶς ἔξετε πρὸς αὐτοὺς πλείοσι ναυσὶ ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἀγωνίζεσθαι.” 4. τοιαῦτα μὲν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι εἶπον· οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι μετ' αὐτοὺς τοιάδε.

37. 1. “Ἀναγκαῖον Κερκυραίων τῶνδε οὐ μόνον περὶ τοῦ δέξασθαι σφᾶς τὸν λόγον ποιησαμένων, ἀλλ' ὥς καὶ ἡμεῖς τε ἀδικοῦμεν καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ εἰκότως πολεμοῦνται, μνησθέντας πρῶτον καὶ ἡμᾶς περὶ ἀμφοτέρων, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄλλον λόγον· ἵεναι ἵνα τὴν ἀφ' ἡμῶν τε ἀξίωσιν ἀσφαλέστερον προειδῇτε καὶ τὴν τῶνδε χρεῖαν μὴ ἀλογίστως ἀπώσῃσθε. 2. φασὶ δὲ ξυμμαχίαν διὰ τὸ σῶφρον οὐδενός πω δέξασθαι· τὸ δ' ἐπὶ κακουργίᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἀρετῇ ἐπετήδευσαν, ξύμμαχόν τε οὐδένα

begun the sentence, and so left these words without any finite verb to rest upon. Cp. on i. 25. 4. Göller and Poppo place a comma after μάθοιτε and a colon after Κορινθίων, and supply ἴστε, which they say is contained in the previous μάθοιτε. In this case the fact (τῶδε), which is to sweep away all the scruples of the Athenians, is the existence of three fleets in Hellas: this would be absurd. Translate then, “there are three navies in Greece that are worth taking into account . . . of these I say,” &c.

τὰ δύο] “The two” opposed to “the one,”—for when a definite part of a definite whole is mentioned, there is always an implied antithesis to the remainder—hence the use of the article: cp. i. 10. 2. προκαταλήψονται, above, 33. 3. For the difference between the active and middle, cp. i. 5. 4; 6. 1, 16; and 18. 2.

ταῖς ἡμετέραις] With ships more numerous by ours—strengthened by the addition of our fleet. “Dat. of difference, as in πολλῶ, ὀλίγῳ πλείων.” Kr. Arn. retains the old reading ὑμετέραις: so also does Bekker.

CH. XXXVII. 1.] σφᾶς denotes

the subject of ποιησαμένων.

ἀλλ' ὥς καί = ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς. Trajections of καί are frequent enough: take for instance Soph. O. C. 185, ὅτι καὶ πόλις τέτροφεν ἄφιλον ἀποστυγεῖν καὶ τὸ φίλον σέβεσθαι, where the two co-ordinate clauses are καὶ ὅτι ἄφιλον . . . καὶ τὸ φίλον, and yet the first καί does not precede all the words over which its power extends. Krüger thinks that τι ought to be read instead of τε. λόγον ποιεῖσθαι περὶ τίνος is to speak about a thing, λόγον π. ὥς to assert that.

οὕτω = then, after this.

τὴν ἀφ' ἡμῶν . . ἀξίωσιν] “That before you decide you may be more fully acquainted with our claims.” ἀξίωσις, a demand or claim founded upon that which is ἄξιον or right, is opposed to χρεῖα, a petition or appeal to compassion dictated by want or necessity. μὴ belongs to ἀλογίστως.

2. διὰ τὸ σῶφρον] “Owing to their pacific or retiring disposition,” referring to σωφροσύνη, i. 32. 4 above.

τὸ δ' . . ἐπετήδευσαν] “But, the fact is, they acted thus.” The article is used in its old demonstra-

βουλόμενοι πρὸς τὰδικήματα οὔτε μάρτυρά ἔχειν, οὔτε παρακαλοῦντες αἰσχύνεσθαι. 3. καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν ἅμα, αὐτάρκη θέσιν κειμένη, παρέχει αὐτοὺς δικαστὰς ὧν βλάπτουσί τινα μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ ξυνθήκας γίγνεσθαι, διὰ τὸ ἥκιστα ἐπὶ τοὺς πέλας ἐκπλέοντας μάλιστα τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνάγκη καταίροντας δέχεσθαι. 4. καὶν τούτῳ τὸ εὐπρεπὲς ἄσπονδον, οὐχ ἵνα μὴ ξυναδικήσωσιν ἑτέροις προβέβληνται, ἀλλ' ὅπως κατὰ μόνας ἀδικῶσι καὶ ὅπως ἐν ᾧ μὲν ἂν κρατῶσι βιάζονται, οὐ δ' ἂν

tive signification, to introduce a fact or truth opposed to a preceding supposition or doubtful statement. Plato is very fond of employing τὸ δέ in this sense; sometimes indeed he treats it quite like an adverb. Cp. a passage quoted by Arnold from the *Apology*, 23 A: οἴονται γὰρ με . . . εἶναι σοφὸν . . . τὸ δὲ κινδυνεύει . . . τῷ ὄντι ὁ θεὸς σοφὸς εἶναι, "whereas it seems that in reality God alone is wise." ἐπὶ κακουργίᾳ is "from malice." ἐπί, which with the dative commonly signifies coexistence, here denotes the (coexistent) motive.

οὔτε μάρτυρα] So Arnold and Dobree, instead of οὐδέ. If we adopt this correction, the passage is brought into conformity with the ordinary Greek usage noted on ii. 93. 2. Krüger, who doubts whether τε . . . οὔτε ever answer one another in the same way as οὔτε . . . τε, would read οὐδέ for οὔτε παρακ. "Because they did not want any ally, wishing neither to have a witness of their crimes (where their villainy was not resisted) nor to have the shame of asking for aid (where it was)." πρὸς τὰδικήματα must be taken with παρακαλοῦντες as well as with ἔχειν.

3. θέσιν κειμένη] Cp. στρατείαν ξυνῆλθον, i. 3. 6. There being no cognate substantive directly formed from κεῖσθαι, one is used which coincides with it in sense though not in appearance: so καθῆσθαι ἔδραν et simm.

παρέχει] παρέχει αὐτοὺς δικαστὰς τούτων ἃ βλάπτουσί τινα μᾶλλον ἢ

κατὰ ξυνθήκας γίγνεσθαι (τοὺς δικαστὰς). So Arn. and Poppo, and this construction seems to be required by the context. But Krüger renders παρ. αὐτοὺς δικ. γίγνεσθαι, "makes them judges in their own cause," μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ ξυνθήκας, "more frequently than would be allowed by a treaty." Thuc. however says that more ships sail to Corcyra than sail from it, and that therefore the greater number of the commercial disputes in which Corcyraeans are interested, must necessarily arise in the island itself. "Makes them judges in their own cause when they injure any one, rather than that judges should be appointed by the agreement of both parties." Arn.

ἐπί, as at i. 5. 1, not of approaching with hostile intentions. This clause explains αὐτάρκη—their neighbours had far more need of them than they had of their neighbours.

4. καὶν τούτῳ] Either "in this state of affairs," or joined with τὸ εὐπρεπὲς ἄσπονδον—"and in this consists—this is the meaning of that specious neutrality behind which they have sheltered themselves." Cp. Soph. *O. C.* 586, ἀλλ' ἐν βραχεῖ δὴ τήνδε μ' ἐξαιτεῖ χάριν, "'tis but a trifling matter, this which you ask of me,"—lit., contained in a trifle. With τὸ εὐπρεπὲς ἄσπονδον cp. similar couples of adjectives—iii. 56. 3, τῷ αὐτίκα χρησίμῳ πολεμῳ: iii. 65. 2, τὰ κοινὰ πάτρια: v. 68. 2, τὸ ἀνθρώπειον κομπῶδες: vi. 34. 4, τὸ ξύνηθες ἥσυχον.

ἐν ᾧ] "In order that where they

λάθωσι πλέον ἔχωσιν, ἣν δέ πού τι προσλάβωσιν, ἀναισχυ-
τῶσι. 5. καίτοι εἰ ἦσαν ἄνδρες ὥσπερ φασὶν ἀγαθοί, ὅσω
ἀληπτότεροι ἦσαν τοῖς πέλας, τοσῶδε φανερωτέραν ἐξῆν
αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀρετὴν διδοῦσι καὶ δεχομένοις τὰ δίκαια δεικνύναι.
38. 1. ἀλλ' οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους οὔτε ἐς ἡμᾶς τοιοῖδε εἰσὶν,
ἄποικοι δὲ ὄντες ἀφεςτᾶσί τε διὰ παντὸς καὶ νῦν πολεμοῦσι
λέγοντες ὡς οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ κακῶς πάσχειν ἐκπεμφθείησαν.
2. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐδ' αὐτοὶ φάμεν ἐπὶ τῷ ὑπὸ τούτων ὑβρίζεσθαι
κατοικίσαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ ἡγεμόνες τε εἶναι καὶ τὰ εἰκότα θαυ-
μάζεσθαι. 3. αἱ γοῦν ἄλλαι ἀποικίαι τιμῶσιν ἡμᾶς καὶ
μάλιστα ὑπὸ ἀποίκων στεργόμεθα. καὶ δῆλον ὅτι εἰ τοῖς
πλέοσιν ἀρέσκοντές ἐσμεν, τοῖσδ' ἂν μόνοις οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀπαρέ-
σκοιμεν οὐδ' ἐπιστρατεύομεν ἐκπρεπῶς μὴ καὶ διαφερόντως
τι ἀδικούμενοι. 4. καλὸν δ' ἦν, εἰ καὶ ἡμαρτάνομεν, τοῖσδε

are strong enough they may rob with a high hand, or, where they can do so unobserved, may overreach by fraud." ἀναισχυτῶσι, "may be spared their blushes" (Arn.), because they have one to witness their misdeeds.

5. ἐξῆν] ἂν is omitted as is often the case with ἦν and its compounds. Cp. καλὸν δ' ἦν below, and the use of *eram*, *poteram*, *dicebam*, in Latin (cp. *Madv. G. S.* 118 a). The less amenable they were to punishment, the more clearly they might have shown their honesty by submitting to that justice which they had it in their power to avoid. διδόναι τὰ δίκαια is to submit to trial (above, 28. 2); δέχεσθαι τὰ δίκαια, to accept the offer of another to submit to trial.

CH. XXXVIII. 1. τοιοῖδε εἰσὶν] Have they acted thus.

ἐκπεμφθείησαν] Referring to 34. 1 above. "So σφαλείησαν, ii. 43. 1; πεισθείησαν, iii. 42. 6; γνωσθείησαν, vi. 64. 1; and φαίησαν, viii. 53. 3. This uncontracted form occurs frequently in Xen., sometimes in the orators, but never, so far as I know, in the dramatic poets." Kr. οὐδ' αὐτοί, we also—we in our turn deny, cp. καὶ αὐτοί above, 31. 3. τὰ εἰκότα

θαυμάζεσθαι, "to receive all proper or customary respect." For the neut. acc. cp. ἐναντία πολέμησοντες, i. 29. 1. For γοῦν, see on i. 2. 5.

3. ἐκπρεπῶς] "Nor are we waging an unnatural war upon them, as we should be doing if we were not also being grossly injured by them." The μή is to be explained by a comparison with iii. 11. 4, ἄκοντας εἰ μὴ τι ἡδίκουν οἷς ἐπήεσαν, "unwillingly, as would be the case if those whom they were attacking were not clearly in the wrong." ἐκπρεπῶς, because a war between the mother state and her colony seemed impious and monstrous. The Scholiast, who takes this word to mean "publicly," "before the eyes of all," seems to have ἐπεστρατεύομεν, the imp. ind. His explanation is, εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἡδικούμεθα περιφανῶς οὐκ ἂν προδήλως ἐστρατεύομεν. Others prefer ἐπιστρατεύοιμεν.

4. καλὸν δ' ἦν] Observe the anacoluthon—a confusion of two different forms of the sentence. If καλὸν δ' ἦν stand first, the sentence ought to precede ἡμῖν δὲ μὴ βιάσασθαι: if we have ἡμῖν δὲ αἰσχρόν, καλὸν δ' ἦν ought to come after τοῖσδε μέν. ἦν without ἂν, cp. ἐξῆν above.

μὲν εἶξαι τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ὀργῇ, ἡμῖν δὲ αἰσχροὺς βιάσασθαι τὴν τούτων μετριότητα. ὕβρει δὲ καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ πλούτου πολλὰ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἄλλα τε ἡμαρτήκασι καὶ Ἐπίδαμνον ἡμετέραν οὖσαν κακουμένην μὲν οὐ προσεποιοῦντο, ἐλθόντων δὲ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ ἐλόντες βία ἔχουσι. 39. 1. καὶ φασὶ δὴ δίκη πρότερον ἐθελῆσαι κρίνεσθαι, ἣν γε οὐ τὸν προὔχοντα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς προκαλούμενον λέγειν τι δοκεῖν δεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐς ἴσον τὰ τε ἔργα ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς λόγους πρὶν διαγωνίζεσθαι καθιστάντα. 2. οὗτοι δ' οὐ πρὶν πολιορκεῖν τὸ χωρίον, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἡγήσαντο ἡμᾶς οὐ περιόψεσθαι. τότε καὶ τὸ εὐπρεπὲς τῆς δίκης παρέσχοντο. 3. καὶ δεῦρο ἤκουσιν οὐ τὰ κεῖ μόνον αὐτοὶ ἁμαρτόντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμᾶς νῦν ἀξιούντες οὐ ξυμμαχεῖν ἀλλὰ ξυναδικεῖν καὶ διαφόρους ὄντας ἡμῖν δέχεσθαι σφᾶς· οὓς χρῆν ὅτε ἀσφαλέστατοι ἦσαν, τότε προσιέναι καὶ μὴ ἐν ᾧ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἡδίκημεθα, οὗτοι δὲ κινδυνεύουσι, μηδ' ἐν ᾧ ὑμεῖς τῆς τε δυνάμεως αὐτῶν τότε οὐ μεταλαμβάνοντες τῆς ὠφελείας νῦν μεταδώσετε, καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀπογενόμενοι τῆς ἀφ' ἡμῶν αἰτίας τὸ ἴσον ἔχετε, πάλαι δὲ κοινώσαντας τὴν δύναμιν κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἀποβαίνοντα ἔχειν, [4. ἐγκλημάτων δὲ μόνων ἀμετόχους οὕτω τῶν μετὰ τὰς πράξεις τούτων μὴ

CH. XXXIX. 1.] δὴ is ironical. ἣν γε, not as at i. 11. 4, = quippe quam, "inasmuch as, or since he who appeals to this," but = καὶ μὴν ταύτην γε, "and yet this plea at least, or above all others," is precluded by their conduct. The acc. is governed by τὸν . . . προκαλούμενον, to which the intermediate words form one many-limbed epithet: cp. i. 3. 5; iii. 82. 1 (see note on this last passage). "And yet he who is master of the situation, and challenges arbitration in the confidence of strength, cannot claim to be heard, but only he who before appealing to arms divests himself of his superiority, not only in word but in deed." For λέγειν τι, compare note on i. 1. 2.

2. τὸ εὐπρεπὲς τῆς δίκης] This fine talk about arbitration.

3. οὓς χρῆν] "And yet they

ought." καὶ μὴ, sc. προσιέναι. τότε, sc. ὅτε ἀσφαλέστατοι ἦσαν.

4. ἀμετόχους οὕτω, if the clause is retained, must be taken, as Krüger says, with τῶν μετὰ τὰς πράξεις τούτων, "but those who are so utterly without participation in the fruits of their actions, ought not to share in their accusations alone." The infin. is governed by χρῆν, and the persons to whom ἀμετόχους refers are left indefinite, though, of course, the Athenians are meant. The clause, however, is not found in the best MSS., and Poppo omits it. Certainly the argument seems to find a natural termination at ἔχειν, and it is very harsh to join κοινωνεῖν with χρῆν, and yet separate it from οὓς: that is, to connect the verb, not with the Corcyraeans, but with the Athenians, as its subject. On the other hand, the omission of the words by

κοινωνεῖν.] 40. 1. ὥς μὲν οὖν αὐτοὶ τε μετὰ προσηκόντων ἐγκλημάτων ἐρχόμεθα καὶ οἶδε βίαιοι καὶ πλεονέκται εἰσὶ δεδήλωται. ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἂν δικαίως αὐτοὺς δέχοισθε μαθεῖν χρή. 2. εἰ γὰρ εἴρηται ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἐξεῖναι παρ' ὁποτέρους τις τῶν ἀγράφων πόλεων βούλεται ἐλθεῖν, οὐ τοῖς ἐπὶ βλάβῃ ἐτέρων ἰοῦσιν ἢ ξυνθήκῃ ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὅστις μὴ ἄλλου αὐτὸν ἀποστερῶν ἀσφαλείας δεῖται καὶ ὅστις μὴ τοῖς δεξαμένοις, εἰ σωφρονοῦσι, πόλεμον ἀντ' εἰρήνης ποιήσῃ δὲ νῦν ὑμεῖς μὴ πειθόμενοι ἡμῖν πάθοιτε ἄν. 3. οὐ γὰρ τοῖσδε μόνον ἐπικουροὶ ἂν γένοισθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμῖν ἀντὶ ἐνσπόνδων πολέμιοι. ἀνάγκη γάρ, εἰ ἴτε μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι μὴ ἄνευ ὑμῶν τούτους. 4. καίτοι δίκαιοί γ' ἐστὲ μάλιστα μὲν ἐκποδῶν στῆναι ἀμφοτέροις. εἰ δὲ μή, τούναντίον ἐπὶ τούτους μεθ' ἡμῶν ἵεναι (Κορινθίοις μὲν γε ἐνσπονδοὶ ἐστε, Κερκυραίοις δὲ οὐδὲ δι' ἀνακωχῆς πώποτε ἐγένεσθε) καὶ τὸν νόμον μὴ καθιστάναι ὥστε τοὺς ἐτέρων ἀφισταμένους δέχεσθαι. 5. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμεῖς Σαμίων ἀποστάντων ψῆφον προσεθέμεθα ἐναντίαν ὑμῖν, τῶν ἄλλων Πελοποννησίων δίχα ἐψηφισμένων

the copyists may, as Krüger says, be merely a summary way of getting out of a difficulty which they could not explain.

CH. XL. 1. μὲν οὖν] Above, i. 32. 5.

2. τοῖς . . . ἰοῦσιν] Sc. παρ' ὁποτέρους βούλονται, "who join an alliance in order to injure others." The dative is governed by ἐστίν. The treaty is not for them, does not apply to them. ὅστις = τούτω ὅστις.

ἀποστερῶν] "Robbing of his allegiance:" the verb contains two ideas, that of revolting and of weakening by revolt.

εἰ σωφρονοῦσι] These words, as Arnold has pointed out, do not strictly suit with the context. The Corinthians are *speaking* generally, they are *thinking* of this particular case, the appeal of the Corcyraeans to the Athenians. Instead of "those who received them," we should expect "you," or "those whom they

are asking for aid," to precede.

δ] Sc. τὸν πόλεμον ἀντὶ εἰρήνης ὑμῖν γίνεσθαι.

3. ἀμύνεσθαι] "That we should punish these and you at the same time."

4. καίτοι . . . γ'] See note on οὐ μέντοι . . . γε, i. 3. 2.

δίκαιοι . . . ἐστε . . . στῆναι] "It is right that you should stand." So ἄξιος, ἐπίδοξος, instead of being used impersonally, are made to agree with the person to whose conduct or nature they refer. Cp. for a similar idiom, Soph. *Aj.* 76, ἔνδον ἀρκείτω μένων: *Ant.* 547, ἀρκέσω θνήσκουσ' ἐγώ: and note on ἐγγεγραμμένον below, i. 132. 3: also *Madv. G. S.* 165 a, r.

μὲν γε] μὲν answers to the succeeding δέ: γε = at any rate.

οὐδὲ δι' ἀνακωχῆς] "Never so much as at truce." For this sense of διά, cp. on i. 17. 1. ἀνακωχή = ἡ μικρὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἀνάβλησις. Sch.

5. Σαμίων] See ch. 115 sqq.

εἰ χρὴ αὐτοῖς ἀμύνειν, φανερώς δὲ ἀντεῖπομεν τοὺς προσήκον-
τας ξυμμάχους αὐτόν τινα κολάζειν. 6. εἰ γὰρ τοὺς κακόν τι
δρῶντας δεχόμενοι τιμωρήσετε, φανεῖται καὶ ἂ τῶν ὑμετέρων
οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἡμῖν πρόσεισι, καὶ τὸν νόμον ἐφ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς
μᾶλλον ἢ ἐφ' ἡμῖν θήσετε. 41. 1. δικαιώματα μὲν οὖν τάδε
πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχομεν ἱκανὰ κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλλήνων νόμους, παραί-
νεσιν δὲ καὶ ἀξίωσιν χάριτος τοιάνδε ἣν οὐκ ἐχθροὶ ὄντες
ὥστε βλάπτειν, οὐδ' αὖ φίλοι ὥστε ἐπιχρῆσθαι, ἀντιδοθῆναι
ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι φαμὲν χρῆναι. 2. νεῶν γὰρ μακρῶν
σπανίσαντές ποτε πρὸς τὸν Αἰγινήτων ὑπὲρ τὰ Μηδικὰ
πόλεμον παρὰ Κορινθίων εἴκοσι ναῦς ἐλάβετε· καὶ ἡ εὐερ-
γασία αὕτη τε καὶ ἡ ἐς Σαμίους, τὸ δὲ ἡμᾶς Πελοποννησίους
αὐτοῖς μὴ βοηθῆσαι, παρέσχεν ὑμῖν Αἰγινήτων μὲν ἐπικρά-
τησιν, Σαμίων δὲ κόλασιν, καὶ ἐν καιροῖς ἐγένετο τοιούτοις

εἰ χρὴ] "Upon the question whe-
ther they should:" cp. i. 119. 1,
ψῆφον ἐπαγαγεῖν εἰ χρὴ πολεμεῖν.

ἀντεῖπομεν] "Said in opposi-
tion" to those who were for helping
them. αὐτόν τινα, every man for
himself.

6. τιμωρήσετε] Sc. αὐτοῖς: cp.
note on ἡγοῦντο, i. 19.

ἂ . . . οὐκ ἐλάσσω] The English
idiom would place the "no fewer"
before the relative.

ἐφ' ὑμῖν] "In vosmet legem san-
citis iniquam," Hor. S. i. 3. 67.
ἐπί = against, to the detriment of.
Cp. ἐπὶ τῷ Μήδῳ, i. 102. 5; iii. 63.
3: ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ, iii. 93. 3. The pre-
position still expresses purpose or
motive (= with a view to), and the
notion of hostility, that is, of the
particular *kind* of purpose, is derived
from the context or the nature of the
thing spoken of.

CH. XLI. 1. δικαιώματα] "Le-
gal claims," based, (1) on the
acknowledged treaty obligations of
the Athenians; (2) on a maxim of
Greek interpolitical law. They were
not ἱκανά, because, (1) only by a
forced interpretation could the Thirty
Years' Truce be brought to bear
upon the question of the alliance

between Athens and Corcyra, and
(2) the Corcyraeans were not προσή-
κοντες ξύμμαχοι of the Corinthians.
τάδε is here used of that which pre-
cedes. Ἑλλήνων, "according to the
laws of Hellenes," whatever may be
the case amongst barbarians. The
absence of the article here seems to
give the proper name a sort of con-
notation, and for Hellenes we might
almost say "civilized men." Cp.
on i. 9. 2.

ἐπιχρῆσθαι, τὸ πολλάκις χρῆσθαι
(Sch.), = to be intimate with any
one. ἐπι-, according to the Scholiast,
signifies repetition, but see note on
ἐπιμιγνύντες, i. 2. 2; Hdt. iii. 99,
αἱ ἐπιχρεώμεναι μάλιστα γυναῖκες.

2. νεῶν] Hdt. vi. 89. The date
of the war is uncertain, and is va-
riously placed from 493 to 491 B. C.

ὑπὲρ] "Before," for time flows
down, and earlier days are, as it were,
above us. ἡ ἐς Σαμίους, that regard-
ing, or in the matter of, the Sa-
mians.

παρέσχεν and ἐγένετο, both singu-
lar, in spite of the double subject:
cp. ἐστρατήγει, i. 29. 1. οἷς = ἐν
οἷς: cp. αἷς = παρ' αἷς, i. 28. 2.
παρὰ τὸ νικᾶν, in comparison of vic-
tory: cp. i. 23. 4.

οἷς μάλιστα ἄνθρωποι ἐπ' ἐχθροὺς τοὺς σφετέρους ἰόντες τῶν πάντων ἀπερίοπτοί εἰσι παρὰ τὸ νικᾶν. / 3. φίλον τε γὰρ ἡγοῦνται τὸν ὑπουργοῦντα, ἣν καὶ πρότερον ἐχθρὸς ἦ, πολέμιόν τε τὸν ἀντιστάντα, ἣν καὶ τύχῃ φίλος ὢν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα χεῖρον τίθενται φιλονεικίας ἔνεκα τῆς αὐτίκα. 42. 1. ὢν ἐνθυμηθέντες καὶ νεώτερός τις παρὰ πρεσβυτέρου αὐτὰ μαθὼν ἀξιούτω τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἡμᾶς ἀμύνεσθαι, καὶ μὴ νομίση δίκαια μὲν τάδε λέγεσθαι, ξύμφορα δέ, εἰ πολεμήσει, ἄλλα εἶναι. 2. τό τε γὰρ ξυμφέρον, ἐν ᾧ ἂν τις ἐλάχιστα ἁμαρτάνῃ, μάλιστα ἔπεται καὶ τὸ μέλλον τοῦ πολέμου ᾧ φοβούμεντες ὑμᾶς Κερκυραῖοι κελεύουσιν ἀδικεῖν ἐν ἀφανεί ἔτι κεῖται, καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον ἐπαρθέντας αὐτῷ φανερὰν ἐχθραν ἤδη καὶ οὐ μέλλουσιν πρὸς Κορινθίους κτήσασθαι, τῆς δὲ ὑπαρχούσης πρότερον διὰ Μεγαρέας ὑποψίας σῶφρον ὑφελεῖν

3. ἦ] “The present subjunctive here,” according to Krüger, “receives, through the addition of πρότερον, the signification of the preterite.” But ἦν denotes a present or future hypothesis, and has no applicability to the past. Join therefore πρότερον with ἐχθρός, and translate, not “although he may have been an enemy before,” but “although he be an old foe.”

τὰ οἰκεῖα] “Since they mismanage even their own interests, so engrossed are they by the pressing lust of strife.” φιλονεικία is warfare,—the feeling of a partisan who, having forgotten the original ground or cause of quarrel, pursues the struggle with the single object of humbling or destroying his opponent,—a sort of gambler’s love of strife for its own sake (cp. φιλοσοφία). Plato uses it of obstinacy or contentiousness in social matters.

CH. XLII. 1. ὢν ἐνθ.] Cp. vi. 60. 1. Madv. G. S. § 58.

νεώτερος] “Such of you as are too young to have been personally engaged in them.” τις used distributively as after αὐτός, ἕκαστος. ἀξιούτω: the verb again is put in

the number required by the nearest nominative.

τοῖς ὁμ. . . . ἀμύνεσθαι] “To requite us in kind.” ἀμύνεσθαι, properly to ward off or repulse any one, comes to mean to give him as good as he brings, and is applied to returning good as well as evil: cf. iv. 63. 2. Arn.

δίκαια . . . τάδε λέγεσθαι] “That these things which we say are just.” δίκαια, in form the secondary, is in reality the primary predicate. Cp. i. 124. 2, τάδε ἄριστα λέγεσθαι. So in questions, Hdt. i. 86, τίνα τοῦτον ἐπικαλέοιτο; and compare above i. 6. 6, καὶ διεζωσμένοι τοῦτο δρῶσι, “they wear aprons while they do this.”

2. τό τε γάρ] “For expedience most frequently follows, waits upon, that line of action in which,” &c.

τὸ μέλλον τοῦ πολέμου] The imminence of the war, the question whether war is near at hand or not. Cp. above, 36. 1, τὸν μέλλοντα καὶ ὅσον οὐ παρόντα πόλεμον.

διὰ Μ.] Cp. i. 103. 4, says Krüger, ascribing the jealousy of the Corinthians to the reception of the Megarians, with whom they were then at war, into the Athenian alliance.

μᾶλλον. ἢ γὰρ τελευταία χάρις καιρὸν ἔχουσα, καὶ ἐλάσσων ἢ δύναται μείζον ἐγκλημα λῦσαι. 3. μηδ' ὅτι ναυτικοῦ ξυμμαχίαν μεγάλην διδύασι, τούτῳ ἐφέλκεσθε. τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἀδικεῖν τοὺς ὁμοίους ἐχυρωτέρα δύναμις ἢ τῷ αὐτίκα φανερωῖ ἐπαρθέντας διὰ κινδύνων τὸ πλεόν ἔχειν. 43. 1. ἡμεῖς δὲ περιπεπτωκότες οἷς ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι αὐτοὶ προείπομεν, τοὺς σφετέρους ξυμμάχους αὐτόν τινα κολάζειν, νῦν παρ' ὑμῶν τὸ αὐτὸ ἀξιούμεν κομίζεσθαι, καὶ μὴ τῇ ἡμετέρα ψήφῳ ὠφεληθέντας τῇ ὑμετέρα ἡμᾶς βλάψαι. 2. τὸ δ' ἴσον ἀνταπόδοτε, γνόντες τοῦτον ἐκείνουν εἶναι τὸν καιρὸν ἐν ᾧ ὃ τε ὑπουργῶν φίλος μάλιστα καὶ ὁ ἀντιστάς ἐχθρός. 3. καὶ Κερκυραῖους τούσδε μήτε ξυμμάχους δέχεσθε βία ἡμῶν μήτε ἀμύνετε αὐτοῖς ἀδικούσι. 4. καὶ τάδε ποιοῦντες τὰ προσήκοντά τε δράσετε καὶ τὰ ἄριστα βουλευσεσθε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς." τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι εἶπον.

44. 1. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἀμφοτέρων, γενομένης καὶ δις ἐκκλησίας, τῇ μὲν προτέρα οὐχ ἦσσαν τῶν Κορινθίων ἀπεδέξαντο τοὺς λόγους, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραία μετέγνωσαν

ὠφελεῖν, rather, on the contrary, to take away somewhat of the suspicion that already exists against you.

καιρὸν ἔχουσα] "If well timed." Men prize a benefit, not by its intrinsic worth, but by the need they have of it; if it comes at a time when they could do nothing without it, it obliterates the memory of an injury which may have been a much more serious matter in itself, though it did not excite so much feeling.

3. τῷ αὐτίκα φανερωῖ] An obvious and short-lived gain. τῷ αὐτίκα τῷ πρὸς ὀλίγον. Sch.

τὸ πλεόν ἔχειν] If the article be taken with πλεόν, its presence is owing to an implied antithesis to τὸ ἐλάσσον: cp. τὰ μείζω, i. 6. 4. But it is perhaps better to give it to ἔχειν. διὰ κινδύνων, at all risks.

CH. XLIII. 1.] περιπεπτωκότες οἷς (= ταύταις ᾧ: cp. οἷς ἐπικαλοῦνται, i. 32. 2), "having fallen under the rule which we pro-

claimed." κολάζειν may be called an infinitive of epexegetis after οἷς—namely, that each one should chastise. But if we compare it with the infinitives not uncommonly found after ὅπερ (i. 140. 7; iv. 125. 1; v. 6. 3) we shall find that it is really governed by a mental repetition of the previous verb. Thus οἷς προείπομεν (προείπομεν δὲ) κολάζειν. Cp. Hdt. iv. 5, ὡς δὲ Σκύθαι λέγουσι, νεώτατον πάντων ἐθνέων εἶναι τὸ σφέτερον: and Soph. *Trach.* 1238, ἀνὴρ ὃδ' ὡς ἔοικεν οὐ νεμεῖν ἐμοὶ φθίνοντι μοῖραν.

ὠφεληθέντας] Sc. ὑμᾶς.

2. ἐκείνουν] That of which we have spoken: above, 41. 3.

3. βία ἡμῶν] In defiance of us.

4. δέ answers to μέν above, 36.

4. καί, the Corinthians also, on their side, or in their turn.

CH. XLIV. 1. καὶ δῖς] ("Not only once, but) even twice." Cp. iii. 87, 2, καὶ δύο ἔτη.

ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραία] Sc. ἐκκλησία,

Κερκυραίοις ξυμμαχίαν μὲν μὴ ποιήσασθαι ὥστε τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ φίλους νομίζειν, εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ Κόρινθον ἐκέλευον σφίσιν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι ξυμπλεῖν, ἐλύοντ' ἂν αὐτοῖς αἱ πρὸς Πελοποννησίους σπονδαί, ἐπιμαχίαν δὲ ἐποιήσαντο τῇ ἀλλήλων βοηθεῖν, εἴαν τις ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν ἦν ἢ Ἀθήνας ἢ τοὺς τούτων ξυμμάχους. 2. ἐδόκει γὰρ ὁ πρὸς Πελοποννησίους πόλεμος καὶ ὡς ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν Κέρκυραν ἐβούλοντο μὴ προέσθαι τοῖς Κορινθίοις ναυτικὸν ἔχουσιν τοσοῦτον, ξυγκρουεῖν δὲ ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις, ἵνα ἀσθενέστεροις οὖσιν, ἣν τι δέη, Κορινθίοις τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις

“in that which was held on the next day:” cp. iii. 91. 6; v. 45.

4.

μετέγνωσαν ποιήσασθαι] “Changed their minds, and determined to conclude.” Krüger quotes Hdt. vii. 12, μετὰ δὴ βουλευεαι στρατεύμα μὴ ἄγειν: and 13, μεταδεδογμένον μὴ στρατεύεσθαι. Add Aesch. *Agam.*, 221. τὸ παντότολμον φρονεῖν μετέγνω.

ξυμμαχίαν, which is properly a broad generic term, embracing all kinds of alliance, here by virtue of the antithesis is impressed with a more restricted signification, and denotes “an offensive and defensive alliance,” opposed to ἐπιμαχία, a purely defensive one. As to this last word, compare note on i. 2. 2, and v. 48. 2.

εἰ . . . ἐκέλευον] “If the Corcyraeans had desired them, the treaty would have been broken.” We might have expected κελεύοιεν λύοιεντ' ἂν (if they were to desire them) of a matter which in regard to a certain past time was still future and contingently possible. But Thuc. means, if an offensive and defensive alliance had been concluded (but it was not), and if, under this alliance, the Corcyraeans had desired them, &c. For the imperfect, cp. note on i. 9. 5. σφίσιν is governed by ξυμπλεῖν.

βοηθεῖν] The simple infinitive is here equivalent to the infinitive with

ὥστε just above. So at v. 48. 2 we have ξυμμαχίας τοῖς αὐτοῖς πολεμεῖν καὶ εἰρήνην ἄγειν, while at iii. 114. 5 ὥστε is employed. So ii. 44. 4, ἡλικία τέκνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι. In these and other passages the infinitive is added to verbs and substantives to denote a result. It may also denote a purpose: cp. ii. 27. 3, ἔδοσαν οἰκέειν: iii. 23. 1, ἐφύλασσον μηδένα ἐπιβοηθεῖν: and Eur. *Iph. A.* 1478, πλόκαμος ὅδε καταστέφειν, “here is a tress for you to crown.” Or it may be used as an apposition, and introduce a limitation or definition or specification: cp. below, iv. 13. 4, ἡ διενόηθησαν φράσαι τοὺς ἑσπλους: Hdt. i. 32, εἰ μὴ οἱ τύχη ἐπίσποιτο, πάντα καλὰ ἔχοντα τελευτῆσαι εὖ τὸν βίον. So very commonly after verbal nouns. Cp. Thuc. ii. 84. 1, δόκησιν αὐτίκα ἐμβαλεῖν: 89. 14, ἀγὼν καταλῦσαι: iii. 13. 9, αἰτίαν μὴ βοηθεῖν: 40. 1, ξυγγνώμη ἀμαρτεῖν ἀνθρωπίνως: al.

2. καὶ ὥς] “Even so,” “however scrupulous they might be,” “do what they would.”

ἣν τι δέη] “If it should be necessary to go to war at all.” Bekker inserts a second τοῖς before ναυτικόν, and his conjecture is adopted by Poppo and Krüger; one can scarcely see why, as οἱ ναυτικὸν ἔχοντες might surely signify the naval powers. For Ἰταλίας, cp. note on i. 12. 4.

ναυτικὸν ἔχουσιν ἐς πόλεμον καθιστῶνται. 3. ἅμα δὲ τῆς τε Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας καλῶς ἐφαίνετο αὐτοῖς ἡ νῆσος ἐν παράπλῳ κεῖσθαι.

45. 1. Τοιαύτη μὲν γνώμη οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς Κερκυραίους προσεδέξαντο, καὶ τῶν Κορινθίων ἀπελθόντων οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον δέκα ναῦς αὐτοῖς ἀπέστειλαν βοηθοὺς. ἐστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμόνιος τε ὁ Κίμωνος καὶ Διότιμος ὁ Στρομβίχου καὶ Πρωτέας ὁ Ἐπικλέους. 2. προεῖπον δὲ αὐτοῖς μὴ ναυμαχεῖν Κορινθίοις, ἣν μὴ ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν πλέωσι καὶ μέλλωσιν ἀποβαίνειν ἢ ἐς τῶν ἐκείνων τι χωρίων· οὕτω δὲ κωλύειν κατὰ δύναμιν. 3. προεῖπον δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ μὴ λύειν ἔνεκα τὰς σπονδάς. 4. αἱ μὲν δὴ νῆες ἀφικνουῦνται ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν.

46. 1. Οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖς παρεσκεύαστο, ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν Κέρκυραν ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. 2. ἦσαν δὲ Ἡλείων μὲν δέκα, Μεγαρέων δὲ δώδεκα καὶ Λευκαδίων δέκα, Ἀμπρακιωτῶν δὲ ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ Ἀνακτορίων μία, αὐτῶν δὲ Κορινθίων ἐνενήκοντα. στρατηγοὶ δὲ τούτων ἦσαν μὲν καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἑκάστων, Κορινθίων δὲ

CH. XLV. 1. δέκα ναῦς] "The smallness of this force would satisfy the Corinthians that no aggression was contemplated against their city, while it would save Corcyra from ruin, and would in fact feed the war so as to weaken and cripple the naval force of both parties,—which was the best result that Athens could hope for." Grote, vi. p. 85. But cp. 50. 6 below.

Κίμωνος] Cimon was a staunch admirer of the Lacedaemonians (i. 98 sqq.), and it was not uncommon for a proxenus to name his sons after the state which he represented. Thus the two brothers of Λακεδαιμόνιος were Ἡλεῖος and Θέτταλος. Cp. iv. 119. 2. Pericleidas was probably the Athenian proxenus.

2. ἐκείνων is dependent on τῶν χωρίων, which again is governed by τι. Krüger doubts whether this arrangement of the words is admis-

sible in Attic Greek, and would read (with some MSS.) χωρίον both here and at i. 53. 5. But the witnesses for χωρίων are overwhelming, and the order of the words is nearly as anomalous at i. 106. 1, ἐς τοῦ χωρίου ιδιώτου. οὕτω, in that case.

CH. XLVI. 1. παρεσκεύαστο] "When their preparations had been made." Similar impersonals are διεκέκριτο, i. 49. 8; ἐπεπαιώνιστο, i. 50. 6; ἐκινδυνεύετο, i. 73. 2; ὑπῆρκετο, i. 93. 4; εὐτύχηται, vii. 77. 3; and perhaps ἀξήθηται above, i. 2. 6.

2. κατὰ πόλεις ἑκάστων] "Of each contingent according to their states." πέμπτος αὐτός = with four others, a common Greek idiom. Similar is τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον, = two talents and a half. ὥς γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων μὴ ὄντων ἐπισήμων τῇ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἡρκέσθη ὀνομασίᾳ. Sch.

Ξενοκλείδης ὁ Εὐθυκλέους πέμπτος αὐτός. 3. ἐπειδὴ δὲ προσέμιξαν τῇ κατὰ Κέρκυραν ἡπείρῳ ἀπὸ Λευκάδος πλέοντες, ὁρμίζονται ἐς Χειμέριον τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος γῆς. 4. ἔστι δὲ λιμὴν, καὶ πόλις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κεῖται ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐν τῇ Ἑλαιάτιδι τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος Ἐφύρα. 5. ἐξίησι δὲ παρ' αὐτὴν Ἀχερουσία λιμνη ἐς θάλασσαν. διὰ δὲ τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος Ἀχέρων ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐσβάλλει ἐς αὐτήν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχει. 6. ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ Θύαμις ποταμός, ὀρίζων τὴν Θεσπρωτίδα καὶ Κεστρίνην, ὧν ἐντὸς ἡ ἄκρα ἀνέχει τὸ Χειμέριον. οἱ μὲν οὖν Κορίνθιοι τῆς ἡπείρου ἐνταῦθα ὁρμίζονται τε καὶ στρατόπεδον ἐποιήσαντο.

47. 1. Οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι ὡς ἦσθοντο αὐτοὺς προσπλέοντας, πληρώσαντες δέκα καὶ ἑκατὸν ναῦς, ὧν ἦρχε Μεικιάδης καὶ Αἰσιμίδης καὶ Εὐρύβατος, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν μιᾷ τῶν νήσων αἱ καλοῦνται Σύβοτα· καὶ αἱ Ἀττικαὶ δέκα παρήσαν. 2. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ Λευκίμμῃ αὐτοῖς τῷ ἄκρωτηρίῳ ὁ πεζὸς ἦν καὶ Ζακυνθίων χίλιοι ὀπλίται βεβοηθηκότες. 3. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Κορινθίοις ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων παραβεβοη-

4. ἔστι δὲ λιμὴν] “Now there is a harbour,” which, according to Strabo, was called Γλυκὺς Λιμὴν, the Fresh Harbour. Arnold and some others translate, “now Cheimerion is a harbour;” but this is not necessary and brings Thuc. and Strabo into needless collision. ἀπὸ θαλάσσης is “away from the sea:” cp. i. 7 above. τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος: for the position of this genitive, see note on i. 13. 2.

5. Ἀχερουσία λίμνη] A lake called Acherusia. For the absence of the article, cp. note on i. 1. 1.

6. ὧν ἐντὸς] “Between which rivers (the Acheron and the Thyamis) the promontory Cheimerion juts forward.” With ἡ ἄκρα τὸ Χειμέριον compare ἐπὶ τῇ Λευκίμμῃ, τῷ ἄκρωτηρίῳ in the next chapter; also iv. 70. 1, τῷ ὄρει τῇ Γερανεῖα: v. 75. 6, τὴν ἄκραν τὸ Ἡραῖον: al.

ὁρμίζονται] Observe the juxtaposition of the historical present

and the aorist. Cp. i. 95. 5, εὐθύνθη . . . ἀπολύεται.

CH. XLVII. 1. ἦρχε] Cp. ἐστρατήγει, i. 45. 1.

τῶν νήσων] τρεῖς εἰσὶν αὗται αἱ νῆσοι, μικραὶ, οὓς ἔχουσιν πολλὰς. Sch. Now called S. Nicolo di Sivota. There was a place called Sybota on the mainland: i. 50. 3; iii. 76. 2. αἱ δέκα, the ten mentioned in ch. 45.

2. αὐτοῖς] See note on i. 6. 3, Ζακυνθίων. Yet above (31. 2) we were told that the Corcyraeans had no allies. Does Thuc. mean ἐνσπονδοὶ there to apply only to the great leagues of Athens and Sparta? or did the Zacynthians volunteer? or did the Corcyraeans form an alliance with them at the same time that they sent their embassy to Athens?

3. παραβεβοηθηκότες] Cp. βοηθεῖν παρά τινα, Hdt. ix. 57.

θηκότες. οἱ γὰρ ταύτη ἡπειρῶται αἰεί ποτε αὐτοῖς φίλοι
1 εἰσίν.

48. 1. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρεσκεύαστο τοῖς Κορινθίοις, λαβόντες
τριῶν ἡμερῶν σιτία ἀνήγοντο ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ
Χειμερίου νυκτός, καὶ ἅμα ἕω πλείοντες καθορῶσι τὰς τῶν
Κερκυραίων ναῦς μετεώρους τε καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς πλεούσας. 2. ὡς
δὲ κατείδον ἀλλήλους, ἀντιπαρετάσσοντο, ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν
κέρας Κερκυραίων αἱ Ἀττικαὶ νῆες, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο αὐτοὶ ἐπέιχον
τρία τέλη ποιήσαντες τῶν νεῶν, ὧν ἦρχε τριῶν στρατηγῶν
ἐκάστου εἷς. 3. οὕτω μὲν Κερκυραῖοι ἐτάξαντο· Κορινθίοις δὲ
τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας αἱ Μεγαρίδες νῆες εἶχον καὶ αἱ Ἀμπρα-
κιώτιδες· κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέσον οἱ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι ὥς ἕκαστοι·
εὐώνυμον δὲ κέρας αὐτοὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι ταῖς ἄριστα τῶν νεῶν
πλεούσαις κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν Κερκυ-
ραίων εἶχον.

49. 1. Ξυμμίξαντες δὲ ἐπειδὴ τὰ σημεῖα ἐκατέροις ἦρθη,
ἐναυμάχουν, πολλοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας ἔχοντες ἀμφοτέροι ἐπὶ
τῶν καταστρωμάτων, πολλοὺς δὲ τοξότας τε καὶ ἀκοντιστὰς
τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ ἀπειρότερον ἔτι παρεσκευασμένοι. 2. ἦν
τε ἡ ναυμαχία καρτερά, τῇ μὲν τέχνῃ οὐχ ὁμοίως, πεζομαχία
δὲ τὸ πλεον προσφερῆς οὔσα. 3. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ προσβάλλοιεν

CH. XLVIII. 1. τριῶν ἡμερῶν] "Provisions for three days," literally "of" or "belonging to three days." Cp. ii. 23. 3; iii. 1. 3; vi. 34. 4; vii. 43. 2. ὡς introduces the apparent intention of the act. Perhaps we might fill the phrase out thus—ὡς ἂν δράσαιεν οἱ ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἀναγόμενοι. At iii. 4. 1 and elsewhere we have ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχία: the accusative means "as if they were going to a sea fight," the dative, "as if for the purpose of a sea fight."

2. ἐπὶ with accusative here means "extending along." So in ἐπέιχον. τὸ ἄλλο, not "the other wing," but "the rest of the line." τέλη = divisions or squadrons. Cp. ii. 81. 2. ὧν is governed by ἐκάστου.

3. ὡς ἕκαστοι] "The contin-

gents of their other allies each by itself:" supply ἦσαν or ἐτάξαντο. εὐώνυμον κέρας without article: see *Madv. G. S.* § 8, r. 2 d. κατὰ = opposite to.

CH. XLIX. 1. ἦρθη] Opposed to κατεσπάσθη, i. 63. 2. The signal seems to have been a flag of some kind, raised on a mast or staff; like the purple cloak which the Romans used for the same purpose.

2. οὐχ ὁμοίως] Sc. καρτερά, "not so much from their skill" as from the brute strength and courage of the combatants. The sentence would more naturally have ended thus: θυμῷ δὲ καὶ ῥώμῃ, πεζομαχία τὸ πλεον προσφερῆς οὔσα.

3. προσβάλλοιεν] Not of charging with the beak. "Whenever they ran on board one another, they

ἀλλήλοις, οὐ ῥαδίως ἀπελύοντο ὑπὸ τε πλήθους καὶ ὄχλου τῶν νεῶν, καὶ μᾶλλον τι πιστεύοντες τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ὀπλίταις ἐς τὴν νίκην, οἱ καταστάντες ἐμάχοντο ἡσυχάζουσῶν τῶν νεῶν. 4. διέκπλοι δ' οὐκ ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ θυμῷ καὶ ῥώμῃ τὸ πλεον ἐνανμάχουν ἢ ἐπιστήμῃ. 5. πανταχῇ μὲν οὖν πολὺς θόρυβος καὶαραχώδης ἦν ἡ ναυμαχία, ἐν ἣ αἱ Ἀττικαὶ νῆες παραγιγνόμεναι τοῖς Κερκυραίοις εἴπη πιέζονται, φόβον μὲν παρείχον τοῖς ἐναντίοις, μάχης δὲ οὐκ ἦρχον, δεδιότες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὴν πρόρρησιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων. 6. μάλιστα δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας τῶν Κορινθίων ἐπόνει

could not readily get free again." We have here an instance of what is sometimes called the optative of indefinite repetition. It is to be noticed however that the idea of frequency in this and similar passages is conveyed not by the optative, but by the verb of the apodosis, which exhibits—(1) Sometimes (but very rarely) the present indicative. Cp. *Il.* iv. 343, *πρώτῳ γὰρ καὶ δαιτὸς ἀκούσῃσθον ἐμεῖο, ὅπποτε δαῖτα γέρουσιν ἐφοπλίζοιμεν Ἀχαιοί* (you hear and always heard); *Od.* xxiv. 343, *ἔνθα δ' ἀνὰ σταφυλαὶ παντοῖαι ἔασιν, ὅπποτε δὴ Διὸς ὦραι ἐπιβρίσειαν ὑπερθεν* (are and always were). (2) Sometimes the aorist with some adverb or other word denoting frequency, as *Il.* iii. 232, *πολλάκι μιν ξείνισσεν ἀρηΐφιλος Μενέλαος οἴκῳ ἐν ἡμετέρῳ ἐπότε Κρήτηθεν ἵκοιτο*. (3) Most commonly the imperfect, as here: cp. i. 99. 3; ii. 4. 1; elsewhere. The optative denotes a vague supposition, an action which exists only in the mind, and, in phrases of this nature, appears to signify that out of an indefinite number of instances you are at liberty to fix your mind upon any one you please. But it no more denotes repetition than it does in a hypothetical sentence. For *εἴ πη πιέζονται* just below, we might read *ὅπποτε πιέζονται*. See Herm. on *Viger*; p. 907.

μᾶλλον τι] "Because they relied

for victory much more on the soldiers upon deck," than on their seamanship, whereas the improved Athenian naval tactics made the ship itself the most efficient weapon in the hands of its crew: see the narrative of Phormio's engagements, ii. 83 sqq. *καταστάντες ἐμάχοντο*, "fell to and fought."

4. *διέκπλοι*] "The diecplus was a breaking through the enemy's line, in order by a rapid turn of the vessel to strike the enemy's ship on the side or stern, where it was most defenceless, and so to sink it. See ii. 83. 5; 89. 12; vii. 36. 3. 4; 70. 4." Arnold. Poppo compares Livy xxxvii. 24, *libero inter ordines discursu praetervecti in puppim impetum dabant*. *οὐκ ἦσαν* means "were not practised on this occasion;" for the manœuvre had long been familiar to Greek admirals, though the Corinthians and Corcyraeans were perhaps behind the age: cp. Hdt. vi. 12; viii. 9.

5. *δεδιότες*] "*ἦρχον οἱ στρατηγοὶ* cannot be taken together because of the intervening *δεδιότες*. Thus we have here an appositive participle with a subject of its own, which however is included in the subject of the main verb as a part in the whole: cp. ii. 54. 2; iv. 6. 1; 73. 4; vii. 71. 1." Kr. *πρόρρησιν* is the substantive corresponding to *προεῖπον*, i. 45. 2.

οἱ γὰρ Κερκυραῖοι εἴκοσι ναυσὶν αὐτοὺς τρεψάμενοι καὶ καταδιώξαντες σποράδας ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου πλεύσαντες αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπεκβάντες ἐνέπρησάν τε τὰς σκηναὺς ἐρήμους καὶ τὰ χρήματα διήρπασαν. 7. ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν οἱ Κορίνθιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἡσσωτό τε καὶ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι ἐπεκράτουν. ἥ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἦσαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι, ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ, πολὺ ἐνίκων, τοῖς Κερκυραίοις τῶν εἴκοσι νεῶν ἀπὸ ἐλάσσονος πλήθους ἐκ τῆς διώξεως οὐ παρουσῶν. 8. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ὀρώντες τοὺς Κερκυραίους πιεζομένους μᾶλλον ἤδη ἀπροφασίστως ἐπεκούρουν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπεχόμενοι ὥστε μὴ ἐμβάλλειν τινί· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τροπὴ ἐγένετο λαμπρῶς καὶ ἐνέκειντο οἱ Κορίνθιοι, τότε δὲ ἔργου πᾶς εἶχετο ἤδη καὶ διεκέκριτο οὐδὲν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ ξυνέπεσεν ἐς τοῦτο ἀνάγκης ὥστε ἐπιχειρῆσαι ἀλλήλοις τοὺς Κορινθίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους. 50. 1. τῆς δὲ τροπῆς γενομένης οἱ Κορίνθιοι τὰ σκάφη μὲν

6. ἐρήμους] “For they were undefended.” The position of the word shows it to be a predicate, that is to say it is not a mere epithet, but adds a fresh fact about the tents, and explains *πῶν* the Corcyraeans were able to set them on fire. Cp. ii. 93. 4, τὰς τριήρεις ἀφείλκυσαν κενάς: vi. 37. 1, ταῖς ναυσὶ κούφαις vii. 70. 6, τὸν κτύπον μέγαν. Sometimes a participle is added to bring out the sense more clearly: cp. iii. 27. 2, τὸν δῆμον πρότερον ψιλὸν ὄντα. Often the distinction between an epithet and a predicate is very minute, and can scarcely be marked in an English translation; but the Greek language is very fertile of such minute distinctions, and we must be careful to preserve them, and not to imagine that there is no more meaning in the position of ἐρήμους here than in that of κατεσχηκότος, i. 11. 6 (see note there, and Madv. *G. S.* 12, r. 86 b; 181, r. 7). ἐρήμος in Thuc. is more commonly of two than of three terminations. τὰ χρήματα = their contents: the word is used of any thing valuable and portable. In διήρπασαν the preposition gives the idea

of the division of the plunder among many hands.

7. ἀπὸ ἐλάσσονος πλήθους] ἀπὸ as in ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν: “out of a number that was smaller to begin with.” ἐκ, because παρῆναι is equivalent to a verb of motion, and here signifies “to have returned.”

8. ἀπροφασίστως] “Began (ἤδη), to aid them with less scruple or hesitation.” For ἀπροφασίστως cp. vi. 72. 4; viii. 2. 4; for μᾶλλον ἤδη, note on i. 3. 2.

τότε δὲ] “Then indeed every one put his hand to the work, and there was no longer any standing aloof.” For the impersonal verb cp. note on i. 46. 1. The pluperfect is here used to denote a result so swift and instantaneous that you cannot catch the moment of its commencement, as if the action denoted by διεκέκριτο was completed even *before* that denoted by ἐνέκειντο. Cp. Hdt. vi. 130, φαμένου δὲ ἐγγυᾶσθαι Μεγακλέος ἐκεκύρωτο ὁ γάμος Κλεισθέ- νεϊ.

ξυνέπ. ἐς τοῦτο ἀνάγκης] “Things came to such a pass,” or, perhaps more literally, “matters assumed so warlike an aspect;” ἀνάγκη being

οὐχ εἶλκον ἀναδούμενοι τῶν νεῶν ἅς καταδύσειαν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐτράποντο φονεύειν διεκπλέοντες μᾶλλον ἢ ζωγρεῖν. τοὺς τε αὐτῶν φίλους οὐκ αἰσθόμενοι ὅτι ἤσσηντο οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρα ἀγνοοῦντες ἔκτεινον. 2. πολλῶν γὰρ νεῶν οὐσῶν ἀμφοτέρων καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπεχουσῶν, ἐπειδὴ ξυνέμιξαν ἀλλήλοις, οὐ ῥαδίως τὴν διάγνωσιν ἐποιοῦντο ὅποιοι ἐκράτουν ἢ ἐκρατοῦντο. ναυμαχία γὰρ αὕτη "Ελλησι πρὸς" Ἑλληνας νεῶν πλήθει μεγίστη δὴ τῶν πρὸ ἑαυτῆς γεγένηται. 3. ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατεδίωξαν τοὺς Κερκυραίους οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐς τὴν γῆν, πρὸς τὰ ναυάγια καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς σφετέρους ἐτράποντο, καὶ τῶν πλείστων ἐκράτησαν ὥστε προσκομίσαι πρὸς τὰ Σύβοτα, οἱ αὐτοῖς ὁ κατὰ γῆν στρατὸς τῶν βαρβάρων προσεβεβοηθήκει. ἔστι δὲ τὰ Σύβοτα τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος λιμὴν ἐρήμος. 4. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες αὐθις ἀθροισθέντες ἐπέπλεον τοῖς Κερκυραίοις. 5. οἱ

here a state of things in which violence reigns supreme.

CH. L. 1. καταδύσειαν] "Which they might happen to have sunk." Cp. note on διέφθειραν, i. 29. 3 above. "The Greek triremes were so light and so shallow that they would float in a manner under water, or rather with parts of the vessel still out of water, on which the crew used to take refuge. See Hdt. viii. 90, where a Samothracian crew are said to have captured the Aeginetan galley by which their own ship had already been sunk." Arn. Also cp. Schol. on 54. 4 below.

φονεύειν denotes their purpose: see note on βοηθεῖν, i. 44. 1 above.

2. ἀμφοτέρων] Governed by νεῶν. Cp. ἐκείνων, i. 45. 2 above.

ξυνέμιξαν] "When once the *mêlée* began they did not find it easy to distinguish which were conquerors and which were conquered." The imperfect ἐποιοῦντο describes a continuous state of things, while the aorist ξυνέμιξαν gives the point of time at which it began.

ναυμαχία αὕτη] To save a

grammatical rule, we might say that ναυμαχία is part of the predicate, and must be taken with μεγίστη, = this was the greatest sea-fight. (Cp. i. 1. 2, κίνησις γὰρ αὕτη μεγίστη δὴ, and Madv. G. S. II, r. 1.) But this rule, like very many of the canons of Greek syntax, admits of numerous exceptions, and οὗτος seems to have two usages. (α) As a pronoun in the strict sense of the word, when, if the substantive is inserted, it is added by way of apposition, and must have the article: thus οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ = this person, I mean the man. And in this case if the article be absent, the substantive has a predicative force, for instance, ταύτη ἀπολογία χρῆται = he uses this as an excuse. (β) As an adjective or indeed as a definite article: cp. i. 66. 1; 71. 1; 85. 1; 146. 1; vi. 31. 1; 54. 5; 73. 1. So ὅδε is used without the article, iv. 85. 5; 105. 2. "Ελλησι πρὸς Ἑλληνας excludes Artemisium and Salamis. μεγίστη τῶν πρὸ ἑαυτῆς, see note on i. 1. 1.

4. ἐπέπλεον] "Were sailing against:" the imperfect of a space

δὲ ταῖς πλωίμοις καὶ ὅσαι ἦσαν λοιπαὶ μετὰ τῶν Ἀττικῶν νεῶν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀντέπλεον. δείσαντες μὴ εἰς τὴν γῆν σφῶν πειρῶσιν ἀποβαίνειν. 6. ἤδη δὲ ἦν ὁψὲ καὶ ἐπεπαιώνιστο αὐτοῖς ὥς εἰς ἐπίπλουν, καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐξαπίνης πρύμναν ἐκρούοντο κατιδόντες εἴκοσι ναῦς Ἀθηναίων προσπλεύσας· αἱ ὕστερον τῶν δέκα βοηθοὺς ἐξέπεμψαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δείσαντες, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, μὴ νικηθῶσιν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι καὶ αἰσφέτεραι δέκα νῆες ὀλίγαι ἀμύνειν ὧσι. 51. 1. ταύτας οὖν προῖδόντες οἱ Κορίνθιοι καὶ ὑποτοπήσαντες ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν εἶναι οὐχ ὅσας ἑώρων ἀλλὰ πλείους ὑπανεχώρουν. 2. τοῖς δὲ Κερκυραίοις, ἐπέπλεον γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς. οὐχ ἑώρωντο καὶ ἐθαύμαζον τοὺς Κορινθίους πρύμναν κρουόμενους, πρὶν τινες ἰδόντες εἶπον ὅτι νῆες ἐκεῖναι ἐπιπλέουσιν· τότε δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνεχώρουν. ξυνεσκόταξε γὰρ ἡ ἤθη καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἀποτραπόμενοι τὴν διάλυσιν ἐποιήσαντο. 3. οὕτω

of time within or during which something happened.

καὶ ὅσαι] “And those which had been left behind,” for we learn from i. 47. 1 that only 110 of the 120 Corcyraean galleys took part in the battle.

6. ἐπεπαιώνιστο] παιᾶνα ᾄδειν, παιανίζω, and παιωνίζω are all used. The Scholiast says δύο παιᾶνας ἦδον οἱ Ἕλληνες πρὸ μὲν τοῦ πολέμου τῷ Ἀρεί, μετὰ δὲ τὸν πόλεμον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι. For the impersonal verb cp. note on i. 46. 1, ὥς εἰς ἐπίπλουν, “as if they were on the point of charging:” see note on i. 48. 1.

καί] When the Corinthians. καί denotes that the two actions which it couples are contemporaneous. Cp. Hdt. i. 112, ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεγε καὶ ἐπεδείκνυε: viii. 83, ἡὼς τε διέφαινε καὶ οἱ σύλλογον τῶν ἐπιβατέων ποιησάμενοι. The Latin *atque* is used in the same way: cp. Virg. *Ecl.* vii. 7. πρύμναν ἐκρούοντο, “backed water.” “The full expression is ἐπὶ πρύμναν κρούεσθαι, or ἀνακρούεσθαι, to run sternwards or stern foremost.” Arn. The object of this mode of retreat was· ἵνα μὴ τὰ νῶτα τοῖς πολεμίοις δόντες, ῥᾶον

τιτρώσκωνται. σφέτεραι, referring to the subject of the principal verb ἐξέπεμψαν: see note on i. 20. 2. ὀλίγαι ἀμύνειν, too few to help: see note on ἱκανὸς τεκμηριῶσαι, i. 9. 4.

CH. LI. 1. ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν] “That a much larger squadron than was then in sight was coming up from Athens.”

2. μᾶλλον] Their course hid them from the Corcyraeans some time after they had been descried by the Corinthians. ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς is compared by Poppo with ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος, i. 34. 3. But wrongly, for while *that* is a mere adverb, *this* is what it professes to be, a preposition and substantive denoting the quarter from which the ships actually came.

νῆες ἐκεῖναι] “There are ships yonder sailing towards us.” ἐπιπλέουσιν, though in form the primary, is in reality the secondary predicate. Cp. *Il.* xi. 611, Νέστορ' ἔρειο ὄντινα τοῦτον ἄγει βεβλημένον ἐκ πολέμοιο (who this is that he is leading); Plato, *Prot.* 102, τοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν λέγεις (this is nothing wonderful that you say). ἀποτραπόμενοι, “having turned their ships round;” no longer πρύμναν κρουόμενοι.

μὲν ἢ ἀπαλλαγὴ ἐγένετο ἀλλήλων, καὶ ἢ ναυμαχία ἐτελεύτα ἐς νύκτα. 4. τοῖς Κερκυραίοις δὲ στρατοπεδευομένοις ἐπὶ τῇ Λευκίμμῃ αἱ εἴκοσι νῆες αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν αὐται, ὧν ἦρχε Γλαύκων τε ὁ Λεάγρου καὶ Ἀνδοκίδης ὁ Λεωγόρου, διὰ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ναυαγίων προσκομισθεῖσαι κατέπλεον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἢ ὥφθησαν, 5. οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι, ἦν γὰρ νύξ, ἐφοβήθησαν μὴ πολέμιαί ὦσιν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἔγνωσαν καὶ ὠρμίσαντο.

52. 1. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀναγόμεναι αἵ τε Ἀττικάι τριάκοντα νῆες καὶ τῶν Κερκυραίων ὅσαι πλώιμοι ἦσαν ἐπέπλευσαν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν τοῖς Συβότοις λιμένα, ἐν ᾧ οἱ Κορίνθιοι ὠρμουν, βουλόμενοι εἰδέναι εἰ ναυμαχήσουσιν. 2. οἱ δὲ τὰς μὲν ναῦς ἄραντες ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ παραταξάμενοι μετεώρους ἡσύχαζον, ναυμαχίας οὐ διανοούμενοι ἄρχειν ἐκόντες, ὀρῶντες προσγεγενημένας τε ναῦς ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἀκραιφνεῖς καὶ σφίσι πολλὰ τὰ ἄπορα ξυμβεβηκότα, αἰχμαλώτων τε περὶ φυλακῆς οὓς ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν εἶχον, καὶ ἐπισκευὴν οὐκ οὔσαν τῶν νεῶν ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ. 3. τοῦ δὲ οἴκαδε πλοῦ μᾶλλον διεσκόπουν

3. ἀλλήλων, "from one another," is governed by ἀπαλλαγὴ, which takes the construction of the verb from which it is formed. ἐτελεύτα ἐς, "continued till nightfall and then ceased:" cp. i. 71. 5; iii. 78. 5; 108. 5.

4. Ἀνδοκίδης] ὁ εἰς τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων, ὧς φησιν Ἀκουσίλαος. Sch. He was the εἰς τῶν δεδεμένων who turned approver in the matter of the mutilation of the Hermae, vi. 60. 2.

διὰ τῶν νεκρῶν is a curiously graphic touch, considering the plain business-like tone of the rest of the narrative. We are reminded of Homer's διὰ τ' ἔντεα καὶ μέλαν αἶμα (II. x. 469).

CH. LII. 2. τὰς μὲν] μὲν answers to δέ which follows in the third section: they made preparations for a battle, and yet were considering how they might get home without one. ναῦς ἄραντες is an uncommon construction, for which we gene-

rally find ναυσὶν ἄραντες, as at i. 29. 1.

πολλά is predicate; περὶ φυλακῆς must be joined with ἄπορα, while ἐπισκευήν is governed by ὀρῶντες. There is a similar change of construction at i. 23. 4: τὰ τε πρότερον . . . οὐκ ἄπιστα κατέστη, σεισμῶν τε πέρι . . . ἡλίου τε ἐκλείψεις, "seeing how many were the difficulties that beset them, as to the custody of the prisoners whom they had on board, and that there was no material for repairing their ships in so desert a place." χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ, without article: cp. note on πόλεσιν ἀτειχίστοις, i. 5. 1.

3. τοῦ . . . πλοῦ] Not so much a genitive of reference as a possessive or partitive genitive, which will be seen at once if we write τοῦ πλοῦ διεσκόπουν τὸ ὅπη κομισθήσονται, and compare such phrases as πυνθάνεσθαι πατρὸς νόστον and θαυμάζω σοῦ τόδε. A slight alteration in the verb or in the form of the expres-

ὅπῃ κομισθήσονται, δεδιότες μὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι νομίσαντες λελύσθαι τὰς σπονδὰς διότι ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον, οὐκ ἐῷσι σφᾶς ἀποπλεῖν. 53. 1. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἄνδρας ἐς κελήτιον ἐμβιβάσαντας ἄνευ κηρυκείου προσπέμψαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ πείραν ποιήσασθαι. πέμψαντές τε ἔλεγον τοιάδε. 2. “Ἀδικεῖτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πολέμου ἄρχοντες καὶ σπονδὰς λύοντες. ἡμῖν γὰρ πολεμίους τοὺς ἡμετέρους τιμωρουμένοις ἐμποδὼν ἴστασθε ὅπλα ἀνταιρόμενοι. 3. εἰ δ’ ὑμῖν γνώμη ἐστὶ κωλύειν τε ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν ἢ ἄλλοσε εἴ ποι βουλόμεθα πλεῖν, καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς λύετε, ἡμᾶς τούσδε λαβόντες πρῶτον χρήσασθε ὡς πολεμίοις.” 4. οἱ μὲν δὲ τοιαῦτα εἶπον· τῶν δὲ Κερκυραίων τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον ὅσον ἐπήκουσεν, ἀνεβόησεν εὐθὺς λαβεῖν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τοιάδε ἀπεκρίναντο. “Οὔτε ἄρχομεν πολέμου, ὦ ἄνδρες Πελοποννήσιοι, οὔτε τὰς σπονδὰς λύομεν· Κερκυραίοις δὲ τοῖσδε ξυμμάχοις οὖσι βοηθοὶ ἦλθομεν. 5. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοσέ ποι βούλεσθε πλεῖν, οὐ κωλύομεν· εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν πλευσεῖσθε ἢ ἐς τῶν ἐκείνων τι χωρίων, οὐ περιοψόμεθα κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν.” 54. 1. τοιαῦτα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀποκριναμένων οἱ μὲν Κορίνθιοι τὸν τε πλοῦν τὸν ἐπ’

sion disguises the real character of the genitive. Thus Soph. *El.* 317, τοῦ κασιγνήτου τί φῆς; “what do you say *about* your brother?” literally, “of or belonging to your brother.” Cp. note on i. 68. 2.

CH. LIII. 1. κηρυκείου] κηρύκϊον ἐστὶ ξύλον ὀρθόν, ἔχον ἐκατέρωθεν δύο ὄφεις περιπεπλεγμένους καὶ ἀντιπροσώπους πρὸς ἀλλήλους κειμένους. Sch. In fact it was a *caduceus* such as is commonly borne by Hermes. The Corinthians would not allow their envoys to take one, because it would have implied that they were at open war with the Athenians, and could have no dealings with them ἀκηρυκτί. τοῖς Ἀθ.: see note on *Σαμίους*, i. 13. 3. πείραν ποιήσασθαι = to sound their intentions.

2. σπονδὰς λύοντες] “Breaking treaty,” generally; while τὰς σπονδὰς just below is *the* Thirty Years’

Truce.

3.] τε is placed a little too late in the sentence; it should follow γνώμη. Or we may say that λύετε is an anacoluthon. Changes of construction are very frequent after τε: cp. i. 16. 1; 52. 2; ii. 37. 3; iii. 36. 1; iv. 85. 3. ἢ ἄλλοσε, “or to any other place that we choose:” cp. ii. 72. 6. λύετε = are for breaking: cp. i. 28. 5, ἀπάγωσι. ἡμᾶς τούσδε = us here.

4. τὸ μὲν στρατ.] After distinguishing the Corinthians from the Corcyraeans by μὲν . . . δέ, Thuc. wished to distinguish the Corcyraeans from the Athenians by the same two particles. But δέ was already attached to Κερκυραίων, so the second μὲν must needs go with στρατόπεδον.

5. ἐκείνων] See note on i. 45. 2.

οἴκου παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ τροπαῖον ἔστησαν ἐν τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Συβότοις· 2. οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι τὰ τε ναυάγια καὶ νεκροὺς ἀνείλουντο τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς ἐξενεχθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ ροῦ καὶ ἀνέμου ὃς γενόμενος τῆς νυκτὸς διεσκέδασεν αὐτὰ πανταχῇ, καὶ τροπαῖον ἀντέστησαν ἐν τοῖς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Συβότοις ὥς νενικηκότες. 3. γνώμη δὲ ἐκάτεροι τοιαῦδε τὴν νίκην προσεποιήσαντο. 4. Κορίνθιοι μὲν κρατήσαντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ μέχρι νυκτὸς ὥστε καὶ ναυάγια πλείστα καὶ νεκροὺς προσκομίσασθαι καὶ ἄνδρας ἔχοντες αἰχμαλώτους οὐκ ἐλάσσους χιλίων, ναῦς τε καταδύσαντες περὶ ἑβδομήκοντα, ἔστησαν τροπαῖον. | Κερκυραῖοι δὲ τριάκοντα ναῦς μάλιστα διαφθείραντες καὶ ἐπειδὴ Ἀθηναῖοι ἦλθον, ἀνελόμενοι τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ναυάγια καὶ νεκρούς, καὶ ὅτι αὐτοῖς τῇ τε προτεραίᾳ πρύμναν κρουόμενοι ὑπεχώρησαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἰδόντες τὰς Ἀττικὰς ναῦς, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἦλθον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐκ ἀντέπλεον ἐκ τῶν Συβότων, διὰ ταῦτα τροπαῖον ἔστησαν. 5. οὕτω μὲν ἐκάτεροι νικᾶν ἡξίουں.

55. 1. Οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι ἀποπλέοντες ἐπ' οἴκου Ἀνακτόριον, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ Ἀμπρακικοῦ κόλπου, εἶλον ἀπάτῃ· ἦν δὲ κοινὸν Κερκυραίων καὶ ἐκείνων· καὶ κατα-

CH. LIV. 2. νεκρούς] The article is omitted before this word in other passages: cp. iii. 109. 1, περὶ νεκρῶν ἀναιρέσεως: iv. 14. 5, νεκροὺς ἀπέδοσαν: v. 10. 12. νεκροὺς ἐσκύλευσε: vii. 5. 3, νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀνελόμενων: viii. 106. 4, νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀποδόντες. In all these passages the writer is speaking of a familiar operation which followed every engagement—the collecting, spoiling, giving up to their friends of the bodies of the slain—and therefore the article is omitted, as in the common or technical English phrases, quoted by Sheppard and Evans, “weigh anchor,” “furl sails,” &c. Sometimes, however, the article is added before νεκρούς (cp. ii. 82. 1; v. 11. 2), and in the present passage we seem to feel the want of it on account of the pre-

ceding τὰ ναυάγια. τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς ἐξ., which were cast on shore opposite to their camp. The participle is neuter, either because the corpses are regarded as things, or, more probably, because the wrecks were cast up with the corpses on them. ἀνέμου, without the article, note on i. 6. 1 above.

3. γνώμη . . . τοιαῦδε] “Under the following idea,” “on the following grounds.”

4. καταδύσαντες] ἀντὶ τοῦ τρώσαντες· οὐ· ἄρ λέγει ἐπὶ τοῦ βαπτίσαντες, τοιοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ἄς καταδύσειαν (i. 50. 1). Sch. αὐτοῖς, see note on i. 13. 3.

5. νικᾶν = victores esse. Poppo.

CH. LV. 1. Κερκυραίων] The genitive depends rather on ἦν than on κοινόν. See Madv. G. S. 62, r. ἐν θεραπείᾳ εἶχον: cp. the use of

στήσαντες ἐν αὐτῷ Κορινθίους οἰκήτορας ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου, καὶ τῶν Κερκυραίων ὀκτακοσίους μὲν οἱ ἦσαν δούλοι ἀπέδοντο, πεντήκοντα δὲ καὶ διακοσίους δῆσαντες ἐφύλασσαν καὶ ἐν θεραπείᾳ εἶχον πολλῇ, ὅπως αὐτοῖς τὴν Κέρκυραν ἀναχωρήσαντες προσποιήσειαν. ἐτύγχανον δὲ καὶ δυνάμει αὐτῶν οἱ πλείους πρῶτοι ὄντες τῆς πόλεως. 2. ἡ μὲν οὖν Κέρκυρα οὕτω περιγίγνεται τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν Κορινθίων, καὶ αἱ νῆες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀνεχώρησαν ἐξ αὐτῆς. 3. αἰτία δὲ αὕτη πρώτη ἐγένετο τοῦ πολέμου τοῖς Κορινθίοις ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὅτι σφίσιν ἐν σπονδαῖς μετὰ Κερκυραίων ἐναυμάχουν.

56. 1. Μετὰ ταῦτα δ' εὐθὺς καὶ τάδε ξυνέβη γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Πελοποννησίοις διάφορα ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν. 2. τῶν γὰρ Κορινθίων πρασσόντων ὅπως τιμωρήσονται αὐτούς, ὑποτοπήσαντες τὴν ἔχθραν αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι Ποτιδαίτας, οἱ οἰκοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τῆς Παλλήνης, Κορινθίων ἀποίκους, ἑαυτῶν δὲ ξυμμάχους φόρου ὑποτελεῖς, ἐκέλευον τὸ ἐς Παλλήνην τείχος καθελεῖν καὶ ὁμήρους δοῦναι, τοὺς τε

θεραπεύω, i. 9. 2; 137. 5. "Similar are ἐν αἰτία ἔχειν, i. 35. 4; ἐν ὀργῇ ἔχειν, ii. 8. 7; ἐν ὀρθῶδιᾳ ἔχειν, ii. 89. 1." Porpo.

προσποιήσειαν] Observe the difference between the active voice here and the middle voice in the last chapter: see note on i. 16.

2. περιγίγνεται . . . τῶν K.] Gets the upper hand of them.

3. αἰτία δὲ αὕτη] See note on i. 1. 2.

CH. LVI. 1. διάφορα ἐς] Points of dispute leading to, resulting in war.

2. πρασσόντων ὅπως] Intriguing, or casting about how: πρᾶσσειν ὅπως admits of three constructions. It is followed (α) most commonly by the future indicative: cp. iii. 4. 6, ἔπρασσον ὅπως τις βοήθεια ἥξει, "they were casting about how some assistance shall come." Here ὅπως is an interrogative—the object of the deliberation is regarded as certain, the only doubt being as to the means

by which it may best be effected.

(β) By the subjunctive: so in the next chapter, ὅπως πόλεμος γένηται.

In this mood ὅπως is followed as a general rule by the 2nd aor. of active and middle, and the 1st aorist of passive verbs. Hence τιμωρήσονται is read by Krüger, but unnecessarily—see Matthiä, 519. 7; Madv. 123, r. 1. (γ) By the optative: cp. i. 58. 1, ὅπως ἐτοιμάσαιντο. In these last two constructions ὅπως deserts its original signification, and like ἵνα, "where," ὅφρα, "until," becomes a final particle, = in order that. δέ, "but still," though they were colonists of the Corinthians. The μὲν, which should have followed Κορινθίων, is omitted. So at i. 12. 3, some MSS. read τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίαν πρότερον δὲ Καδμηίδα γῆν καλουμένην.

τὸ ἐς Παλλήνην] "The wall looking towards Pallene." They were commanded to demolish this wall rather than that on the side

ἐπιδημιουργοὺς ἐκπέμπειν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ δέχεσθαι οὓς κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον Κορίνθιοι ἔπεμπον, δείσαντες μὴ ἀποστῶσιν ὑπὸ τε Περδίκκου πειθόμενοι καὶ Κορινθίων, τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράκης ξυναποστήσωσι ξυμμάχους. 57. 1. ταῦτα δὲ περὶ τοὺς Ποτιδαίτας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι προπαρεσκευάζοντο εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν ἐν Κερκύρα ναυμαχίαν. οἱ τε γὰρ Κορίνθιοι φανερώς ἤδη διάφοροι ἦσαν, Περδίκκας τε ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἐπεπολέμωτο ξύμμαχος πρότερον καὶ φίλος ὢν. 2. ἐπολεμώθη δὲ ὅτι Φιλίππῳ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφῷ καὶ Δέρδᾳ κοινῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐναντιούμενοις οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ξυμμαχίαν ἐποιήσαντο. 3. δεδιώς τε ἔπρασεν, ἔς τε τὴν Λακεδαίμονα πέμπων ὅπως πόλεμος γένηται αὐτοῖς πρὸς Πελοποννησίους, καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους προσεποιεῖτο τῆς Ποτιδαίας ἔνεκα ἀποστάσεως· προσέφερε δὲ λόγους καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ Θράκης Χαλκιδεῦσι καὶ Βοττιαίοις ξυναποστήναι, νομί-

nearest the mainland, in order that they might be more accessible to the Athenian fleets.

ἐπιδημιουργούς] δημιουργός is a Doric name for a magistrate. The prefix ἐπι-, either signifies that they were sent from Corinth, *in addition* to the magistrates appointed by the colonists themselves, or, as in ἐπιμελητής, ἐπιβουκόλος, denotes that they were placed *over* the people. ἐπὶ Θράκης, "towards Thrace," living on the southern skirts of Thrace. It is "a general term, applied to the Greek states which lined the northern coast of the Aegean, from Thessaly to the Hellespont." Arn. ξυμμάχους, sc. ὄντας.

CH. LVII. 1. Μακεδόνων] Only of lower Macedonia: cp. ii. 99. Perdiccas had expelled Philip from his kingdom: cp. ii. 100. 3. Derdas, according to the Scholiast, was Ἀριδαίου παῖς, ἀνεψιὸς Περδίκκα καὶ Φιλίππου. For the pedigree of the Macedonian kings, cp. Hdt. viii. 137, 138, 139; also v. 22. The kings were admitted to be Hellenes, "but the people were regarded as, at best, half-barbarians.

See Thuc. iv. 124. 126." Arn. But the whole Macedonian nation was related to the Hellenes, and perhaps represents the common stock of which the Hellenes and Italians were offshoots. Hdt. says (i. 56), that the Dorians were originally called Macedonians; and "in the Macedonian dialect there occur grammatical forms which are commonly called Aeolic, together with many Arcadian and Thessalian words; and what perhaps is still more decisive, several words, which, though not to be found in the Greek, have been preserved in the Latin language." Müller's *Dorians*, Introd. § 3; and i. 1. 10.

3. ἔς τε] Cp. note on i. 53. 3. αὐτοῖς = τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. προσεποιεῖτο, "he was trying to win over the Corinthians, in order to effect the revolt of Potidaea." προσποιούμενος would seem more natural, but the same abrupt transition from the participle to the finite verb is found again at iii. 87. 1; iv. 100. 1; vii. 47. 2. τῆς, in apposition with ἀποστάσεως, governs Ποτιδαίας.

ξυναποστήναι] "He was making

ζων, εἰ ξύμμαχα ταῦτα ἔχοι ὅμορα ὄντα τὰ χωρία, ῥᾶον ἂν τὸν πόλεμον μετ' αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι. 4. ὦν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι αἰσθόμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι προκαταλαμβάνειν τῶν πόλεων τὰς ἀποστάσεις, ἔτυχον γὰρ τριάκοντα ναῦς ἀποστέλλοντες καὶ χιλίους ὀπλίτας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ Ἀρχεστράτου τοῦ Λυκομήδους μετ' ἄλλων δέκα στρατηγούντος, ἐπιστέλλουσι τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῶν νεῶν Ποτιδαιατῶν τε ὁμήρους λαβεῖν καὶ τὸ τεῖχος καθελεῖν τῶν τε πλησίον πόλεων φυλακὴν ἔχειν ὅπως μὴ ἀποστήσονται. 58. 1. Ποτιδαιᾶται δὲ πέμψαντες μὲν καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίους πρέσβεις, εἴ πως πείσειαν μὴ σφῶν πέρι νεωτερίζειν μηδέν, ἐλθόντες δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα μετὰ Κορινθίων ἔπρασσον ὅπως ἐτοιμάσαιντο τιμωρίαν, ἣν δέη, ἐπειδὴ ἔκ τε Ἀθηναίων ἐκ πολλοῦ πράσσοντες οὐδὲν

overtures to them to revolt at the same time." Cp. note on βοηθεῖν, i. 44. 1. ἂν belongs to ποιεῖσθαι: cp. note on i. 2. 2.

4. προκαταλαμβάνειν] To prevent the revolts by occupying the cities beforehand. αὐτοῦ, of Perdiccas.

δέκα] Krüger thinks the number too large, especially as five more strategi are said to have been sent (61. 1), so that the whole number employed would be sixteen, and very ingeniously conjectures δ' (= τεσσάρων). But no change is necessary. For first, the MSS. are unanimous in favour of the text; second, more than the usual complement of officers would be required for an expedition during which it was likely that the forces would have to be split up into detachments, or to garrison towns; third, at i. 116. 1, we read of a fleet of forty-four ships with ten strategi, and altogether fifteen strategi appear to have been employed in the siege of Samos. The strategi mentioned in this and similar passages, are not necessarily the state officials known by that name, for (iv. 28) Cleon, who was at the time a private individual, was put in command of the expedition against Sphacteria. The officer whose name is given (here Arche-

stratus, below Callias) probably held the supreme command, while the others led divisions, formed the council of war, and succeeded to the command-in-chief, in case of their general's death. The ten spoken of in the present passage are evidently subordinates, as they are superseded first by Callias, afterwards by Phormion.

Cii. LVIII. 1. ἔπρασσον] "Dendum videtur" (Poppo). "If it be retained we must either take ἐλθόντες . . . δέη as an irregular parenthesis, or insert δέ after ἐπειδὴ with one MS." (Kr.) There is no question that the grammar of the sentence as it stands is wrong, if we may speak of grammar and Thuc. in the same breath. See note on προσεποιεῖτο in the last chapter, for an instance analogous to, though perhaps not so harsh as, the present, of the substitution of the finite verb for the participle.

ἣν δέη] "If there should be any need of it." For the subjunctive, cp. note on 19. 1 above, and i. 65. 1; 126. 1; 132. 2 below. ἐκ πολλοῦ: "in spite of protracted negotiations they met with no friendly response." Literally, "from a long time back:" cp. i. 68. 3; al.

εὔροντο ἐπιτήδειον, ἀλλ' αἱ νῆες αἱ ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ὁμοίως ἐπλεον, καὶ τὰ τέλη τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπέσχετο αὐτοῖς, ἣν ἐπὶ Ποτίδαιαν ἴωσιν Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐσβαλεῖν, τότε δὴ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἀφίστανται μετὰ Χαλκιδέων καὶ Βοττιαίων κοινῇ ξυνομόσαντες.

2. καὶ Περδίκκας πείθει Χαλκιδέας τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάσση πόλεις ἐκλιπόντας καὶ καταβαλόντας ἀνοικίσασθαι ἐς Ὀλυνθον, μίαν τε πόλιν ταύτην ἰσχυρὰν ποιήσασθαι τοῖς τε ἐκλιπούσι τούτοις τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γῆς τῆς Μυγδονίας περὶ τὴν Βόλβην λίμνην ἔδωκε νέμεσθαι ἕως ἂν ὁ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πόλεμος ᾗ. 3. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀνωκίζοντό τε καθαιροῦντες τὰς πόλεις καὶ ἐς πόλεμον παρεσκευάζοντο. 59. 1. αἱ δὲ τριάκοντα νῆες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης, καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν Ποτίδαιαν καὶ τᾶλλα ἀφεστηκότα,

2. νομίσαντες δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀδύνατα εἶναι πρὸς τε Περδίκκαν πολεμεῖν τῇ παρούσῃ δυνάμει καὶ τὰ ξυναφεστῶτα χωρία τρέπονται ἐπὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν, ἐφ' ὅπερ καὶ τὸ πρότερον ἐξεπέμποντο, καὶ καταστάντες ἐπολέμουν μετὰ Φιλίπ-

αἱ νῆες] “The ships which had been fitted out against Macedonia were sailing against themselves also, in spite of all their efforts.” ὁμοίως, just as if they had not negotiated at all, all the same.

τὰ τέλη] “The magistrates,” so called (says the Scholiast), διὰ τὸ αὐτοὺς τὰ τέλη τοῖς πράγμασι τιθέναι: cp. note on i. 10. 6. For a different explanation, see Liddell and Scott. ὑπέσχετο and ὑπέσχοντο appear to have pretty nearly equal MS. authority. The practice of Thuc. is not uniform. With the plural of neuter nouns, which denote not things but persons, we have the plural verb at iii. 82. 19, τὰ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν διεφθείροντο: iv. 88. 1, τὰ τέλη ἐξέπεμψαν: vii. 57. 11, τοσάδε ἔθνη ἐστράτευον. On the contrary, we have ἀμαρτήματα ἐγένοντο, v. 26. 2; Κάρνεια ἐτύγχανον ὄντα, v. 75. 2; τάλαντα ἐγένοντο, vi. 62. 4, where things alone are spoken of, and the number of the

things is of no consequence.

τότε δὴ . . . τοῦτον] “Then at length in this posture of affairs.”

2. ἀνοικίσασθαι] “To go and settle inland:” cp. ἀνωκισμένοι, i. 7. Perdiccas wanted them to get out of reach of the Athenian navy. μίαν πόλιν . . . ἰσχυράν is said to be predicate, and translated “to make of this one strong city.” But Olynthus was *one* city already, and it would make better sense to translate, “to make this one city strong.” Cp. notes on i. 1. 2; 50. 2. τῆς = some of: cp. τῆς γῆς ἔτεμον, i. 30. 2. περί = in the neighbourhood of: cp. on i. 5. 3. νέμεσθαι, see notes on i. 2. 2 and 44. 1.

CH. LIX. 2. πρὸς τε Περδ. . . . καί] “Against Perdiccas and the rebel confederacy at the same time.” For ἀδύνατα cp. i. 1. 3, and Madv. G. S. 1 b, r. 4.

ἐφ' ὅπερ] “For which purpose:” cp. vi. 47. καταστάντες as at i. 49. 3.

που καὶ τῶν Δέρδου ἀδελφῶν ἄνωθεν στρατιᾷ ἐσβεβληκότων.

60. 1. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ Κορίνθιοι τῆς Ποτιδαίας ἀφεστηκυίας καὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν νεῶν περὶ Μακεδονίαν οὐσῶν, δεδιότες περὶ τῷ χωρίῳ καὶ οἰκείον τὸν κίνδυνον ἡγούμενοι πέμπουσιν ἑαυτῶν τε ἐθελοντὰς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Πελοποννησίων μισθῷ πείσαντες ἑξακοσίους καὶ χιλίους τοὺς πάντας ὀπλίτας καὶ ψιλοὺς τετρακοσίους. 2. ἐστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀριστεὺς ὁ Ἀδειμάντου, κατὰ φιλίαν τε αὐτοῦ οὐχ ἥκιστα οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐκ Κορίνθου στρατιῶται ἐθελονταὶ ξυνέσποντο· ἦν γὰρ τοῖς Ποτιδαιαταῖς αἰεὶ ποτε ἐπιτήδειος. 3. καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται τεσσαρακοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὕστερον ἐπὶ Θράκης ἢ Ποτίδαια ἀπέστη. 61. 1. ἦλθε δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εὐθὺς ἡ ἀγγελία τῶν πόλεων ὅτι ἀφεστᾶσι· καὶ πέμπουσιν, ὥς ἦσθοντο καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Ἀριστεύς ἐπιπαρόντας, δισχιλίους ἑαυτῶν ὀπλίτας καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς πρὸς τὰ ἀφεστῶτα καὶ Καλλίαν τὸν Καλλιᾶδου πέμπτον αὐτὸν στρατηγόν. 2. οἱ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Μακεδονίαν πρῶτον καταλαμβάνουσι τοὺς προτέρους χιλίους Θέρμην ἄρτι ἡρηκότας καὶ Πύδναν πολιορκοῦντας. 3. προσκαθεζόμενοι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν Πύδναν

ἄνωθεν = κατὰ κορυφὴν, ii. 99. 1: “from the highlands,” or simply “from the interior,” ὥστε τὸν Περδίκκαν μεταξὺ ἀποληφθῆναι (Sch.).

CH. LX. 1.] **δεδιότες περὶ** is nearly always followed by the dative; cp. however iii. 102. 3. **μισθῷ πείσαντες** = **μισθωτοὺς**, and governs the preceding genitive. Somewhat similar is i. 141. 4, **οὔτε ναῦς πληροῦντες** (= **οὔτε ναυτικάς**) **οὔτε πεζὰς στρατιὰς ἐκπέμπειν δύνανται**. Cp. also i. 22. 2, **οἷς τε αὐτὸς παρῆν καὶ . . . ἐπεξελθών**, = **ἃ ἐπεξῆλθον**. **τοὺς πάντας** = in all: cp. i. 100. 1; ii. 101. 7; iii. 85. 2; vi. 43. 1.

2. **Ἀδειμάντου**] **τοῦτον ἴσμεν ἐν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς πρὸς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα στασιάζοντα** (Sch.). Cp. Hdt. viii. 5, 59, 61, 94. **κατὰ**, cp. i. 9. 2: “out of affection for him.” **ἐθελονταὶ** is a secondary predicate—“as volunteers.” γάρ gives the

reason, not of **ξυνέσποντο**, but of **ἐστρατήγει**. For **τεσσαρακοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ**, **τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραις** would be more usual.

3. **ἐπὶ Θράκης**] **ἐπὶ** with the genitive denotes mere *direction* or *motion towards*, as at i. 55. 1. In one doubtful passage (viii. 79. 3) it appears to be used of *arrival in* a place (but there is a various reading, **ἐπ’ Ἀβυδον**). Krüger, however, quotes two other passages in which **ἐπὶ Θράκης** appears to be put for **ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης**, iii. 92. 5, and iv. 70. 1. Translate then “reach the Thraceward towns.”

CH. LXI. 1.] **ἀγγελία** with genitive (cp. viii. 15. 1) = news about. “**ἐπιπαρόντας** est ‘praeterea advenisse’” (Poppo). The *praeterea* belongs in sense to ἦσθοντο.

2. **πρῶτον** with **Μακεδονίαν**: they went *first* to Macedonia, and *then*

ἐπολιόρκησαν μὲν, ἔπειτα δὲ ξύμβασιν ποιησάμενοι καὶ
 ξυμμαχίαν ἀναγκαίαν πρὸς τὸν Περδίκκαν, ὡς αὐτοὺς κατ-
 ήπειγεν ἡ Ποτίδαια καὶ ὁ Ἀριστεὺς παρεληλυθώς, ἀπανί-
 στανται ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας, 4. καὶ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Βέροιαι
 κἀκεῖθεν ἐπιστρέψαντες καὶ πειράσαντες πρῶτον τοῦ χωρίου
 καὶ οὐχ ἐλόντες ἐπορεύοντο κατὰ γῆν πρὸς τὴν Ποτίδαιαν,
 τρισχιλίοις μὲν ὀπλίταις ἑαυτῶν, χωρὶς δὲ τῶν ξυμμάχων
 πολλοῖς, ἵππεῦσι δὲ ἑξακοσίοις Μακεδόνων τοῖς μετὰ Φιλίπ-
 που καὶ Πausanίου· ἅμα δὲ νῆες παρέπλεον ἐβδομήκοντα.
 5. κατ' ὀλίγον δὲ προϊόντες τριταῖοι ἀφίκοντο ἐς Γίγωνα καὶ
 ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο. 62. I. Ποτιδαιᾶται δὲ καὶ οἱ μετὰ
 Ἀριστεὺς Πελοποννήσιοι προσδεχόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους

proceeded by land to Potidaea.
 τοὺς προτέρους, cp. i. 57. 4.

3. ἀναγκαίαν] “On the best terms
 they could get:” see note on i. 2.
 2. “Properly = forced, which epi-
 thet is explained by the succeeding
 clause.” Kr.

4. ἐπιστρέψαντες] A very ob-
 scure passage. What Thuc. ap-
 pears to mean is—that the Athe-
 nians, after breaking up from Pydna,
 made a sudden flank march upon
 Beroea, which lay upon the slopes
 of Mount Bermius, about twenty
 miles from the coast. They failed
 in an attempt to take this fortress
 by surprise, and returned to the sea,
 and then marched round the head
 of the Thermaic Gulf to Gignonus,
 which they reached in three easy
 marches from Beroea. ἀπανίστανται
 is—they proceed to leave Macedo-
 nia, and does not imply that they
 had crossed the frontier *before* the
 attack upon Beroea. καὶ . . . οὐχ
 ἐλόντες forms a parenthesis and
 gives the reason of ἐπιστρέψαντες.
 But according to Colonel Leake
 Beroea on Mount Bermius is about
 eighty miles from Potidaea, and as
 Gignonus appears to have been quite
 close to this last town, it is difficult
 to see how the Athenians could get
 from Beroea to Gignonus in three
 short marches. Grote (vol. vi. p.
 97, note) supposes that the Beroea

here spoken of is not Beroea on
 Mount Bermius, but another town
 of the same name “situated some-
 where between Gignonus and Ther-
 ma,” and that the Athenians got
 there from Pydna by sea. But he
 does not translate ἐπιστρέψαντες,
 and Thuc. would surely have made
 distinct mention of the embarkation.
 κατὰ γῆν separates the voyage *to*
 Pydna and the march *from* it, and
 can have no reference to a voyage
 not mentioned in the text. Be-
 sides, no Beroea on the east coast
 of the Gulf of Therma appears to be
 known to geographers. Krüger,
 with more than his usual ingenuity,
 conjectures ἐπὶ Στρέψαν for ἐπι-
 στρέψαντες. But then why should
 the Athenians have gone out of their
 way to Beroea? Thuc. may have
 been mistaken as to the ease of the
 march, or the number of days occu-
 pied in it. Arnold remarks that
 the perfidious attack upon Beroea
 again appears in the next chapter
 as an enemy of the Athenians.
 χωρὶς δέ, “and besides with many
 belonging to their allies.” χωρὶς is
 an adverb: cp. ii. 13. 3; iii. 17. 2.
 Πausanίου· οὗτος ὁ Πausanίας κατὰ
 μὲν τινὰς υἱὸς τοῦ Δέρδου, κατὰ δὲ
 ἄλλους ἀδελφός (Sch.). κατ' ὀλίγον,
 “by little and little,” “by easy
 stages:” cp. i. 69. 5.

ἔστρατοπεδεύοντο πρὸς Ὀλύνθου ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ, καὶ ἀγορὰν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐπεποίηντο. 2. στρατηγὸν μὲν τοῦ πεζοῦ παντὸς οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἤρηντο Ἀριστέα, τῆς δὲ ἵππου Περδίκκαν· ἀπέστη γὰρ εὐθὺς πάλιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ξυνεμάχει τοῖς Ποτιδαιάταις, Ἰόλαον ἀνθ' αὐτοῦ καταστήσας ἄρχοντα. 3. ἦν δὲ ἡ γνώμη τοῦ Ἀριστέως τὸ μὲν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατόπεδον ἔχοντι ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ ἐπιτηρεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἦν ἐπίωσι, Χαλκιδέας δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἔξω ἰσθμοῦ ξυμμάχους καὶ τὴν παρὰ Περδίκκου διακοσίαν ἵππον ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ μένειν· καὶ ὅταν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ σφᾶς χωρῶσι, κατὰ νώτου βοηθοῦντας ἐν μέσῳ ποιεῖν αὐτῶν τοὺς πολέμους. 4. Καλλίας δ' αὖ ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς καὶ οἱ ξυνάρχοντες τοὺς μὲν Μακεδόνας ἱππέας καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ὀλίγους ἐπὶ Ὀλύνθου ἀποπέμπουσιν, ὅπως εἵργωσι τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιβοηθεῖν, αὐτοὶ δ' ἀναστήσαντες τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὴν Ποτίδαιαν. 5. καὶ ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τῷ ἰσθμῷ ἐγένοντο καὶ εἶδον τοὺς ἐναντίους παρασκευαζομένους ὥς ἐς μάχην, ἀντικαθίσταντο καὶ αὐτοί. 6. καὶ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ξυνέμισγον. καὶ αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ τοῦ Ἀριστέως κέρας καὶ ὅσοι περὶ ἐκείνον ἦσαν Κορινθίων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων λογάδες, ἔτρεψαν τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἐπεξῆλθον διώκοντες ἐπὶ πολὺ· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον τῶν τε Ποτιδαιατῶν καὶ τῶν Πελο-

CH. LXII. 1.] πρὸς with gen. = on the side of, properly *from*: cp. the use of ἐκ, i. 64. 1. ἀγοράν: "The object of having a market outside the walls was to deprive the men of all excuse for straggling into the town to get provisions, and so being off their posts in case of a sudden attack. Cp. vi. 69. 1; 100. 1; viii. 95. 4." Arn.

2. ἀπέστη] "Aoristus pro plusquamperfecto," says Poppo, but cp. i. 31. 2.

3. ἔχοντι] Thuc. thought he had begun with ἔδοξε τῷ Ἀριστεῖ instead of ἦν ἡ γνώμη τοῦ Ἀριστέως: cp. Hom. *Il.* xiv. 139. This is an instance of the constructio ad sensum or κατὰ σύνεσιν, which is one of the most active causes of aberration in Greek syntax. Supposing that there

are two possible ways of putting a thing, a writer may adopt one at the beginning of a sentence and the other at the end. σφᾶς, "himself and the troops under him." Cp. i. 91. 3; iii. 113. 2; iv. 28. 1; and elsewhere. βοηθοῦντας, not simply "attacking," but "aiding by an attack," for βοηθεῖν never loses its proper sense of succouring or defending.

4. τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν] Cp. notes on i. 8. 3; 64. 1, 3.

6. λογάδες] Sc. ὄντες—"for they were picked men." ἐπεξῆλθον, "pushed on in pursuit,"—a careless act, which often turned a half victory into a defeat. Cp. i. 49. 7. The Spartan discipline forbade it, see v. 73. 4; and Hdt. ix. 77.

ποννησίων ἡσάτο ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος κατέφυγεν. 63. 1. ἐπαναχωρῶν δὲ ὁ Ἀριστεὺς ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως ὡς ὁρᾷ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἡσσημένον, ἠπόρησε μὲν ὁποτέρωσε διακινδυνεύσῃ χωρήσας, ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς Ὀλύνθου ἢ ἐς τὴν Ποτίδαιαν, ἔδοξε δ' οὖν ξυναγαγόντι τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ὡς ἐς ἐλάχιστον χωρίον, δρόμῳ βιάσασθαι ἐς τὴν Ποτίδαιαν. καὶ παρήλθε παρὰ τὴν χηλὴν διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης βαλλόμενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς, ὀλίγους μὲν τινὰς ἀποβαλὼν, τοὺς δὲ πλείους σώσας. 2. οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀλύνθου τοῖς Ποτιδαιαταῖς βοηθοί, ἀπέχει δὲ ἐξήκοντα μάλιστα σταδίους καὶ ἔστι καταφανές, ὡς ἡ μάχη ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἦρθη, βραχὺ μὲν τι προῆλθον ὡς βοηθήσοντες, καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες ἱππῆς ἀντιπαρετάξαντο ὡς κωλύσοντες· ἐπειδὴ δὲ διὰ τάχους ἡ νίκη τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὰ σημεῖα κατέσπασθη, πάλιν ἐπανεχώρουν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἱππῆς δ' οὐδετέροις παρεγένοντο. 3. μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην τροπαῖον ἔστησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς

CH. LXIII. 1.] διακινδυνεύσῃ is the deliberative subjunctive—"in which direction he *shall* or he *is to* run the gauntlet." Instead of χωρήσας we might have had χωρήσαι (vii. 1. 1), or the verb might have been omitted (cp. vii. 47. 3). δ' οὖν, "however," "to be brief then," cuts short his perplexity: cp. i. 3. 5.

ξυναγαγόντι] "Having drawn together his men into as close order as possible." ὡς is joined with the superlative, in the same way as the Latin *quam*, by an ellipsis; the full phrase is given at vii. 21. 2, ὡς δύνανται πλείστας. βιάσασθαι is "to force his way through."

χηλὴν] χηλὴ καλεῖται οἱ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πρὸς θάλασσαν τείχους προβεβλημένοι λίθοι διὰ τὴν τῶν κυμάτων βίαν μὴ τὸ τεῖχος βλάπτοιο, εἴρηται δὲ παρὰ τὸ εἰκέναι χηλὴν βοός (Sch.). It was a mole or break-water of large loose stones, sloping outwards from the lower part of the seaward wall, and prolonged so as

to form a pier, closing or narrowing the mouth of the harbour. The Potidaeans dare not open the gates, so Aristeus was forced to scramble along this slippery path, exposed to the missiles of the blockading fleet. Grote (vi. 101) explains the passage somewhat differently. He says that Aristeus escaped by wading into the sea in order to turn the extremity of the Potidaean wall, which reached entirely across the isthmus, with a mole running out at each end into the water.

2. καταφανές] Sc. τι or χωρίον: cp. μικρόν, i. 10. 1; πολυοινότατον, i. 138. 8. ὡς, of the apparent intention (i. 2. 6). The first ἐγίγνετο means—was on the point of beginning; for the second, cp. note on ἐνίκων, i. 13. 8; for τὰ σημεῖα, on i. 49. 1.

3. τοὺς νεκρούς] "Their dead,"—here with the article: cp. i. 54. 2. ὑποσπόνδους, "under treaty." The burial of the dead was a religious duty; hence, as the field of battle

ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδοσαν τοῖς Ποτιδαίαις. ἀπέθανον δὲ Ποτιδαιατῶν μὲν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ὀλίγῳ ἐλάσσους τριακοσίῳ, Ἀθηναίων δὲ αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ Καλλίας ὁ στρατηγός. 64. 1. τὸ δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τεῖχος εὐθὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀποτείχισαντες ἐφρούρουν· 2. τὸ δ' ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην ἀτείχιστον ἦν· οὐ γὰρ ἱκανοὶ ἐνόμιζον εἶναι ἐν τε τῷ ἰσθμῷ φρουρεῖν καὶ ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην διαβάντες τειχίζειν, δεδιότες μὴ σφίσιν οἱ Ποτιδαῖαι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι γιγνομένοις δίχα ἐπιθῶνται. 3. καὶ πυνθανόμενοι οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν Παλλήνην ἀτείχιστον οὖσαν, χρόνῳ ὕστερόν πέμπουσιν ἑξακοσίους καὶ χιλίους ὀπλίτας ἑαυτῶν καὶ Φορμίωνα τὸν Ἀσωπίου στρατηγόν. ὃς ἀφικόμενος ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην καὶ ἐξ Ἀφύτιος ὁρμώμενος προσήγαγε τῇ Ποτιδαίᾳ τὸν στρατὸν κατὰ βραχὺ προΐων καὶ κείρων ἅμα τὴν γῆν. ὥς δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐπεξῆει ἐς μάχην, ἀπετείχισε τὸ ἐκ τῆς Παλλήνης τεῖχος· 4. καὶ οὕτως ἤδη κατὰ κράτος ἡ Ποτίδαια ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐπολιορκεῖτο καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ναυσὶν ἅμα

with the corpses on it remained in possession of the victors, it became necessary for the vanquished to solicit a suspension of hostilities, that they might carry off their fallen comrades, and pay them the customary honours. To take up the dead *ὑποσπόνδους*, without such a treaty, was a sign that the party doing so had won the battle, or, at any rate, had not been defeated. Cp. ch. 54.

CH. LXIV. 1. ἐκ] Cp. note on i. 8. 3. Here we see that the preposition ἐκ, in this and similar places, has no sense of motion whatever; cp. Soph. *El.* 894; *Ant.* 411. It means often no more than that the impression of an object comes upon the eye from the given quarter, though it may also include the idea of operating or exerting an influence from thence: see just below. So in Latin, *ab aliquo stare*. Virgil's *vicino a limite sepes* (*Ecl.* i. 54) is quite parallel to τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τεῖχος.

2. τὸ δ' ἐς τὴν Π.] Above, i. 56,

2. For ἱκανοὶ with inf., see note on i. 9. 4. ἀτείχιστον, meaning οὐκ ἀποτείχιστον, is very strange.

γίγνομένοις δίχα] “If they divided their forces:” cp. vi. 100. 1. Potidaea occupied the whole isthmus, stretching from sea to sea, so that there was no communication between Olynthus and Pallene by land except through the city.

3. ἐν τῇ πόλει] At Athens. ἐξ Ἀφ. ὁρμώμενος, “setting out from Aphytis,” — here apparently of marching from that town towards Potidaea. But the phrase generally signifies “to fix one’s head-quarters at a town,” “make it the base of operations,” and does not always imply actual motion from it. Thus (*Hdt.* iii. 98) a tribe of Indians catch fish, ἐκ πλοίων καλαμίνων ὁρμεόμενοι, “sitting in and angling from boats of bamboo.” Ἰωνικῶς δὲ εἶπεν Ἀφύτιος, adds the Scholiast, ἔδει γὰρ διὰ τοῦ Δ. Cp. Γοάξιος, iv. 107. 3; Κνίδιος, v. 51, 2.

ἐφορμούσαις. 65. 1. Ἀριστεὺς δὲ ἀποτειχισθείσης αὐτῆς καὶ ἐλπίδα οὐδεμίαν ἔχων σωτηρίας, ἣν μή τι ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἢ ἄλλο παρὰ λόγον γίγνηται, ξυνεβούλευε μὲν πλήν πεντακοσίων ἄνεμον τηρήσασιν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκπλεῦσαι, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλεον ὁ σῖτος ἀντισχῇ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἤθελε τῶν μενόντων εἶναι. ὥς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθε, βουλόμενος τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις παρασκευάζειν, καὶ ὅπως τὰ ἔξωθεν ἔξει ὥς ἄριστα, ἔκπλουν ποιεῖται λαθὼν τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων. 2. καὶ παραμένων ἐν Χαλκιδεῦσι τὰ τε ἄλλα ξυνεπολέμει καὶ Σερμυλίων λοχήσας πρὸς τῇ πόλει πολλοὺς διέφθειρεν· ἔς τε τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἔπρασεν ὅπη ὠφέλειά τις γενήσεται. 3. μετὰ δὲ τῆς Ποτιδαίας τὴν ἀποτειχισιν Φορμίων μὲν ἔχων τοὺς ἑξακοσίους καὶ χιλίους τὴν Χαλκιδικὴν καὶ Βοττικὴν ἐδήου, καὶ ἔστιν ἂ καὶ πολίσματα εἶλε.

66. 1. Τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Πελοποννησίοις αἰτίαι μὲν αὗται προεγεγέννητο ἐς ἀλλήλους· τοῖς μὲν Κορινθίοις ὅτι τὴν Ποτιδαίαν ἑαυτῶν οὔσαν ἀποικίαν καὶ ἄνδρας Κορινθίων τε καὶ Πελοποννησίων ἐν αὐτῇ ὄντας ἐπολιόρκουν· τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις ἐς τοὺς Πελοποννησίους ὅτι ἑαυτῶν τε πόλιν ξυμμαχίδα καὶ φόρου ὑποτελῇ ἀπέστησαν, καὶ ἐλθόντες σφίσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς ἐμάχοντο μετὰ Ποτιδαιατῶν. 2. οὐ μέντοι ὅ γε πόλεμος πω ξυνεῤῥώγει, ἀλλ' ἔτι ἀνακωχὴ ἦν· ἰδίᾳ γὰρ ταῦτα οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἔπραξαν. 67. 1. πολιορκουμένης δὲ τῆς Ποτιδαίας οὐχ ἡσύχαζον, ἀνδρῶν τε σφίσιν

CH. LXV. 1.] καὶ joins an absolute genitive with a nominative, as τε . . . καὶ at i. 67. 1: cp. v. 116. 3. ἦν μή: “unless aid should come from Peloponnesus, or some other and unexpected good luck should happen.” ἤθελε, not “wished,” but “was willing.”

τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις] “Wishing to arrange what was next to be done, and make the best of their affairs abroad.” Cp. Hdt. ix. 77, ἐλθεῖν ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένοις, “to come when all is over,” and below, vi. 45. 1; vii. 62. 3. For παρασκευάζειν ὅπως, see note on i. 56. 2.

2. ἐς = sending to. Cp. κελεύειν

ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, iv. 108. 6.

CH. LXVI. 1. αὗται] Cp. note on i. 50. 2.

2. οὐ μέντοι . . . γε] Cp. note on i. 3. 2. ξυνεῤῥώγει: Hdt. (i. 80) uses this verb of one river falling violently into another; here it signifies the clashing together of two opposing parties in war. ἰδίᾳ, privately, that is to say, without the support of the Lacedaemonian alliance.

CH. LXVII. 1. σφίσιν] men of theirs: see note on i. 6. 3. For the difference between σπονδάς and τὰς σπονδάς cp. note on i. 53. 2. Both this meeting and the second,

ένόντων καὶ ἅμα περὶ τῷ χωρίῳ δεδιότες· παρεκάλουν τε εὐθὺς ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα τοὺς ξυμμάχους καὶ κατεβόων ἐλθόντες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὅτι σπονδὰς τε λελυκότες εἶεν καὶ ἀδικοῖεν τὴν Πελοπόννησον. 2. Αἰγινῆταί τε φανερώς μὲν οὐ πρεσβευόμενοι, δεδιότες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, κρύφα δέ, οὐχ ἥκιστα μετ' αὐτῶν ἐνήγον τὸν πόλεμον, λέγοντες οὐκ εἶναι αὐτόνομοι κατὰ τὰς σπονδὰς. 3. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, προσ- παρακαλέσαντες τῶν ξυμμάχων καὶ εἴ τις τι ἄλλο ἔφη ἡδικῆσθαι ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, ξύλλογον σφῶν αὐτῶν ποιήσαντες τὸν εἰωθότα λέγειν ἐκέλευον. 4. καὶ ἄλλοι τε παριόντες ἐγκλήματα ἐποιοῦντο ὡς ἕκαστοι καὶ Μεγαρῆς, δηλοῦντες μὲν καὶ ἕτερα οὐκ ὀλίγα διάφορα, μάλιστα δὲ λιμένων τε εἵργεσθαι τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀρχῇ καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀγορᾶς παρὰ τὰς σπονδὰς. 5. παρελθόντες δὲ τελευταῖοι Κορίνθιοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐάσαντες πρῶτον παροξύναι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπέϊπον τοιαύδε.

68. 1. “Τὸ πιστὸν ὑμᾶς, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τῆς καθ' ὑμᾶς

described in ch. 119 sqq., were held in the end of October or beginning of November, B.C. 432.

2. κρύφα δέ] Sc. πρεσβευόμενοι. No such provision as that to which the Aeginetans appeal is found in the outline of the treaty given below, ch. 115. But “they may have pretended, that by the same rule by which Athens gave up Nisaea, Pegae, &c., she ought also to renounce Aegina.” Others think that the Aeginetans allude, “not to the Thirty Years’ Truce, but to the ancient alliance against the Persians solemnly ratified and continued after the victory of Plataea.” See Grote, *H. G.* pt. ii. ch. xlviii.

3. καὶ εἴ τις] “Having summoned besides any other of the allies, who thought that in any thing he had been wronged.”

σφῶν αὐτῶν] Because only Spartans voted in it; below, ch. 119, we find that they had some assemblies common to the whole league. In the first, Sparta by herself as leader decided whether she would or would

not go to war; the allies appear only as pleaders: in the second the allies were called upon to declare whether they would or would not follow the policy which she had adopted. See Grote, *H. G.* pt. ii. ch. xlviii.

ἐκέλευον] Sc. τὸν βουλόμενον.

4. εἵργεσθαι] Sc. δηλοῦντες. See Grote, *H. G.* pt. ii. ch. xlv. ad fin.

CH. LXVIII.] “There is no need now to argue whether the Athenians have or have not broken treaty; they are really, if not avowedly, at war with us. We have come to charge you with neglect of a duty which you owe to Hellas. If the Athenian allies are already slaves, and your own are on the brink of becoming so, the fault lies at your door: you might have saved both them and us. But you always stop to think when you ought to act. The Athenians are as quick and restless as fire; you are always counting the cost of exerting yourselves. You beg for peace at any price—if you really want it you

αὐτοὺς πολιτείας καὶ ὁμιλίας ἀπιστοτέρους, ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους ἦν τι λέγωμεν, καθίστησι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ σωφροσύνην μὲν ἔχετε, ἀμαθία δὲ πλέονι πρὸς τὰ ἔξω πράγματα χρήσθε. 2. πολλάκις γὰρ προαγορευόντων ἡμῶν ἃ ἐμέλλομεν ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων βλάπτεσθαι, οὐ περὶ ὧν ἐδιδάσκομεν ἐκάστοτε τὴν μάθησιν ἐποιεῖσθε, ἀλλὰ τῶν λεγόντων μᾶλλον ὑπενοεῖτε ὥς ἔνεκεν τῶν αὐτοῖς ἰδίᾳ διαφόρων λέγουσι· καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὐ πρὶν πάσχειν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐσμέν, τοὺς ξυμμάχους τούσδε παρεκαλέσατε ἐν οἷς προσήκει ἡμᾶς οὐχ ἥκιστα εἰπεῖν, ὅσῳ καὶ μέγιστα ἐγκλήματα ἔχομεν, ὑπὸ μὲν Ἀθηναίων ὑβριζόμενοι, ὑπὸ δὲ ὑμῶν ἀμελούμενοι. 3. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀφανεῖς που ὄντες ἡδίκουν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, διδασκαλίας ἂν ὥς οὐκ εἰδόσι προσέδει. νῦν δὲ τί δεῖ μακρηγορεῖν, ὧν τοὺς μὲν

ought to prepare for war. Shake off your old-world slowness. Invade Attica, or your allies abandon you."

1. **Τὸ πιστόν]** "The very candour of your own social and political life renders you distrustful of us others if we make any complaints." They were too good themselves to suspect the wickedness of the rest of the world (cp. iii. 37. 2, where Cleon says much the same thing of the Athenians), and in consequence though they were not aggressive, or meddling, or ambitious, they fell into the opposite vice of want of foresight. **τι** is euphemistic—any thing bad. **σωφροσύνη** is a modest, pacific, or conciliatory tone or policy: see i. 32. 4; 84. 3. We have a difficulty in translating the word because we do not carry the analogy between the individual and the state so far as the Greeks. **σωφροσύνη** is properly an individual excellence, the subordination of the passions and desires to the reason; sometimes in a narrower sense = sobriety, sometimes in a wider sense = perfect virtue. Cp. iii. 37. 2, **ἀμαθία μετὰ σωφροσύνης ὠφελιμώτερον ἢ δεξιότης μετ' ἀκολασίας**, "a stupid honest man is better than a clever rogue." **ἀμαθία πλέονι**, "you are less saga-

cious than you otherwise would be."

2. **τὴν μάθ. ἐποιεῖσθε]** "Take the trouble to inform yourselves." Cp. i. 50. 2.

τῶν λεγόντων] "The Greek language uses the genitive case to express that connexion of the subject spoken of with the verb, which in English is more commonly expressed by the preposition *in*." That is to say, **ὥς . . . λέγουσι** is a substantival clause governing the possessive genitive **τῶν λεγόντων**. Translate, "you suspected this thing of or belonging to the speakers, namely that they spoke from private interest" (Arn.). Cp. note on i. 52. 3 above. For **διαφόρων** in this sense cp. iii. 42. 2. For **αὐτοῖς** we might have had **σφίσιν** or **σφίσιν αὐτοῖς**. Cp. i. 95. 2.

ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ = **ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πάσχειν**, in the thick of it. **ὅσῳ**: a preceding **τοσούτῳ** is implied (cp. ii. 47. 5). For **καί** see note on i. 3. 2. "Among whom we have the best right to speak, inasmuch as we also have the gravest charges to bring against Athenian insolence and your neglect."

3. **νῦν δέ]** "But as it is," "since you *do* know." **ᾧν**, "of whom," referring to **ἡμᾶς**, the subject of **μακρηγορεῖν**. **τοὺς μὲν** τοὺς Αἰγινήτας.

δεδουλωμένους ὁράτε, τοῖς δ' ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτούς, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τοῖς ἡμετέροις ξυμμάχοις καὶ ἐκ πολλοῦ προ-
 παρεσκευασμένους, εἴ ποτε πολεμήσονται. οὐ γὰρ ἂν Κέρ-
 κυράν τε ὑπολαβόντες βία ἡμῶν εἶχον καὶ Ποτίδαιαν ἐπο-
 λιόρκουν, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἐπικαιρότατον χωρίον πρὸς τὰ ἐπὶ
 Θράκης ἀποχρῆσθαι, ἡ δὲ ναυτικὸν ἂν μέγιστον παρέσχε
 Πελοποννησίοις. 69. 1. καὶ τῶνδε ὑμεῖς αἴτιοι τό τε πρῶτον
 ἐάσαντες αὐτούς τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ κρατῦναι καὶ
 ὕστερον τὰ μακρὰ στήσαι τείχη, ἐς τόδε τε αἰεὶ ἀποστεροῦντες
 οὐ μόνον τοὺς ὑπ' ἐκείνων δεδουλωμένους ἐλευθερίας, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τοὺς ὑμετέρους ἤδη ξυμμάχους. οὐ γὰρ ὁ δουλωσά-
 μενος, ἀλλ' ὁ δυνάμενος μὲν παῦσαι, περιορῶν δέ, ἀλη-
 θέστερον αὐτὸ δρᾶ, εἴπερ καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν τῆς ἀρετῆς ὡς
 ἐλευθερῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα φέρεται. 2. μόλις δὲ νῦν τε ξυνήλ-
 θομεν καὶ οὐδὲ νῦν ἐπὶ φανεροῖς. 3. χρῆν γὰρ οὐκ εἰ ἀδικοῦ-

τοῖς δέ· Ποτιδαιάταις καὶ Μεγαρεῦσι (Sch.).

πολεμήσονται] "In case they shall ever *get themselves attacked*," or "*bring war upon themselves*," if, that is, the middle here retains its distinctive signification: see Madv. *G. S.* 83 a. For πολεμήσεται, viii. 43. 2, is purely passive; so διαπολεμήσεται, vii. 14. 3; διαπολεμησόμενον, vii. 25. 9.

γάρ] "For otherwise (if they were not forearmed) they would not have stolen Corcyra, nor would they now be holding it in our despite." ὑπολαβεῖν, to take secretly.

ἀποχρῆσθαι, sc. αὐτοῖς, is added to explain in what sense, or for what purpose it was (ἐπικαιρότατον) most advantageous. "So as to give them full benefit of them." Cp. note on βοηθεῖν, i. 44. 1.

CH. LXIX. 1. κρατῦναι] i. 90 sqq. τὰ μακρὰ τείχη, i. 107. 1.

ἐς τόδε τε αἰεὶ] "You have defrauded of freedom every state that they have enslaved from the first hour of their rule to the present day, and are now beginning to defraud even your own allies." ἐς τόδε τε αἰεὶ is somewhat out of

place; it ought to follow οὐ μόνον, for the disasters which Spartan neglect had *always* up to that time brought upon the Athenian allies are opposed to those which it was *beginning* (ἤδη) to inflict upon their own. And the position of ἐλευθερίας might seem to imply that the allies of Sparta were losing something else than freedom. αὐτὸ δρᾶ = δουλοῦται: see note on i. 5. 2.

εἴπερ "usurpatur de re quae esse sumitur, sed in incerto relinquitur utrum jure an injuria sumatur; εἴγε autem de re quae jure sumpta creditur." Herm. εἴπερ is "assuming that," εἴγε, "if, that is," or "since," = siquidem: cp. note on ὅς γε, i. 11. 4. The Corinthians do not wish to hit too hard: "assuming that he is also renowned as the generous champion of Hellenic freedom." ἀξίωσιν is "reputation:" cp. i. 138. 2. ἀρετή, half generosity, half courage: cp. ii. 40. 6; 43. 1. ἐλευθεροῦν "sonat *liberatore* esse, ut φεύγειν *exsulem* esse, νικᾶν *victorem* esse." Poppe.

2. ἐπὶ φανεροῖς] "For a definite object." καθ' ὃ τι, see note on i. 35. 4.

μεθα ἔτι σκοπεῖν, ἀλλὰ καθ' ὃ τι ἀμυνόμεθα. 4. οἱ γὰρ δρῶντες βεβουλευμένοι πρὸς οὐ διεγνωκότας, ἤδη καὶ οὐ μέλλοντες, ἐπέρχονται. 5. καὶ ἐπιστάμεθα οἷα ὁδῶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὅτι κατ' ὀλίγον χωροῦσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πέλας. 6. καὶ λανθάνειν μὲν οἰόμενοι διὰ τὸ ἀναίσθητον ὑμῶν ἦσσον θάρρους· γνόντες δὲ εἰδότας περιορᾶν ἰσχυρῶς ἐγκείσονται. 7. ἡσυχάζετε γὰρ μόνοι Ἑλλήνων, ὧ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐ τῇ δυνάμει τινὰ ἀλλὰ τῇ μελλήσει ἀμυνόμενοι, καὶ μόνοι οὐκ ἀρχομένην τὴν αὖξισιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν, διπλασιουμένην δὲ καταλύοντες. 8. καίτοι ἐλέγεσθε ἀσφαλεῖς εἶναι ὧν ἄρα ὁ λόγος τοῦ ἔργου ἐκράτει. 9. τόν τε γὰρ Μῆδον αὐτοὶ ἴσμεν ἐκ περάτων γῆς πρότερον ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐλθόντα ἢ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀξίως προαπαντήσαι, καὶ νῦν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οὐχ ἐκὰς ὥσπερ ἐκείνον, ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς ὄντας περιοράτε, καὶ

4. οἱ γὰρ δρῶντες] “For men of action attack at once and without hesitation, with plans fully matured, while their adversaries have not yet settled what to do.” οἱ δρῶντες is quite general, though of course the Athenians are meant. κατ' ὀλίγον, i. 61. 5.

6. λανθάνειν] “And so long as they suspect it is only through your blindness that they escape detection they cannot feel quite at their ease.” At present they fancy that their impunity is an accident, they think that you would interfere at once if you only knew what they are about, and therefore they are cautious not to go too far. ἦσσον, less confident than they will be when they know that you dare not meddle with them.

7. γάρ] “And it is no wonder that they should act thus for,” &c. μελλήσει in its usual sense of “delay.” All the help you give us, say the Corinthians ironically, is — procrastination. At iv. 126. 5 the word seems to mean “suspense,” the fear of an impending evil.

8. ἀσφαλεῖς] Safe men, cautious. ἔν ἄρα, “but your reputation, as it seems, was better than the reality.”

ὧν, which is masculine, is an ordinary possessive genitive after λόγος, though we might compare Soph. *El.* 317, and say that it is a genitive of reference (= about whom, in respect of whom), such as is not uncommonly found after verbs of speaking. Or are the two originally the same? Cp. i. 52. 3. ἄρα, “as it seems,” “after all,” marks the speaker's surprise at finding that what he formerly believed to be true has turned out to be false.

9. πρότερον . . . ἢ] With infinitive, cp. vi. 58. 1. So ὕστερον ἢ, vi. 4. 2. See *Madv. G. S.* 167, r. The Mede means the Persian, Xerxes: cp. τὰ Μηδικά above, i. 14. 3, and μηδίζω, μηδισμός. Cyrus was, in a sense, but the heir of the great Median empire, which reached from the Halys to the Persian Gulf, and the Medes formed one of the most numerous and warlike divisions of the army which followed Xerxes. τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν, your forces. ἀξίως, “in a manner worthy of your reputation,” or, as the Scholiast says, = ἀξιομάχως, “in such numbers as the danger required.”

ὥσπερ ἐκείνον] Attraction — cp. v. 99; vi. 68. 2, — though here cer-

ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπελθεῖν αὐτοὶ ἀμύνεσθαι βούλεσθε μᾶλλον ἐπι-
 όντας, καὶ ἐς τύχας πρὸς πολλῷ δυνατωτέρους ἀγωνιζόμενοι
 καταστήναι, ἐπιστάμενοι καὶ τὸν βάρβαρον αὐτὸν περὶ αὐτῷ
 τὰ πλείω σφαλέντα, καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πολλὰ
 ἡμᾶς ἤδη τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ἀφ' ὑμῶν
 τιμωρία περιγεγενημένους· ἐπεὶ αἶ γε ὑμέτεραι ἐλπίδες ἤδη
 τινάς που καὶ ἀπαρασκεύους διὰ τὸ πιστεῦσαι ἔφθειραν.
 10. καὶ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ἐπ' ἔχθρα τὸ πλεόν ἢ αἰτία νομίσῃ τάδε
 λέγεσθαι. αἰτία μὲν γὰρ φίλων ἀνδρῶν ἐστὶν ἁμαρτανόν-
 των. κατηγορία δὲ ἐχθρῶν ἀδικησάντων. 70. 1. καὶ ἅμα
 εἶπερ τινὲς καὶ ἄλλοι ἄξιοι νομίζομεν εἶναι τοῖς πέλας ψόγον
 ἐπενεγκεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ μεγάλων τῶν διαφερόντων καθε-
 στῶτων περὶ ὧν οὐκ αἰσθάνεσθαι ἡμῖν γε δοκεῖτε, οὐδ'
 ἐκλογίσασθαι πώποτε πρὸς οἷους ὑμῖν Ἀθηναίους ὄντας καὶ
 ὅσον ὑμῶν καὶ ὡς πᾶν διαφέροντας ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται. 2. οἱ μὲν

tainly we might fill up the phrase
 thus—ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνον ὄντα περιεωρᾶτε.
 See Madv. *G. S.* 20, r. 3.

ἐς τύχας καταστήναι] To
 engage, not in war, but in a mere
 chance medley, because you defer
 the struggle till they are far stronger
 than they were at first.

περὶ αὐτῷ] “Stumbled upon
 himself,” i. e. “split upon the rock
 of his own folly,” ἐν τῷ στενῷ τῆς
 Σαλαμῖνος τολμήσαντα ναυμαχῆσαι,
 says the Scholiast. Cp. κἂν περὶ
 σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὰ πλείω σφαλῶσιν, vi.
 33. 5. πρὸς is “in the contest
 against,” “in our dealings with.”
 πολλά, “often:” cp. note on πλείω,
 i. 3. 6.

αἶ . . . ὑμέτεραι ἐλπίδες] Cp. i.
 33. 3. “For hopes of you have
 ere now destroyed many, and de-
 stroyed them unprepared, they were
 so confident.” For ἤδη with the
 aorist indicative of that which has
 often happened, cp. ii. 77. 4, ἤδη
 ἀνῆκε. So *olim* is used in
 Latin, Hor. *Sat.* i. 1. 25. For καὶ
 see note on i. 3. 2.

10. ἐπ'] In a spirit of. τὸ πλεόν,
 on i. 9. 3. ἀνδρῶν is an objective

genitive—“expostulation deals with
 the errors of friends.”

CH. LXX. 1. εἶπερ τινὲς καὶ
 ἄλλοι] “Assuming that any one
 else has a right (which may or may
 not be the case, i. 69. 1) we cer-
 tainly have.”

διαφερόντων] Some translate,
 “since the interests which are at
 stake are great” (καθεστῶτων, sc.
 ἐς τύχας). But this is certainly
 wrong. Render, “since the con-
 trast (between you and the Athe-
 nians) is great.” πρὸς οἷους
 Ἀθηναίους: the Greeks regularly
 said τίνα τοῦτον ὄρω; “who is this
 that I see?” οἷος ὢν ταῦτα πάσχεις;
 “what manner of man are you that
 suffer these things?” That is to
 say, whenever they can they avoid
 using “is” or “are” with a rela-
 tive following it. Consequently a
 preposition which ought to go with
 the suppressed relative must be
 joined to a preceding word—here
 the indirect interrogative; and in-
 stead of οἷοί εἰσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς
 οὓς we must say πρὸς οἷους ὄντας
 Ἀθηναίους.

γε νεωτεροποιοί καὶ ἐπινοῆσαι ὅξεῖς καὶ ἐπιτελέσαι ἔργῳ ὃ ἂν γινῶσιν· ὑμεῖς δὲ τὰ ὑπάρχοντά τε σώζειν καὶ ἐπιγινῶναι μηδὲν καὶ ἔργῳ οὐδὲ τὰναγκαῖα ἐξικέσθαι. 3. αὐθις δὲ οἱ μὲν καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν τολμηταὶ καὶ παρὰ γνώμην κινδυνευταὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς δεινοῖς εὐέλπιδες· τὸ δὲ ὑμέτερον τῆς τε δυνάμεως ἐνδεᾶ πράξαι, τῆς τε γνώμης μηδὲ τοῖς βεβαίοις πιστεῦσαι, τῶν τε δεινῶν μηδέποτε οἶεσθαι ἀπολυθῆσεσθαι. 4. καὶ μὴν καὶ ἄοκνοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς μελλητὰς καὶ ἀποδημηταὶ πρὸς ἐνδημοτάτους. οἶονται γὰρ οἱ μὲν τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ ἂν τι κτᾶσθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ τῷ ἐπελθεῖν καὶ τὰ ἐτοῖμα ἂν βλάψαι. 5. κρατοῦντές τε τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐξέρχονται, καὶ νικώμενοι ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον ἀναπίπτουσιν. 6. ἔτι δὲ τοῖς μὲν σώμασιν ἀλλοτριωτάτοις ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως χρῶνται, τῇ γνώμῃ δὲ οἰκειοτάτῃ ἐς τὸ πράσσειν τι ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς. 7. καὶ ἂ μὲν ἂν ἐπινοήσαντες μὴ ἐξέλθωσιν, οἰκεῖα στέρεσθαι

2. ὅξεῖς] With inf.: see note on i. 9. 4. σώζειν depends grammatically on ὅξεῖς, which yet is opposed to it in sense: it is a kind of zeugma. We may translate, “it is your nature to hold tight.” The texture of the sentences of Thuc. is often very loose, so that it is difficult to say whether an infinitive is governed by a previous word or phrase, and not rather by some half-formed idea in the writer's mind which he has not chosen to develop and express. So with ἐπεξιέναι, i. 84. 5. Mr. Grote thinks we have here an oxymoron, “you are quick only at being slow.”

3. παρὰ γνώμην] “Beyond what they at first intended,” or rather “against their better judgment,”—the same sense which the word bears just below. ἐπὶ = in, and denotes *coexistence*, an easy transition from the meaning of *superposition*. Cp. i. 13. 1; 65. 1; ἐπὶ νυκτί, in the night, II. viii. 529.

τὸ δὲ ὑμέτερον] “Whereas it is your way.” τοῖς βεβαίοις, “the soundest conclusions.” μηδέποτε

belongs by sense to ἀπολυθῆσεσθαι, by position to οἶεσθαι. Cp. παρὰ τὸ μὴ οἶεσθαι χρῆναι, i. 77. 3; μὴ προσποιεῖσθαι, iii. 47. 4.

4. καὶ μὴν] “And further.” πρὸς ὑμᾶς, “whilst you with whom they are contending are,” &c. “For *they* think,” the speaker proceeds to say, “that by their self-exile they may gain much; *you* that by venturing you may diminish even what you already possess.” ἂν κτᾶσθαι is nearly equivalent to the future infinitive which follows οἶεσθαι just above. τὰ ἐτοῖμα = τὰ ὑπάρχοντα.

5. ἐξέρχονται] “Follow up their advantage.” ἀναπίπτουσι, “fall back,” either literally or metaphorically = ἀθυμοῦσι.

6. ἀλλοτριωτάτοις] “They spend their lives for their country as though they were no way concerned in them; their counsels they cherish as the nearest and dearest thing in the world, that they may employ them in her service.” Arn.

7. οἰκεῖα στέρεσθαι] “That they are so much out of pocket.” τυχεῖν πράξαντες, sc. ἡγοῦνται—“that they have accomplished successfully.”

ἡγούνται· ἂ δ' ἂν ἐπελθόντες κτήσωνται, ὀλίγα πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα τυχεῖν πράξαντες. 8. ἦν δ' ἄρα καὶ του πείρα σφαλῶσιν, ἀντελπίσαντες ἄλλα ἐπλήρωσαν τὴν χρεῖαν. μόνοι γὰρ ἔχουσί τε ὁμοίως καὶ ἐλπίζουσιν ἂ ἂν ἐπινοήσωσι, διὰ τὸ ταχεῖαν τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ποιεῖσθαι ὧν ἂν γνῶσι. 9. καὶ ταῦτα μετὰ πόνων πάντα καὶ κινδύνων δι' ὅλου τοῦ αἰῶνος μοχθοῦσι· καὶ ἀπολαύουσιν ἐλάχιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων διὰ τὸ αἰεὶ κτᾶσθαι, καὶ μήτε ἑορτὴν ἄλλο τι ἡγεῖσθαι ἢ τὸ τὰ δέοντα πράξαι. ξυμφορὰν τε οὐχ ἡσσον ἡσυχίαν ἀπράγμονα ἢ ἀσχολίαν ἐπίπουν. 10. ὥστε εἴ τις αὐτοὺς ξυνελὼν φαίη πεφυκέναι ἐπὶ τῷ μήτε αὐτοὺς ἔχειν ἡσυχίαν μήτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους εἶναι, ὀρθῶς ἂν εἴποι. 71. 1. ταύτης μέντοι τοιαύτης ἀντικαθεστηκυίας πόλεως, ὃ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, διαμέλλετε· καὶ οἴεσθε τὴν ἡσυχίαν οὐ τούτοις τῶν ἀνθρώ-

8. ἦν ἄρα] If *after all*, *si forte*: see i. 69. 8. καί: “εἴ τι πράσσειν θέλεις est *si quid vis suscipere*, quibus verbis incertum relinquitur utrum quis id velit an non; εἴ τι καὶ πράσσειν θέλεις significat *vis suscipies aliquid sed si aliquid tamen suscipere vis*.” Herm. So here, “it is not likely that they should fail, but if after all they *should*.” Cp. note on i. 3. 2. του πείρα, cp. ii. 43. 1; Soph. *Aj.* 2. ἐπλήρωσαν, “they instantly fill up:” the aorist is here used *primarily* of that which is instantaneous or inevitable, *secondarily* of that which happens frequently, which has happened and will happen again. Cp. *Il.* iv. 161; x. 413; Plato, *Rep.* 462 D, ὅταν δάκτυλος πληγῇ πᾶσα ἢ κοινωνία ἢ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα πρὸς τὴν ψυχὴν ᾔσθητο: and 566, ὁ τύραννος ταῖς μὲν πρώταις ἡμέραις προσγελαῖ τε καὶ ἀσπάζεται πάντας ὑπισχνεῖται τε πολλὰ καὶ ἰδία καὶ δημοσίᾳ χρεῶν τε ἡλευθέρωσε καὶ γῆν διενεῖμε δῆμῳ τε καὶ τοῖς περὶ ἑαυτὸν καὶ πᾶσιν ἵλεώς τε καὶ πρᾶος εἶναι προσποιεῖται. The tyrant keeps smiling and promising, but he remits debts and distributes land once for all; and though this remission and distribution are re-

peated by successive tyrants, the repetition is *inferred* from the subject-matter spoken of and not directly expressed. So in the last chapter ἡδὴ ἐφθειραν is rather “have been known to destroy” than “have often destroyed.” ἐπιχείρησιν ὧν, cp. του πείρα.

9. μοχθοῦσι] This verb is rare in prose. ἐλάχιστα is an adverbial accusative: cp. i. 3. 6. ἑορτὴν: “their only idea of a holiday is doing what their affairs require.” αἰνίττεται τοὺς Λάκωνας οἵτινες ἐν ἑορτῇ οὐκ ἐστράτευον (Sch.). Cp. Hdt. vii. 206, μετὰ δέ, Κάρνεια γάρ σφι ἦν ἐμποδὼν, ἔμελλον ὀρτάσαντες, καὶ φυλακὰς λιπόντες ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, κατὰ τάχος βοηθεῖν πανδημεῖ. Even Thermopylae could not reconcile these Hellenic Judaists to working on a holiday. Cp. also v. 54. 2; 75. 5.

10. ξυνελών] “Concisely.” εἶναι, sc. ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν.

CH. LXXI. 1. πόλεως] “Without article because ταύτης alone is subject, and τοιαύτης πόλεως are part of the predicate” (Kr.); but cp. note on i. 50. 2.

οὐ τούτοις] οὐ is out of place; standing where it does we should expect the antithesis to be ἀλλὰ

πων ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀρκεῖν οἷ ἂν τῇ μὲν παρασκευῇ δίκαια πράσσωσι, τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ, ἣν ἀδικῶνται, δῆλοι ὧσι μὴ ἐπιτρέψοντες· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ λυπεῖν τε ἄλλους καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀμυνόμενοι μὴ βλάπτεσθαι τὸ ἴσον νέμετε. 2. μόλις δ' ἂν πόλει ὁμοίᾳ παροικούντες ἐτυγχάνετε τούτου· νῦν δ' ὅπερ καὶ ἄρτι ἐδηλώσαμεν ἀρχαιοτρόπα ὑμῶν τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐστίν. 3. ἀνάγκη δὲ ὥσπερ τέχνης αἰεὶ τὰ ἐπιγιγνόμενα κρατεῖν· καὶ ἡσυχάζουσα μὲν πόλει τὰ ἀκίνητα νόμιμα ἄριστα, πρὸς πολλὰ δὲ ἀναγκαζόμενοις ἵεναι πολλῆς καὶ τῆς ἐπιτεχνήσεως δεῖ. 4. διόπερ καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ τῆς πολυπειρίας ἐπὶ πλέον ὑμῶν κεκαίνωται. 5. μέχρι μὲν οὖν τοῦδε ὠρίσθω ὑμῶν ἡ βραδυτής· νῦν δὲ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ Ποτιδαίαις, ὥσπερ ὑπεδέξασθε, βοηθήσατε κατὰ τάχος

τούτοις οἷ ἂν . . . νέμωσι. παρασκευῇ is an instrumental dative. ἐπὶ, with dative, means "on the condition," or "principle of," and τὸ ἴσον νέμειν seems to be fixed by the context as equivalent to τὰ δίκαια πράσσειν. Translate, "you think that peace is longest enjoyed, not by those who though they use not their power to do injustice yet manifest the determination to swallow no affronts, but by those whose notion of equity, like your own, is not to inflict harm on others, and not to suffer it—by a costly defence." ἀμυνόμενοι gives a sarcastic explanation of the only kind of loss which Spartans could not bring themselves to endure—the expenditure of money or toil: rather than incur that, they would submit to any thing. Other people do not like to be injured, say the Corinthians, and you agree with them so far; but then you regard even self-defence as a disaster outweighing any prospective good to be gained by it. You push the peace at any price theory to an extreme; and invite the very evils which you deprecate. Others translate, "your notion of equity is not to harm others and yet to defend yourselves from harm;" but this would be

praise, and the Corinthians want to sting the Spartans. A different view of the passage is given by Donaldson. *N. C.* § 454.

2. ὁμοίᾳ] Like yourselves. νῦν δέ, but as it is. ἀρχαιοτρόπα πρὸς αὐτοὺς, "too old-fashioned to contend with them."

3. ἐπιγιγνόμενα] Those things which accrue, or are added to the existing stock of skill or knowledge. "And it is necessary that as in an art, so in politics, improvements should always prevail." κρατεῖν is to supersede or throw out of use the old-fashioned way of doing things. Cf. vi. 5. 1, νόμιμα δὲ τὰ Χαλκιδικὰ ἐκράτησεν. Mr. Grote translates, "in politics, as in art, it is the modern improvements which are sure to come out victorious." ὥσπερ τέχνης, sc. αἰεὶ τὰ ἐπιγ. κρατεῖ.

4. ὑμῶν] For τῶν ὑμετέρων. Cp. Κόμαι Χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοῖαι, *Il.* xviii. 51. The person is put for the thing which he possesses.

5. μέχρι . . . τοῦδε ὠρίσθω] "It has reached this point, now let it stop." Cp. i. 51. 3. ξυγγενεῖς· Δωριεῖς γὰρ οἱ Ποτιδαῖαι. πρὸς ἑτέραν τινά· πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους, ἐχθροὶ γὰρ ἦσαν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις (Sch.).

ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἵνα μὴ ἄνδρας τε φίλους καὶ
 ξυγγενεῖς τοῖς ἐχθίστοις πρόησθε, καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἄλλους
 ἀθυμία πρὸς ἑτέραν τινὰ ξυμμαχίαν τρέψητε. 6. δρῶμεν
 δ' ἂν ἀδίκον οὐδὲν οὔτε πρὸς θεῶν τῶν ὀρκίων οὔτε πρὸς
 ἀνθρώπων τῶν αἰσθανομένων. λύουσι γὰρ σπονδὰς οὐχ
 οἱ δι' ἐρημίαν ἄλλοις προσιόντες, ἀλλ' οἱ μὴ βοηθοῦντες οἷς
 ἂν ξυνομόσωσι. 7. βουλομένων δὲ ὑμῶν προθύμων εἶναι
 μενοῦμεν· οὔτε γὰρ ὅσια ἂν ποιοῖμεν μεταβαλλόμενοι οὔτε
 ξυνηθεστέρους ἂν ἄλλους εὔροιμεν. πρὸς τὰδε βουλευέσθε
 εὖ καὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον πειρᾶσθε μὴ ἐλάσσω ἐξηγεῖσθαι
 ἢ οἱ πατέρες ὑμῖν παρέδοσαν.”

72. 1. Τοιαῦτα μὲν οἱ Κορίνθιοι εἶπον. 2. τῶν δὲ Ἀθη-
 ναίων ἔτυχε γὰρ πρεσβεία πρότερον ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι περὶ
 ἄλλων παρούσα, καὶ ὡς ἦσθοντο τῶν λόγων. ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς
 παριτητέα ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους εἶναι, τῶν μὲν ἐγκλη-
 μάτων πέρι μηδὲν ἀπολογησομένους ὧν αἱ πόλεις ἐνεκά-
 λουν, δηλῶσαι δὲ περὶ τοῦ παντός, ὡς οὐ ταχέως αὐτοῖς βου-
 λευτέον εἴη, ἀλλ' ἐν πλείονι σκεπτέον. 3. καὶ ἅμα τὴν
 σφετέραν πόλιν ἐβούλοντο σημῆναι ὅση εἴη δύναμις, καὶ
 ὑπόμνησιν ποιήσασθαι τοῖς τε πρεσβυτέροις ὧν ἦδεσαν καὶ
 τοῖς νεωτέροις ἐξηγήσιν ὧν ἄπειροι ἦσαν, νομίζοντες μᾶλλον
 ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν λόγων πρὸς τὸ ἡσυχάζειν τραπέσθαι ἢ
 πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν. 4. προσελθόντες οὖν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις
 ἔφασαν βούλεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν εἰ

6. πρὸς] In the eyes of. ὀρκίων:
 “*Foederum arbitros ac testes vocat*
Livius, xxi. 10” (Poppo). αἰσθα-
 νομένων: “Who are capable of feel-
 ing and observing: cp. v. 26. 5”
 (Arn.). “Opposed to ἀναίσθητος”
 (Kr.). But it merely means “men
 who are looking on.”

7. μενοῦμεν] ἡγουν ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρα
 συμμαχίᾳ (Sch.). μὴ ἐλάσσω ἐξη-
 γεῖσθαι, “that the Peloponnesus,
 which acknowledges you as leader,
 be not less,” as it would be if we
 seceded.

CH. LXXII. 2. ἦσθοντο] Sc.
 οἱ πρέσβεις. Either γάρ or καί might
 seem to be superfluous, but cp. Hdt.

viii. 109, ἀλλ' εὖ γὰρ ἔχει . . . κατα-
 μέιναντας ἡμέων τε αὐτῶν ἐπιμελη-
 θῆναι καὶ τῶν οἰκετέων· καὶ τις οἰκίην
 τε ἀναπλάσασθω καὶ σπόρου ἀνακῶς
 ἐχέτω: as there ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ, so
 here δὲ . . . γάρ = however. ἀπο-
 λογησομένους, because παριτητέα =
 δεῖν παρίεναι σφᾶς. For δηλῶσαι we
 might have expected δηλώσοντας,
 but Thuc. preferred to attach it
 directly to ἔδοξεν. ἐν πλείονι, in
 more time, at greater length.

3. τε is out of place; or ἐξηγήσιν
 is an after-thought. ἐκ τῶν λόγων,
 in consequence of what they might
 say.

τι μὴ ἀποκωλύει. 5. οἱ δ' ἐκέλευόν τε ἐπιέναι, καὶ παρελθόντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔλεγον τοιαῦδε.

73. 1. “Ἡ μὲν πρέσβευσις ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐς ἀντιλογίαν τοῖς ὑμετέροις ξυμμάχοις ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ περὶ ᾧν ἡ πόλις ἔπεμψεν αἰσθόμενοι δὲ καταβοὴν οὐκ ὀλίγην οὔσαν ἡμῶν παρήλθομεν οὐ τοῖς ἐγκλήμασι τῶν πόλεων ἀντεροῦντες, οὐ γὰρ παρὰ δικασταῖς ὑμῖν οὔτε ἡμῶν οὔτε τούτων οἱ λόγοι ἂν γίγνοιντο, ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ ῥαδίως περὶ μεγάλων πραγμάτων τοῖς ξυμμάχοις πειθόμενοι χεῖρον βουλευσῆσθε, καὶ ἅμα βουλόμενοι περὶ τοῦ παντὸς λόγου τοῦ ἐς ἡμᾶς καθεστῶτος δηλῶσαι ὥς οὔτε ἀπεικότως ἔχομεν ἀ κεκτῆμεθα, ἢ τε πόλις ἡμῶν ἀξία λόγου ἐστί. 2. καὶ τὰ μὲν πάνυ παλαιὰ τί δεῖ λέγειν,

CH. LXXIII.] “We do not acknowledge your right to sit in judgment upon us, and therefore we shall not attempt to answer the charges of your allies. But we may and do warn you not to decide in a hurry. For (1) consider our services to Hellas. The glory of Marathon is peculiarly our own. When Xerxes came, had we joined him there would have been no struggle at all; and at Salamis and Plataea none did their duty so nobly as we. Again (2) consider the history of our empire. Our greatness was thrust upon us through your indolence. Fear, ambition, gain, forced us to turn presidency into despotism. Now our existence is bound up with our rule. We govern as you govern. We are not more odious than you would be in our place. It is human nature to grasp at sovereignty; all you have a right to ask is, whether we are worthy of it: you would confess that we are, if you were not jealous of us. And (3) as to these complaints. From a superior to an inferior justice is matter of favour; yet we have been more just than we need have been, or than others would be. They grumble at having to go to Athens for law; they ought to be thankful that they get any law at all. We have not taught our

allies their place—they have been treated so like equals that they cannot bear to submit in any thing: they would have borne to be robbed with a high hand, they cannot bear to be cheated. But take care. We are hated because it is our day of power: succeed to our power and you, in your turn, will not want for odium.” Cp. note on i. 22. 1.

1. Ἡ . . . πρέσβευσις . . . ἐγένετο] “We were sent.” According to Dionysius, both πρέσβευσις and καταβοή are poetical words. περὶ ᾧν = περὶ τούτων περὶ ᾧν. ἡμῶν is governed by καταβοή, which takes the construction of καταβοάω: so ἀντιλογία τοῖς just above.

παρὰ δικασταῖς ὑμῖν] “Before you as judges,” “before your tribunal.” ὅπως, which is to be joined with παρήλθομεν, is here again followed by the 1st aor. subj. of a middle verb: cp. note on τιμωρήσωνται, i. 56. 2. καθεστῶτος: “concerning the general tenor of the charges that are maintained against us.” στήσαι βοήν is to raise a cry; κατα- adds the notion of keeping it up. οὔτε . . . τε: the first clause is negative, the second affirmative: cp. note on i. 17. 2. So οὔτε . . . ἀλλὰ καί, v. 35. 4.

2. τὰ . . . πάνυ παλαιά] “The deeds of the far past,” τὰ κατὰ Ἀμαζόνas

ὧν ἀκοαὶ μᾶλλον λόγων μάρτυρες ἢ ὄψις τῶν ἀκουσομένων ; τὰ δὲ Μηδικὰ καὶ ὅσα αὐτοὶ ξύνιστε, εἰ καὶ δι' ὄχλου μᾶλλον ἔσται αἰὲν προβαλλομένοις, ἀνάγκη λέγειν· καὶ γὰρ ὅτε ἐδρῶμεν, ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ ἐκινδυνεύετο, ἥς τοῦ μὲν ἔργου μέρος μετέσχετε, τοῦ δὲ λόγου μὴ παντός, εἴ τι ὠφελεῖ, στερισκώμεθα.

3. ῥηθήσεται δὲ οὐ παραιτήσεως μᾶλλον ἔνεκα ἢ μαρτυρίου καὶ δηλώσεως πρὸς οἷαν ὑμῖν πόλιν μὴ εὖ βουλευομένοις ὁ αἰγὼν καταστήσεται. 4. φαμὲν γὰρ Μαραθῶνί τε μόνοι προκινδυνεύσαι τῷ βαρβάρῳ καὶ ὅτε τὸ ὕστερον ἦλθεν, οὐχ ἱκανοὶ ὄντες κατὰ γῆν ἀμύνεσθαι ἐσβάντες ἐς τὰς ναῦς πανδημεὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ξυνναυμαχήσαι, ὅπερ ἔσχε μὴ κατὰ πόλεις αὐτὸν ἐπιπλέοντα τὴν Πελοπόννησον πορθεῖν, ἀδυνάτων ἂν

καὶ Θραῖκας καὶ Ἡρακλείδας φησὶν (Sch.). ἀκοαὶ λόγων, = λόγοι ἀκουσθέντες, the idle words of tradition, are opposed to the solid testimony of the senses. λόγων is a material genitive, = consisting in words: cp. πέρας τοῦ ἀπαλλαγῆναι, vii. 42. 2.

προβαλλομένοις] “Although they begin to be tiresome to you who are always having them flung in your face,” is Krüger’s translation. ἐπιτιμῶμαι, ἀπειλοῦμαι, ἀφαιροῦμαι, ἐπιτρέπομαι, and other verbs, are similarly used in the passive voice, having for subject that which was the indirect object (the dative) after the active verb: cp. i. 126. 11, and Madv. *G. S.* 35 *b*, r. 3. μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ πάνυ παλαιά (Kr.). Better “more tiresome than pleasant,” or “more tiresome than they used to be.” Others, not so well, translate, “although we begin to be tired of perpetually reminding you of them.” For δι’ ὄχλου cp. note on i. 17. 1.

ἐκινδυνεύετο, = the risk was run, is impersonal: cp. i. 78. 1, also i. 2. 6; 46. 1. ἔργου opposed again to λόγου: “you had your full share in the solid fruits of our daring, let us not lose *all* the glory, if that glory may help us in our present need.”

3. **παραιτήσεως]** οὐχὶ ἔνεκα τοῦ αἰτεῖν συγγνώμην φησί (Sch.). πρὸς οἷαν: see note on i. 70. 1.

4. **Μαραθῶνι]** Just below we have ἐν Σαλαμῖνι. Thuc. does not seem to have any settled rule—sometimes he inserts the preposition, sometimes he does not. Cp. i. 143. 1, Δελφοῖς: ii. 34. 6, ἐν Μαραθῶνι: v. 18. 9, Ὀλυμπίασι καὶ Πυθοῖ καὶ Ἰσθμῷ καὶ ἐν Ἀθήναις. “Aristophanes always says Μαραθῶνι without the preposition” (Kr.). See Madv. *G. S.* 45 *b*. μόνοι: “For the Plataeans are so few that they are not taken into account.” Kr.

προκινδυνεύσαι] πρὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος κινδυνεύσαι (Sch.). The epigram of Simonides, Ἑλλήνων προμαχοῦντες Ἀθηναῖοι Μαραθῶνι Χρυσοφόρων Μήδων ἐστόρεσαν δύναμιν, and the oath of Demosthenes (297), μὰ τοὺς Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας τῶν προγόνων, are quoted. τῷ βαρβάρῳ because προκινδυνεύσαι is nearly equivalent in sense to μάχεσθαι.

ἔσχε μὴ . . . πορθεῖν] “Held” or “prevented him from sacking;” literally “so that he could not sack.” In this and similar phrases μὴ is by no means redundant. Either, as here, the infinitive is an exegetic inf. denoting result (see note on i. 44. 1, and cp. i. 49. 8, ἀπεχόμενοι ὥστε μὴ ἐμβάλλειν, where the illative particle might be omitted without changing the sense); or else, as is the case with ἀρνοῦμαι, ἀντι-

όντων πρὸς ναῦς πολλὰς ἀλλήλοις ἐπιβοηθεῖν. 5. τεκμήριον δὲ μέγιστον αὐτὸς ἐποίησε· νικηθεὶς γὰρ ταῖς ναυσὶν ὥς οὐκέτι αὐτῷ ὁμοίας οὔσης τῆς δυνάμεως κατὰ τάχος τῷ πλέονι τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀνεχώρησεν. 74. 1. τοιούτου μέντοι ξυμβάντος τούτου, καὶ σαφῶς δηλωθέντος ὅτι ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ πράγματα ἐγένετο, τρία τὰ ὠφελιμώτατα ἐς αὐτὸ παρεσχόμεθα, ἀριθμὸν τε νεῶν πλείστον καὶ ἄνδρα στρατηγὸν ξυνετώτατον καὶ προθυμίαν ἀοκνοτάτην, ναῦς μὲν γε ἐς τὰς τετρακοσίας ὀλίγῳ ἐλάσσους τῶν δύο μοιρῶν, Θεμιστοκλέα δὲ ἄρχοντα, ὃς αἰτιωτάτος ἐν τῷ στενῷ ναυμαχῆσαι ἐγένετο. ὅπερ σαφέστατα ἔσωσε τὰ πράγματα καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ τοῦτο δὴ μάλιστα ἐτιμήσατε ἄνδρα ξένον τῶν ὡς

λέγω (= to say in denial or contradiction), the verb is regarded as being really positive or affirmative. See Madv. *G. S.* 156, r. 3. For the matter see the speech of Artemisia, Hdt. viii. 68.

ἀδυνάτων ἂν ὄντων] “In which case it would have been impossible.” The same might have been expressed thus, ὅπερ εἰ ἐγένετο ἀδύνατα ἂν ἦν, which explains the insertion of ἂν. See Madv. *G. S.* 184. ναῦς πολλὰς, cp. note on πόλεσιν ἀπειχίστοις, i. 5. 1.

5. ὁμοίας] “Considering that his power was no longer what it had been before. Cp. ii. 80. 1” (Arn.). Others, “was no longer equal to, a match for, the Greeks:” but not so well. τῷ πλέονι is masc., cp. note on i. 2. 3.

CH. LXXIV. 1. δηλωθέντος] Cp. αἰὲ καθεστῶτος, i. 76. 2; ἐσαγγελθέντων, 116. 3. So in Latin *audito, cognito*: see Madv. *G. S.* 181, r. 4 d, and *Lat. Gram.* 429. “It having been clearly shown that the fortunes of the Greeks were bound up with the success of their fleet.” ἐν = *penes*. αὐτό: sc. τὸ νικηθῆναι τὸν βάρβαρον ταῖς ναυσὶ. For the indefinite nature of the antecedent to αὐτό cp. i. 1. 3; 22. 4. μὲν γε, i. 70. 2.

ὀλίγῳ “in the mouth of an orator

only too often means πολλῶ, and vice versâ” (Kr.). The total number of ships according to Aeschylus (*Pers.* 331) and Demosthenes (*de Cor.* 238) was 300; according to Herodotus (viii. 48) 378, but the historian’s arithmetic is at fault, for he only makes out 366. The Athenian contingent numbered 180 (id. viii. 44) which Themistocles magnifies into 200 (viii. 61). Athenian services never suffered in Athenian mouths; they either made the sum total of the fleet smaller, or the Athenian quota larger. Isocrates (*Pan.* c. 31) goes beyond Thuc., and speaks of his countrymen as *κεκτημένοι τριήρεις διπλασίας ἢ σύμπαντες οἱ ἄλλοι*. τῶν δύο μοιρῶν = two thirds. When the numerator alone is given, add one for the denominator. For the article see note on τὰς δύο μοίρας, i. 10. 2.

αἰτιώτατος] This adjective takes either a substantival construction, τοῦ with infinitive; or a verbal construction as here (cp. note on i. 9. 2, and Madv. *G. S.* 164, r. 3; 170 c). αὐτοί: “you yourselves” who now hate us all so bitterly. ἄνδρα ξένον, “for a stranger.” Cp. Soph. *Trach.* 459, οὐχὶ χατέρας πλείστας ἀνὴρ εἰς Ἡρακλῆς ἐγῆμε δῆ; = for one man.

ὑμᾶς ἐλθόντων. 2. προθυμίαν δὲ καὶ πολὺ τολμηροτάτην ἐδείξαμεν, οἳ γε ἐπειδὴ ἡμῖν κατὰ γῆν οὐδεὶς ἐβοήθει, τῶν ἄλλων ἤδη μέχρι ἡμῶν δουλευόντων ἠξιώσαμεν ἐκλιπόντες τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα διαφθείραντες μὴδ' ὥς τὸ τῶν περιλοίπων ξυμμάχων κοινὸν προλιπεῖν, μὴδὲ σκεδασθέντες ἀχρεῖοι αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐσβάντες ἐς τὰς ναῦς κινδυνεῦσαι καὶ μὴ ὀργισθῆναι ὅτι ἡμῖν οὐ προετιμωρήσατε. 3. ὥστε φάμεν οὐχ ἥσσον αὐτοὶ ὠφελῆσαι ὑμᾶς ἢ τυχεῖν τούτου. 4. ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τε οἰκουμένων τῶν πόλεων καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τὸ λοιπὸν νέμεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ ἐδείσατε ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ οὐχ ἡμῶν τὸ πλεόν, ἐβοηθήσατε· ὅτε γοῦν ἡμεν ἔτι σῶοι, οὐ παρεγένεσθε· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τε τῆς οὐκ οὔσης ἔτι ὀρμώμενοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐν βραχείᾳ ἐλπίδι οὔσης κινδυνεύοντες ξυνεσώσαμεν ὑμᾶς τε τὸ μέρος καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτούς. 5. εἰ δὲ προσεχωρήσαμεν πρότερον τῷ Μήδῳ, δείσαντες ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλοι περὶ τῇ χώρᾳ, ἢ μὴ ἐτολμήσαμεν ὕστερον ἐσβῆναι ἐς τὰς ναῦς ὡς διεφθαρμένοι, οὐδὲν ἂν ἔτι ἔδει ὑμᾶς μὴ ἔχοντας ναῦς ἱκανὰς ναυμαχεῖν, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἂν αὐτῷ προεχώρησε τὰ πράγματα ἢ ἐβούλετο. 75. 1. ἂρ' ἄξιοί ἐσμεν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ προθυμίας ἔνεκα τῆς τότε

2. οἳ γε] See note on i. 11. 4. ἐβοηθει, "seemed to be coming to our aid." The imperfect denotes the repeated frustration of their hopes.

3. τούτου] Sc. τοῦ ὠφελεῖσθαι. "We gave you far more aid than we received." Or better, "we say that our benefits to you were so great as well to deserve a kindness at your hands," literally, "not less than that we should obtain." See *Madv. G. S.* 150 c.

4. οἰκουμένων] "You came indeed to aid us, but it was from cities inhabited, and to the end you might still keep them so" (Hobbes). τὸ πλεόν, cp. i. 9. 3. γοῦν, i. 2. 5. ὀρμώμενοι: "setting out from that which we had lost, and braving danger for that which existed but in a shadowy hope." ὀρμώμενοι of actual motion from: cp. i. 64. 3.

οὐκ εἶναι of death: ii. 44. 4; cp. *Soph. Aj.* 1231. τὸ μέρος: "We bore our full share in the deliverance." Arn.

5. εἰ δὲ προσεχωρήσαμεν] In this boast they are quite borne out by *Hdt.* vii. 139. ὡς, thinking that we were: see note on i. 2. 6. μὴ ἔχοντας: μὴ shows that these words are part of the protasis—"if we had not dared to embark, and so your fleet had been too small, it would have been quite idle." ἔδει, the imperfect: see note on i. 9. 5.

CHAP. LXXV. 1.] ἂρ' "in itself expresses neither affirmation nor negation, and can be used also in the sense of ἂρ' οὐ" (Kr.). γνώμης is governed by ξυνέσεως: for the juxtaposition of genitives cp. i. 45. 2, ἐς τῶν ἐκείνων τι χωρίων. "The sagacity of our judgment." If it were not for γε, ἀρχῆς might be

καὶ γνώμης ξυνέσεως ἀρχῆς [γε] ἥς ἔχομεν τοῖς Ἑλλησι μὴ οὕτως ἄγαν ἐπιφθόνως διακεῖσθαι; καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν τήνδε ἐλάβομεν οὐ βιασάμενοι, ἀλλ' ὑμῶν μὲν οὐκ ἐθελησάντων παραμεῖναι πρὸς τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τοῦ βαρβάρου, ἡμῖν δὲ προσελθόντων τῶν ξυμμάχων καὶ αὐτῶν δεηθέντων ἡγεμόνας καταστήναι· ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ ἔργου κατηναγκάσθημεν τὸ πρῶτον προαγαγεῖν αὐτὴν ἐς τόδε, μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ δέους, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τιμῆς, ὕστερον καὶ ὠφελείας. 2. καὶ οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἔτι ἐδόκει εἶναι τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀπηχθημένους καὶ τινων καὶ ἤδη ἀποστάντων κατεστραμμένων, ὑμῶν τε ἡμῖν οὐκέτι ὁμοίως φίλων ἀλλ' ὑπόπτων καὶ διαφόρων ὄντων, ἀνέντας κινδυνεύειν· καὶ γὰρ ἂν αἱ ἀποστάσεις πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐγίγνοντο. 3. πᾶσι δ' ἀνεπίφθονον τὰ συμφέροντα τῶν μεγίστων πέρι κινδύνων εὖ τίθεσθαι. 76. I. ὑμεῖς γοῦν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τὰς ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεις ἐπὶ τὸ ὑμῖν ὠφέλιμον καταστησάμενοι ἐξηγεῖσθε· καὶ εἰ τότε ὑπομεί-

governed by ἄξιοι, but “worthy of empire at any rate” would imply a contempt of earthly ambition rather foreign to Athenian sentiments. Translate, “do we not deserve then . . . not to be regarded with so sour a jealousy by the Greeks, at any rate on account of the empire which we possess.” ἐπιφθόνως διακεῖσθαι = φθονεῖσθαι, and is therefore followed by a genitive of reference. So the Scholiast: ἄρα, φησὶν, ἄξιοί ἐσμεν ἕνεκα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἡμῶν μὴ φθονεῖσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς. But (1) if they were not to be envied for empire, what *were* they to be envied for? (2) All the best MSS. read τε, and so Hobbes translates, “we deserve not so great envy of the Grecians for our courage at that time, and for our prudence, and for the dominion we hold.” There is something wrong.

πρὸς τὰ ὑπόλοιπα] “Against the remnants of the barbarian invaders.” Cp. i. 95. 1; iii. 10. 2. αὐτῶν, “of their own accord.” ἔργου, “the facts of the case.” ἐς

τόδε, “to so tyrannous an extreme.” ὑπὸ δέους· τοῦ βαρβάρου, ἢ τῶν κακῶς παθόντων ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ὑπηκόων (Sch.). The second guess is right: cp. below, ἀναγκασθέντας ἂν ἢ ἄρχειν ἐγκρατῶς ἢ αὐτοὺς κινδυνεύειν.

2. καὶ τινων καί] “And when some moreover had already revolted and been subdued.” For co-ordinate and independent participles unconnected by a conjunction, cp. i. 50. 4; iv. 48. 3; vi. 17. 3. ζώντων ἐχομένων, = taken alive, ii. 5. 3, and ζώντος κειμένου ὡς τεθνεώτος, = lying as if dead, though alive, iv. 38. 1, are different. ὁμοίως, “as before.” ἀνέντας, sc. τὴν ἀρχήν. γάρ, “for in that case (εἰ ἀνείμεν) the revolts which would have followed” (αἱ).

3. πᾶσι] “And it is no reproach to any one,” or, “in the judgment of all men it is no reproach to order one’s interests for the best in a matter that involves the gravest perils.” For περί see note on i. 10. 4; for τίθεσθαι, on i. 25. 1.

CH. LXXVI. I. ἐπὶ τὸ ὑμῖν ὠφ.]

ναντες διὰ παντὸς ἀπήχθησθε ἐν τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς, εὖ ἴσμεν μὴ ἂν ἦσσαν ὑμᾶς λυπηροὺς γενομένους τοῖς ξυμμάχοις καὶ ἀναγκασθέντας ἂν ἢ ἄρχειν ἐγκρατῶς ἢ αὐτοὺς κινδυνεύειν. 2. οὕτως οὐδ' ἡμεῖς θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν πεποιήκαμεν οὐδ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τρόπου, εἰ ἀρχὴν τε διδομένην ἐδεξάμεθα, καὶ ταύτην μὴ ἀνείμεν ὑπὸ τῶν μεγίστων νικηθέντες, τιμῆς καὶ δέους καὶ ὠφελείας, οὐδ' αὖ πρῶτοι τοῦ τοιούτου ὑπάρξαντες, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ καθεστῶτος τὸν ἦσσω ὑπὸ τοῦ δυνατωτέρου κατείργεσθαι, ἄξιοί τε ἅμα νομίζοντες εἶναι καὶ ὑμῖν δοκοῦντες μέχρι οὗ τὰ ξυμφέροντα λογιζόμενοι τῷ δικαίῳ λόγῳ νῦν χρήσθε, ὃν οὐδεὶς πω παρατυχὸν ἰσχύϊ τι

Join with *καταστησάμενοι* — “arranged their affairs as seemed best for your own interest;” that is to say, “established oligarchies in them.” Cp. i. 19. 1; 144. 2. The accusative *πόλεις* may be governed either by the participle or by the finite verb: cp. i. 71. 7. τότε, “at that time,” which had been spoken of a little before, the time when the Lacedaemonians withdrew from Byzantium. *μὴ ἂν* is difficult. Poppo says “οὐκ ἂν would be more regular, as (vi. 64. 1) *εἰδότες οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως δυνηθέντες*. But cp. ii. 17. 2, *τὸ μαντεῖον προῆδει μὴ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ποτε αὐτὸ κατοικισθῆσόμενον*.” There are a few instances of *μὴ ἂν* with the optative: thus Plato, *Phaed.* 106 D, *σχολῇ γὰρ ἂν τι ἄλλο φθορὰν μὴ δέχοιτο, εἰ τό γ' ἀθάνατον καὶ αἰδῖον φθορὰν δέξεται* (this may be explained as a loose mode of expression for *σχολῇ ἂν τι εἶη ὃ φθορὰν μὴ δέχοιτο*: cp. note on i. 35. 1). Also we may compare Soph. *Oed. T.* 289, *μὴ παρῶν θαυμάζεται*, and note on i. 139. 1, for passages in which the distinction between the two negatives is very difficult to discern.

2. ἀπὸ] “Away from, contrary to the common practice of mankind.” Cp. ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, i. 7, and note on i. 22. 4. ἀρχήν: a presidency was given to them, not an empire. “It was the interest of

the Athenian orator to confound the difference between *ἡγεμονία* and *ἀρχή*, so after he has clearly stated what the relation of Athens to her allies had been at first, and how it afterwards became totally changed, Thuc. makes him slur over the distinction and say οὕτως . . . ἐδεξάμεθα.” Grote, vol. v. p. 396, note. See below, i. 97. 3, note.

οὐδ' αὖ] “Since again we are not the first to begin such a practice, but it has always been the rule that the weaker should be kept in subjection by the stronger.” For the alternation of the nominative with the genitive absolute cp. i. 75. 1. *ὑπάρξαντες* forms a third protasis to *πεποιήκαμεν*, and so is parallel to *εἰ ἐδεξάμεθα* = *δεξάμενοι*. For *τε . . . δέ* cp. i. 25. 4; vi. 83. 1. *ἀνείμεν* is the Attic indicative: cp. *ἀνείσαν*, v. 32. 4; *ἀφείσαν*, 81. 1. *δοκοῦντες*, sc. *ἄξιοι εἶναι*.

τῷ δικαίῳ λόγῳ] “Your fine talk about justice.” *δίκαιον λόγον λέγει, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων* (Sch.). *παρατυχόν*: note on ὅν i. 2. 2. *προθεῖς* *προκρίνας* (Sch.). *ἀπετράπετο τοῦ μὴ ἔχειν* is a mixture of two constructions—*ἀπετράπετο τοῦ ἔχειν*, turned aside *from having*, and *ἀπετράπετο τὸ μὴ ἔχειν*, turned aside *so as not to have*: cp. Aesch. *Pr. V.* 236, *ἐξελυσάμην βροτοὺς τοῦ μὴ διαπραισθέντας εἰς Αἶδου μολεῖν*. ἀπέ-

κτήσασθαι προθεῖς τοῦ μὴ πλέον ἔχειν ἀπετράπετο· 3. ἐπαινέσθαι τε ἄξιοι οἵτινες χρησάμενοι τῇ ἀνθρωπείᾳ φύσει ὥστε ἐτέρων ἄρχειν δικαιοτέροι ἢ κατὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν δύναμιν γεγέννηται. 4. ἄλλους γ' ἂν οὖν οἴομεθα τὰ ἡμέτερα λαβόντας δεῖξαι ἂν μάλιστα εἴ τι μετριάζομεν· ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπικεικούς ἀδοξία τὸ πλέον ἢ ἔπαινος οὐκ εἰκότως περιέστη. 77. 1. καὶ ἐλασσούμενοι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ξυμβολαίαις πρὸς τοὺς ξυμμάχους δίκαις καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις νόμοις ποιήσαντες τὰς κρίσεις φιλοδικεῖν δοκοῦμεν. 2. καὶ οὐδεὶς σκοπεῖ αὐτῶν τοῖς καὶ ἄλλοθί που ἀρχὴν ἔχουσι καὶ ἥσσον ἡμῶν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους μετρίοις οὖσι διότι τοῦτο οὐκ ὀνειδίζεται· βιάζεσθαι γὰρ οἷς ἂν ἐξῇ δικάζεσθαι οὐδὲν προσδέονται. 3. οἱ δὲ εἰθισμένοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς

τράπετο ἔχειν, μὴ ἔχειν, τοῦ ἔχειν, and τοῦ μὴ ἔχειν are all legitimate. See Madv. *G. S.* 156, r. 3. Translate, “a thing that no man, who had the chance of gaining any thing by force, ever yet suffered to prevail, and so turned aside from his unrighteous gain.”

3. *χρησάμενοι . . ὥστε*] “Though they have followed the bent of human nature so far as to.” ἢ κατὰ, “than they need have been considering:” cp. ii. 50. 1; vi. 15. 3; vii. 45. 2.

4. *γ' ἂν οὖν*] γ' . . . οὖν = γοῦν. For the position of ἂν see note on i. 2. 2. ἐκ τοῦ ἐπικεικούς, “is the unnatural result of our moderation.”

CH. LXXVII. 1. *ἐλασσούμενοι*] “Not standing upon our rights; i. e. condescending to let our disputes with them be fairly tried, instead of deciding them by our sovereign power” (Arn.). καί = both, and answers to the καί before παρ' ἡμῖν. *ξυμβολαίαις*: actions based upon σύμβολα, a kind of treaty between two states providing for the legal settlement of disputes in which the plaintiff belonged to one and the defendant to the other of the contracting powers. Duker, however, connecting the adjective with *ξυμβόλαια* and not with *ξύμβολα*, takes it to mean “actions upon any

matter of contract,” and in this he is followed by Grote, who argues (vol. vi. p. 59, note), if I understand him rightly, that *ξύμβολα* could exist only between independent states (see v. 27. 2), and therefore not between Athens and her dependent allies; but then, as he himself suggests, the suits here referred to might derive their name from the *ξύμβολον* or instrument by which the confederacy of Delos was incorporated, or from the analogy of suits instituted under such a treaty between autonomous cities. The allies apparently complained, not that they did not get justice (see viii. 48. 5), but that the Athenians fostered litigation in order to swell their dicasts' fees. And the Athenians answer, “we give them a tribunal in the eye of which all are equal; they would not get that if they were independent, nor would they get it if they were allies of Sparta!” For the jurisdiction and working of these federal courts see Grote *loc. cit.*, and Smith, *Dict. Ant.* s. v. Symbolon. Very much the same complaints were made in after times of the Papal courts. *φιλοδικεῖν*, to be fond, not of justice, but of law.

3. οἱ δέ] “But they.” Cp. i.

ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ὀμιλεῖν, ἣν τι παρὰ τὸ μὴ οἶεσθαι χρῆναι ἢ γνώμη ἢ δυνάμει τῇ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ὅπως οὖν ἐλασσωθῶσιν, οὐ τοῦ πλέονος μὴ στερισκόμενοι χάριν ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐνδεοῦς χαλεπώτερον φέρουσιν ἢ εἰ ἀπὸ πρώτης ἀποθέμενοι τὸν νόμον φανερώς ἐπλεονεκτοῦμεν. 4. ἐκείνως δὲ οὐδ' ἂν αὐτοὶ ἀντέλεγον ὥς οὐ χρεῶν τὸν ἥσσω τῷ κρατοῦντι ὑποχωρεῖν. 5. ἀδικούμενοί τε, ὥς ἔοικεν, οἱ ἄνθρωποι μᾶλλον ὀργίζονται ἢ βιαζόμενοι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου δοκεῖ πλεονεκτεῖσθαι, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείσσονος καταναγκάζεσθαι. 6. ὑπὸ γοῦν τοῦ Μῆδου δεινότερα τούτων πάσχοντες ἠνείχοντο, ἢ δὲ ἡμετέρα ἀρχὴ χαλεπὴ δοκεῖ εἶναι, εἰκότως· τὸ παρὸν γὰρ αἰὲν βαρὺ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις. 7. ὑμεῖς γ' ἂν οὖν εἰ καθελόντες ἡμᾶς ἄρξαιτε, τάχα ἂν τὴν εὐνοίαν ἣν διὰ τὸ ἡμέτερον δέος εἰλήφατε μεταβάλοιτε, εἴπερ οἶα καὶ τότε πρὸς τὸν Μῆδον δι' ὀλίγου ἡγησάμενοι ὑπεδείξατε, ὁμοῖα καὶ νῦν γνώσεσθε. 8. ἄμικτα γὰρ τά τε καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς

37. 2, παρὰ τὸ μὴ οἶεσθαι χρῆναι, "contrary to their ideas of what is wrong," which is much the same thing as "contrary to their ideas of right." The negative belongs to χρῆναι: cp. i. 70. 3; iii. 47. 4. γνώμη, "a judicial decision" (Kr.). But opposed to δυνάμει it must have a wider signification, and denote any damage not inflicted by actual physical force. We may perhaps translate, "either by fraud or force." καὶ ὅπως οὖν = καὶ ὅτι οὖν, "even in ever so slight a point." Arn.

τοῦ ἐνδεοῦς] Genitive of reference, "on account of the little they have lost." "In the early years of Charles I.'s reign 'every man,' says Clarendon, 'was more troubled and perplexed at that they called the violation of one law, than delighted or pleased with the observance of the rest of the charter'" (Arn.), which may perhaps help us to understand the difference between ancient and modern democracy. ἀπὸ πρώτης, feminine, perhaps because of some half reminiscence of ὁρμή

(Kr.): see i. 14. 4.

4. ἐκείνως] "In that case," "if we had done so."

5. τὸ μὲν] "For the one looks like cheating by an equal." τό is an accusative of extent or a cognate accusative: see *Madv. G. S.* 27 *b*. ἴσου is neuter; cp. i. 34. 3, and i. 143. 3; iii. 11. 1.

7. ἄρξαιτε] "Were to become rulers:" Aesch. *Prom. V.* 203, σπεύδοντες ὥς Ζεὺς μήποτ' ἄρξειεν θεῶν" (Kr.). See note on i. 5. 2. τὸ ἡμέτερον δέος, i. 33. 3. ὁμοῖα γνώσεσθε = ὁμοίαις γνώμαις χρήσεσθε. "If now too you will indulge the same temper as that of which you showed symptoms during your brief command." καὶ τότε, καὶ νῦν: in English the conjunction would not be used. See note on i. 3. 2. ἡγησάμενοι, see note on i. 18. 3.

8. ἄμικτα] "Unsociable," "churlish." He refers chiefly to the ξενηλασία (see i. 144. 2; ii. 39. 2, and Smith, *Dict. Ant.* s. v.), but also to the general character of the Spartan discipline, which tended to

νόμιμα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔχετε καὶ προσέτι εἰς ἕκαστος ἐξίων οὔτε τούτοις χρῆται οὔθ' οἷς ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλὰς νομίζει. 78. 1. βουλευέσθε οὖν βραδέως ὥς οὐ περὶ βραχεων, καὶ μὴ ἀλλοτρίαις γνώμαις καὶ ἐγκλήμασι πεισθέντες οἰκεῖον πόνον προσθῆσθε. τοῦ δὲ πολέμου τοῦ παράλογον, ὅσος ἐστί, πρὶν ἐν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι προδιάγνωτε· μηκυνόμενος γὰρ φιλεῖ ἐς τύχας τὰ πολλὰ περιίστασθαι, ὧν ἴσον τε ἀπέχομεν καὶ ὅποτέρως ἔσται ἐν ἀδήλῳ κινδυνεύεται. 2. ἰόντες τε οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐς τοὺς πολέμους τῶν ἔργων πρότερον ἔχονται, ἢ χρῆν ὕστερον δρᾶν, κακοπαθοῦντες δὲ ἤδη τῶν λόγων ἄπτονται. 3. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ πῶ τοιαύτῃ ἀμαρτίᾳ ὄντες οὔτ' αὐτοὶ οὔθ' ὑμᾶς ὀρῶντες λέγομεν ὑμῖν, ἕως ἔτι αὐθαίρετος ἀμφοτέροις ἡ εὐβουλία, σπονδὰς μὴ λύνειν μηδὲ παραβαίνειν τοὺς ὅρκους, τὰ δὲ διάφορα δίκη λύεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ξυνθήκην· 4. ἡ θεοὺς τοὺς ὀρκίους μάρτυρας ποιούμενοι πειρασόμεθα ἀμύνεσθαι πολέμου ἄρχοντας ταύτῃ ἢ ἂν ὑφηγῆσθε."

79. 1. Τοιαῦτα δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἶπον. 2. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῶν τε ξυμμάχων ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ ἐγκλήματα τὰ

shut them out from sympathy with the free individual life of the other Greek states and especially of Athens. Hdt. (i. 65) calls the Spartans *ξείνοισι ἀπρόσμικτοι*, but appears to confine the reproach to the wild and lawless times which preceded the legislation of Lycurgus. καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτούς, cp. i. 68. 1. ἐξίων, "when he goes abroad." This is especially true of the Harmosts: see *Dict. Ant.*, and Grote, vol. vi. p. 57. νομίζειν when used in the sense of χρῆσθαι takes the construction of that verb: cp. ii. 38. 1; iii. 82. 18, also προκινδυνεύσαι τῷ βαρβάρῳ, i. 73. 4.

CH. LXXVIII. 1. προσθῆσθε] "Lay upon yourselves." ἀλλότριος and οἰκεῖος are opposed at i. 70. 6. παράλογος "is used by Thuc. only as a substantive: cp. ii. 61. 3; 85. 2; iii. 16. 2; elsewhere" (Kr.). ἐς τύχας περιίστασθαι, "to come to be a matter of chance:" cp. i. 69. 9, also i. 32. 4.

κινδυνεύεται] Impersonal, cp. i. 73. 2. "The risk is being run," that is, "we stand on the brink of a perilous decision in utter uncertainty as to what the result will be."

2. ἤδη] "When they begin to be distressed, immediately they open negotiations." κακοπαθοῦντες marks the point after which ἀπτονται ἤδη, they begin at once to treat: see note on i. 18. 6.

3. ὀρῶντες] Sc. ὄντας ἐν τοιαύτῃ ἀμαρτίᾳ. αὐθαίρετος, "open." σπονδὰς, without article: i. 53. 2. λύνεσθαι: the middle voice is used of adjusting mutual differences by mutual efforts. The active λύνειν would be used of a third party who stepped in as mediator to pacify the belligerents. ξυνθήκην, see i. 140. 5.

4. ἡ = εἰ δὲ μή, otherwise: cp. v. 63. 3. ὀρκίους, i. 71. 6. ὑφηγῆσθε, "according to the pattern you set us." ὑπο- denotes the nearness of the leader.

ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἃ ἔλεξαν, μεταστησάμενοι πάντας ἐβουλευόντο κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς περὶ τῶν παρόντων. 3. καὶ τῶν μὲν πλειόνων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ αἰ γινώμαι ἔφερον, ἀδικεῖν τε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἤδη καὶ πολεμητέα εἶναι ἐν τάχει· παρελθὼν δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν, ἀνὴρ καὶ ξυνετὸς δοκῶν εἶναι καὶ σώφρων, ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

80. 1. “Καὶ αὐτὸς πολλῶν ἤδη πολέμων ἔμπειρός εἰμι, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ ὑμῶν τοὺς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὁρῶ, ὥστε μήτε ἀπειρία ἐπιθυμῆσαί τινα τοῦ ἔργου, ὅπερ ἂν οἱ πολλοὶ πάθοιεν, μήτε ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀσφαλὲς νομίσαντα. 2. εὖροιτε δ’ ἂν τόνδε περὶ οὗ νῦν βουλευέσθε οὐκ ἂν ἐλάχιστον γενόμενον, εἰ σωφρόνως τις αὐτὸν ἐκλογίζοιτο. 3. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τοὺς Πελοποννησίους καὶ τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας παρόμοιος ἡμῶν ἡ ἀλκὴ καὶ διὰ ταχέων οἶόν τε ἐφ’ ἑκάστα ἐλθεῖν· πρὸς δὲ ἄνδρας οἱ γῆν τε ἐκὰς ἔχουσι καὶ προσέτι θαλάσσης ἐμπει-

CH. LXXIX. 2. μεταστησάμενοι πάντας] They ordered all strangers to withdraw because only Spartans voted in this assembly. See i. 66. 3.

3. ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ . . . ἔφερον] “Tended to the same point”—a metaphor derived from the phrase ὁδὸς φέρει. Ἀρχίδαμος, son of Zeuxidamus, grandson of Leotychides, whom he succeeded B.C. 469. He appears to have died B.C. 427.

CH. LXXX.] Archidamus advises delay. “In ships we are inferior to the Athenians, in money we are inferior, only in infantry are we superior. But this is of little avail, for the Athenian power rests on their foreign empire, which cannot be touched without a fleet. Hence the war must be a long one, perhaps a legacy of evil for our children. Let us wait for two or three years, till we can strengthen our weak points and get allies. When they see us armed they will listen to reason, but a hasty declaration of war may lead only to a calamitous and disgraceful peace. Do not be moved by the Corinthian taunts. What they call slow-

ness we call wisdom and discretion; and the same cautious, conservative temper which makes us a law-loving, orderly people is the secret of our military fame. We are not to be talked into rash ventures. We trust not in the chance of accidents, but in discipline and forethought. Let us then be cautious now, and try argument before we try force.”

1. ὁρῶ] λείπει τὸ ἐμπείρους (Sch.). ἀπειρία . . . νομίσαντα, neither from inexperience . . . nor from thinking.” Cp. i. 107. 8, νομίσαντες . . . ὑποψία. Other instances of the same yearning for variety are, βαλλόμενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς, i. 63. 1; and ἑαυτῶν τε ἐθελοντὰς καὶ . . . μισθῷ πείσαντες, i. 60. 1.

2. οὐκ ἄν] See note on i. 76. 1. σωφρόνως, “calmly,” “dispassionately.”

3. παρόμοιος] Of the same kind, military that is to say. “παρα-, as in παρομοίωσις, παρίσωσις, conveys the idea of parallelism, of placing side by side and comparing” (Kr.). ἐφ’ ἑκάστα ἐλθεῖν, “to reach the point of action,” or “to execute every plan.” πρὸς τούτους, “against these, I say,” repeats πρὸς ἄνδρας.

ρότατοί εἰσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἄριστα ἐξήρτυνται, πλούτῳ τε ἰδίῳ καὶ δημοσίῳ καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ ἵπποις καὶ ὅπλοις καὶ ὅχλῳ ὅσος οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῳ ἐνὶ γε χωρίῳ Ἑλληνικῷ ἐστίν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ξυμμάχους πολλοὺς φόρου ὑποτελεῖς ἔχουσι, πῶς χρὴ πρὸς τούτους ῥαδίως πόλεμον ἄρασθαι καὶ τίνι πιστεύσαντας ἀπαρασκεύους ἐπειχθῆναι; πότερον ταῖς ναυσίν; ἀλλ' ἥσους ἐσμέν· εἰ δὲ μελετήσομεν καὶ ἀντιπαρασκευασόμεθα, χρόνος ἐνέσται. 4. ἀλλὰ τοῖς χρήμασιν; ἀλλὰ πολλῷ ἔτι πλεον τούτου ἐλλείπομεν καὶ οὔτε ἐν κοινῷ ἔχομεν οὔτε ἐτοίμως ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων φέρομεν. 81. 1. τάχ' ἂν τις θαρσοίῃ ὅτι τοῖς ὅπλοις αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ πλήθει ὑπερφέρομεν, ὥστε τὴν γῆν δηοῦν ἐπιφοιτῶντες· 2. τοῖς δὲ ἄλλῃ γῇ ἐστὶ πολλὴ ἡς ἄρχουσι καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ὧν δέονται ἐπάξονται. 3. εἰ δ' αὖ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἀφιστάναι πειρασόμεθα, δεήσει καὶ τούτοις ναυσὶ βοηθεῖν, τὸ πλεον οὖσι νησιώταις. 4. τίς οὖν ἔσται ἡμῶν ὁ πόλεμος; εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἢ ναυσὶ κρατήσομεν ἢ τὰς προσόδους ἀφαιρήσομεν ἀφ' ὧν τὸ ναυτικὸν τρέφουσι, βλαψόμεθα τὰ πλέω. 5. κὰν τούτῳ οὐδὲ καταλύεσθαι ἔτι καλόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰ δόξομεν ἄρξαι μᾶλλον τῆς διαφορᾶς. 6. μὴ γὰρ δὴ ἐκείνη γε τῇ ἐλπίδι ἐπαιρώμεθα ὥς ταχὺ παυθήσεται ὁ πόλεμος ἢν τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν τάμωμεν. 7. δέδοικα δὲ μᾶλλον μὴ καὶ τοῖς παισὶν αὐτὸν ὑπολίπωμεν· οὕτως εἰκὸς Ἀθηναίους φρονήματι μήτε τῇ γῇ δουλεῦσαι μήτε ὥσπερ ἀπείρους καταπλαγῆναι τῷ πολέμῳ. 82. 1. οὐ μὴν

4. ἀλλὰ τοῖς χρήμασιν] “Well then, in money.” Dem. *de Cor.* 316, τί γὰρ βουλόμενοι μετεπέμπεσθ' ἂν αὐτούς; ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην; ἀλλ' ὑπῆρχεν ἅπασιν. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον; ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ περὶ εἰρήνης ἐβουλεύεσθε. τούτου = τῶν χρημάτων. ἐν κοινῷ, “in the public treasury.”

CH. LXXXI. 1. ἐπιφοιτῶντες] See note on i. 12. 1.

2. τοῖς δέ] i. 37. 2; 77. 3. ἐπάξονται, “they will import:” ἐσάγεσθαι is generally used in this sense, but we have σῖτος ἐπακτός.

3. καί is obscure. Perhaps it belongs to ναυσί—“we shall want ships to stop their corn supplies and

help their revolted allies also.”

4. βλαψόμεθα] “We shall hurt ourselves.” Scarcely passive, but cp. πολεμήσονται, i. 68. 3.

5. κὰν τούτῳ] “And in this case it is no longer possible even to make peace with honour.” μᾶλλον, more than the Athenians.

7. οὕτως] “So likely is it that the Athenians through their high spirit will neither be slaves to their lands,” that is, give up every thing to save their fields from devastation. For the aorist δουλεῦσαι, cp. note on χρήσασθαι, i. 26. 4.

CH. LXXXII. 1. οὐ μὴν οὐδέ] See note on i. 4. 4. ἀναισθητῶς,

οὐδὲ ἀναισθήτως αὐτοὺς κελεύω τοὺς τε ξυμμάχους ἡμῶν ἔαν βλάπτειν καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας μὴ καταφωρᾶν, ἀλλὰ ὅπλα μὲν μήπω κινεῖν, πέμπειν δὲ καὶ αἰτιᾶσθαι μήτε πόλεμον ἄγαν δηλοῦντας μήθ' ὥς ἐπιτρέψομεν, καὶ τούτῳ καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα αὐτῶν ἐξαρτύεσθαι ξυμμάχων τε προσαγωγῇ καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων, εἴ ποθέν τινα ἢ ναυτικοῦ ἢ χρημάτων δύναμιν προσληψόμεθα· ἀνεπίφθονον δὲ ὅσοι ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἐπιβουλεύόμεθα μὴ Ἑλληνας μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάρους προσλαβόντας διασωθῆναι· καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἅμα ἐκποριζόμεθα. 2. καὶ ἦν μὲν ἐσακούσωσί τι πρεσβευομένων ἡμῶν, ταῦτα ἄριστα· ἦν δὲ μή, διελθόντων ἐτῶν καὶ δύο καὶ τριῶν ἄμεινον ἤδη ἦν δοκῇ πεφραγμένοι ἴμεν ἐπ' αὐτούς. 3. καὶ ἴσως ὁρῶντες ἡμῶν ἤδη τὴν τε παρασκευὴν καὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτῇ ὁμοῖα ὑποσημαίνοντας μᾶλλον ἂν εἴκοιεν, καὶ γῆν ἔτι ἄτμητον ἔχοντες καὶ περὶ παρόντων ἀγαθῶν καὶ οὐπω ἐφθαρμένων βουλευόμενοι. 4. μὴ γὰρ ἄλλο τι νομίσητε τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἢ ὄμηρον ἔχειν, καὶ οὐχ ἡσσον ὅσῳ ἄμεινον ἐξείργασται· ἥς φείδεσθαι χρή ὥς ἐπὶ πλείστον, καὶ μὴ ἐς ἀπόνοϊαν καταστήσαντας αὐτοὺς ἀληπτοτέρους ἔχειν. 5. εἰ γὰρ ἀπαράσκευοι τοῖς τῶν ξυμ-

“like dullards” whose skin is too thick to feel an insult: see i. 69. 6. μήτε, “not too openly threatening war, and yet not letting them think that we shall submit to any injuries.” ἐπιβουλεύόμεθα “agrees in person with the nearest subject: cp. iii. 67. 7” (Kr.). προσλαβόντας διασωθῆναι, “to save themselves by calling in the aid.” Archidamus is euphemistic. At ii. 67 we read of an embassy sent by the Peloponnesians to beg aid from the Persian king. After the Sicilian disaster an alliance was actually concluded between Tissaphernes and the Spartans, and “the champions of Hellenic freedom” (i. 69. 1) betrayed the Asiatic Greeks to the barbarians as the price of their victory over Athens: see viii. 18; 58; 84. Grote, vol. vi. p. 284. ἐκποριζώ-

μεθα to be regular should be ἐκποριζόμενοι, for it answers to προσαγωγῇ: cp. i. 80. 1, and note on i. 57. 3.

2. καὶ δύο καὶ τριῶν] “Two or three:” cp. Soph. *El.* 726, ἕκτον ἑβδομόν τε, sixth or seventh. So in Latin -que is not uncommonly used where -ve would seem more natural: Virg. *Aen.* ii. 37; x. 65. ἤδη = after that. ἦν δοκῇ, sc. ἵεναι.

3. ἤδη] With ὁρῶντες: the words are equivalent to ὁρῶντες ἡμᾶς ἤδη παρεσκευασμένους.

4. μὴ γάρ] “Do not think their land to be any thing else than a hostage for you to hold.” Bloomfield compares Livy v. 42, Non omnia concremari tecta, ut pignus ad flectendos hostium animos haberent. οὐχ ἡσσον ὅσῳ = τυσούτῳ μᾶλλον ὅσῳ.

μάχων ἐγκλήμασιν ἐπειχθέντες τεμοῦμεν αὐτήν, ὁρᾶτε ὅπως μὴ αἴσχιον καὶ ἀπορώτερον τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ πράξωμεν. 6. ἐγκλήματα μὲν γὰρ καὶ πόλεων καὶ ἰδιωτῶν οἶόν τε καταλῦσαι· πόλεμον δὲ ξύμπαντας ἀραμένους ἔνεκα τῶν ἰδίων, ὃν οὐχ ὑπάρχει εἰδέναί καθ' ὃ τι χωρήσει, οὐ ῥᾶδιον εὐπρεπῶς θέσθαι. 83. 1. καὶ ἀνανδρία μηδενὶ πολλοὺς μιᾷ πόλει μὴ ταχὺ ἐπελθεῖν δοκείτω εἶναι. 2. εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἐλάσσους χρήματα φέροντες ξύμμαχοι, καὶ ἔστιν ὁ πόλεμος οὐχ ὅπλων τὸ πλεόν ἀλλὰ δαπάνης, δι' ἣν τὰ ὅπλα ὠφελεῖ, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἡπειρώταις πρὸς θαλασσίους. 3. πορισώμεθα οὖν πρῶτον αὐτήν, καὶ μὴ τοῖς τῶν ξυμμάχων λόγοις πρότερον ἐπαιρώμεθα, οἵπερ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀποβαινόντων τὸ πλεόν ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τῆς αἰτίας ἔξομεν, οὗτοι καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν τι αὐτῶν προῖδωμεν. 84. 1. καὶ τὸ βραδὺ καὶ μέλλον, ὃ μέμφονται μάλιστα ἡμῶν, μὴ αἰσχύνεσθε. 2. σπεύδοντές τε γὰρ σχολαίτερον ἂν παύσαισθε διὰ τὸ ἀπαράσκευοι ἐγχειρεῖν· καὶ ἅμα ἐλευθέραν καὶ εὐδοξοτάτην πόλιν διὰ παντὸς νεμόμεθα, 3. καὶ δύναται μάλιστα σωφροσύνη ἔμφρων τοῦτ'

CH. LXXXIII. 2. οὐχ ὅπλων] "'Tis a question not so much of arms as of money, to which arms owe their efficacy." τὸ πλεόν, cp. i. 9. 3, and for ἀλλά after a comparative, ii. 43. 2. Generally διὰ with genitive denotes the instrument or means by which, and with accusative that more remote cause or object for the sake or on account of which something is done. Here, however, this distinction does not seem to be observed. Krüger quotes Plato, *Phaed.* 96 C, ἄνθρωπος αὐξάνεται διὰ τὸ ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν. ἡπειρώταις πρὸς θαλασσίους, sc. ὦν: cp. i. 50. 2, "Ἑλλησι πρὸς Ἑλλήνας.

3. ἀποβαινόντων] Governed by αἰτίας. "Since we shall bear the heaviest share of the responsibility for the result, whichever way it turns out." "Since we above all shall be praised or blamed for the result, according as it is good or evil." αἰτία is a *vox media*. τι = a good deal, as much as we can.

CH. LXXXIV. 1. ἡμῶν] See notes i. 52. 3; 68. 2. So θαυμάζειν τί τινος, "to wonder at any thing of (or in) a person."

2. σπεύδοντές] "If you make war in haste you will make peace at leisure." Cp. above, 81. 5, κὰν τούτῳ οὐδὲ καταλύεσθαι ἔτι καλόν. "You won't find it easy to get an honourable peace if you go to war precipitately and suffer a series of reverses." καὶ ἅμα: "And, moreover, we owe the freedom and glory of our state to this very slowness and circumspection," a second reason why they need not be ashamed of their national character. The writer has not thought fit to insert διὰ τοῦτο, or something similar, which would have made the connexion quite clear.

3. δύναται . . . εἶναι] "Means," "may be called," "betokens:" cp. i. 141. 1; ii. 97. 3. τοῦτο, τὸ βραδὺ καὶ μέλλον (Sch.). Or is it τὸ ἐλευθέραν καὶ εὐδοξοτάτην πόλιν νέ-

εἶναι. 4. μόνοι γὰρ δι' αὐτὸ εὐπραγίαις τε οὐκ ἐξυβρίζομεν καὶ ξυμφοραῖς ἥσσον ἐτέρων εἴκομεν τῶν τε ξὺν ἐπαίνῳ ἐξοτρυνόντων ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰ δεινὰ παρὰ τὸ δοκοῦν ἡμῖν οὐκ ἐπαιρόμεθα ἡδονῇ, καὶ ἦν τις ἄρα ξὺν κατηγορίᾳ παροξύνῃ, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀχθεσθέντες ἀνεπείσθημεν. 5. πολεμικοὶ τε καὶ εὐβουλοι διὰ τὸ εὐκοσμον γιγνόμεθα, τὸ μὲν ὅτι αἰδῶς σωφροσύνης πλείστον μετέχει, αἰσχύνῃς δὲ εὐψυχία, εὐβουλοι δὲ ἀμαθέστερον τῶν νόμων τῆς ὑπεροψίας παιδευόμενοι, καὶ ξὺν χαλεπότητι σωφρονέστερον ἢ ὥστε αὐτῶν ἀνηκουστεῖν, καὶ μὴ τὰ ἀχρεῖα ξυνετοὶ ἄγαν ὄντες, τὰς τῶν πολε-

μεσθαι? σωφροσύνη ἔμφρων is here nearly what we should call "sound good sense:" cp. i. 32. 4; 68. 1; 80. 2. It is an essentially conservative quality, and as such is a standing boast of oligarchies, as ὑbris and ἀκολασία were a standing reproach of democracies (see Hdt. iii. 81). The Liberals, as Archidamus complains, were apt to confound common sense with dulness, and respectability with disguised incompetence.

4. ἥσσον ἐτέρων] The Corinthians had ascribed this merit to the Athenians, i. 70. 5. ἐξοτρυνόντων depends upon ἡδονῇ. "We are not intoxicated by the witcheries of those who by flattery would spur us into perils from which our better judgment shrinks." ἦν ἄρα, i. 70. 8; and as to ἀνεπείσθημεν, cp. note on ἐπλήρωσαν, *ibid.*

5. τὸ μὲν] Sc. πολεμικοί. "Our habits of order and obedience make us both warlike and wise: warlike, because in such an orderly temper the main ingredient is a sense of shame; and with a sense of shame is most closely connected a manly spirit" (Arn.). σωφροσύνη = τὸ εὐκοσμον, produces αἰδῶς = αἰσχύνῃ, which in its turn produces εὐψυχία = τὸ πολεμικόν. αἰσχύνῃ and αἰδῶς signify that reverence which ought to be felt by the younger towards the elder, or the inferior towards the superior, and so, in some places, are

nearly the same as πειθαρχία, obedience: cp. v. 9. 6, νομίσατε εἶναι τοῦ καλῶς πολεμεῖν τὸ ἐθέλειν καὶ τὸ αἰσχύνεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσι πείθεσθαι, with Soph. *Ant.* 663—676; see also ii. 43. 1. They were the basis of what Aristotle calls πολιτικὴ ἀνδρεία, *Ethics* iii. 8. 1, 2, 3. They never perhaps denote more than a sensitiveness to public opinion, a shrinking from what is commonly held to be wrong, though as a Greek would have held that public opinion, the ἄγραφος νόμος (ii. 37. 4), was infallible, they have often considerable affinity to our words "conscience" and "honour." For the phrase πλείστον μετέχει, cp. iii. 83. 1.

ἀμαθέστερον] Above, i. 68. 1, the Corinthians charge the Spartans with ἀμαθία. "We are wise because we are brought up too ignorantly, they would call it, to despise the laws, too roughly and soberly to disobey them." Archidamus looks upon intellectual culture as the source of new-fangled ideas, which only lead a man to set himself up above the wisdom of his forefathers. τῆς ὑπεροψίας = ἡ ὥστε ὑπερορᾶν.

καὶ μὴ . . . ὄντες] καὶ παιδευόμενοι οὕτως ὥστε μὴ, is perhaps the best way of explaining the connexion. But Thuc. may have let the sentence run away with him, as Kriiger suggests, and fashioned the

μίῳν παρασκευὰς λόγῳ καλῶς μεμφόμενοι ἀνομοίως ἔργῳ ἐπεξιέναι, νομίζειν δὲ τὰς τε διανοίας τῶν πέλας παραπλησίους εἶναι καὶ τὰς προσπιπτούσας τύχας οὐ λόγῳ διαιρετάς. 6. αἰὲν δὲ ὡς πρὸς εὖ βουλευομένους τοὺς ἐναντίους ἔργῳ παρασκευαζώμεθα· καὶ οὐκ ἔξ ἐκείνων ὡς ἀμαρτησομένων ἔχειν δεῖ τὰς ἐλπίδας, ἀλλ' ὡς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀσφαλῶς προνοουμένων. 7. πολὺ τε διαφέρειν οὐ δεῖ νομίζειν ἄνθρωπον ἀνθρώπου, κράτιστον δὲ εἶναι ὅστις ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις παιδεύεται. 85. 1. ταύτας οὖν ἅς οἱ πατέρες τε ἡμῖν παρέδωσαν μελέτας καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ παντὸς ὠφελούμενοι ἔχομεν, μὴ παρῶμεν, μὴδ' ἐπειχθέντες ἐν βραχεὶ μορίῳ ἡμέρας περὶ πολλῶν σωμάτων καὶ χρημάτων καὶ πόλεων καὶ δόξης βουλεύσωμεν, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἡσυχίαν. 2. ἔξεστι δ' ἡμῖν μᾶλλον ἐτέρων διὰ ἰσχύιν. 3. καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πέμπετε μὲν περὶ τῆς Ποτιδαίας, πέμπετε δὲ περὶ ὧν οἱ ξύμμαχοι φασιν ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐτοίμων ὄντων αὐτῶν δίκας δοῦναι· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν διδόντα οὐ πρότερον νόμιμον ὡς ἐπὶ ἀδικοῦντα ἰέναι. 4. παρασκευάζεσθε δὲ τὸν πόλεμον ἅμα. 5. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ κράτιστα βουλεύσεσθε καὶ τοῖς ἐναντιοῖς φοβερώτατα.” 6. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀρχίδαμος τοιαῦτα εἶπε· παρελθὼν δὲ Σθενελαΐδας τελευταῖος, εἰς τῶν ἐφόρων τότε ὢν, ἔλεξεν ἐν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ὧδε.

86. I. “Τοὺς μὲν λόγους τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων

rest of it to suit some verb meaning “it is our nature to,” which may have been in his mind: cp. note on σῶζειν, i. 70. 2. τὰ ἀχρεῖα is an accusative of limitation. “Our training has not made us proficient in useless accomplishments, with plenty of clever words to disparage our enemies’ power, but little ability to assail him in deed” (ἀνομοίως, not so cleverly) “but it has taught us to think that other men’s plans are as good as ours, and that no amount of talk can predict with certainty the chances of war.”

7. ἀναγκαιοτάτοις] “In the roughest school.” Pericles speaks of the ἐπίπονος ἀσκησις of the Spartans (ii. 39. 2). ἀναγκαῖος = that

which is full of ἀνάγκη or hardships: cp. note on i. 2. 2.

CH. LXXXV. 1. ταύτας . . . μελέτας] See note on i. 50. 2. ὠφελοῦμενοι, “to our great profit.”

2. ἐτέρων] “More than others,” a careless mode of speech for “more than to others.” Cp. ii. 15. 1, elsewhere. διὰ ἰσχύιν, “owing to our strength.”

3. περὶ ὧν = περὶ τούτων ᾧ. τὸν διδόντα, “him who is willing to give.” See i. 28. 5, ἀπάγωσι.

5. ταῦτα . . . κράτιστα] “This is the best decision that you can adopt.” See note on i. 70. 1, and compare τάδε ἄριστα λέγεσθαι, i. 124. 2.

CH. LXXXVI. Archidamus re-

οὐ γινώσκω· ἐπαινέσαντες γὰρ πολλὰ ἑαυτοὺς οὐδαμοῦ ἀντεῖπον ὥς οὐκ ἀδικοῦσι τοὺς ἡμετέρους ξυμμάχους καὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον· καίτοι εἰ πρὸς τοὺς Μήδους ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοὶ τότε, πρὸς δὲ ἡμᾶς κακοὶ νῦν, διπλασίας ζημίας ἄξιοί εἰσιν, ὅτι ἀντ' ἀγαθῶν κακοὶ γεγένηται. 2. ἡμεῖς δὲ ὁμοῖοι καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν ἐσμεν, καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἦν σωφρονῶμεν οὐ περιοψόμεθα ἀδικουμένους οὐδὲ μελλήσομεν τιμωρεῖν· οἱ δ' οὐκέτι μέλλουσι κακῶς πάσχειν. 3. ἄλλοις μὲν γὰρ χρήματά ἐστι πολλὰ καὶ νῆες καὶ ἵπποι, ἡμῖν δὲ ξύμμαχοι ἀγαθοί, οὓς οὐ παραδοτέα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐστίν, οὐδὲ δίκαις καὶ λόγοις διακριτέα μὴ λόγῳ καὶ αὐτοὺς βλαπτομένους, ἀλλὰ τιμωρητέα ἐν τάχει καὶ παντὶ σθένει. 4. καὶ ὥς ἡμᾶς πρέπει βουλεύεσθαι ἀδικουμένους μηδεὶς διδασκέτω, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μέλλοντας ἀδικεῖν μᾶλλον πρέπει πολὺν χρόνον βουλεύεσθαι. 5. ψηφίζεσθε οὖν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀξίως τῆς Σπάρτης τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ μήτε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐᾶτε μείζους

presents the more liberal class of Spartans. He has seen something of the world, and, though unshaken in attachment to his national institutions, can look on both sides of a question, and allow that even foreigners are men, and may be brave and powerful. He goes so far as to admit that the Athenians may win if war is commenced prematurely. Sthenelaïdas is an ignorant, narrow-minded, truculent sergeant, with just enough rude common sense to see his point, and with a blind tenacity to hold to it in defiance of consequences: Archidamus sneers at culture, but he qualifies his sneer (*ξυνετοὶ ἄγαν*), and he leaves a little standing ground for intellect and counsel. Sthenelaïdas says, "What is the use of talking? they have wronged our allies, and that is enough."

1. οὐ γινώσκω] "I cannot see the force of." ἐπαινέσαντες, see note on i. 18. 3. ἀντεῖπον ὥς οὐκ, "said in contradiction, that they are not,"—a construction which is only possible because the positive

idea of affirming, in the mind of a Greek, predominated over the negative idea of denying: see note on i. 73. 4. Sthenelaïdas accuses the Athenians of ignoring the arguments of the Corinthians, and then very characteristically goes on himself to ignore those of Archidamus. τότε, at that well-known time of which they are always talking.

2. ἦν σωφρονῶμεν] "If we are wise." μέλλουσι, "for there is no delay in their sufferings." As to οἱ δέ, see note on i. 37. 2.

3. διακριτέα] "Nor ought we to settle matters by law and talk, if it is not in talk that we ourselves are injured as well as our allies" (καὶ αὐτούς). λόγοις is an ironical explanation of δίκαις. For the accusative βλαπτομένους, which is governed by δεῖ, implied in διακριτέα, cp. i. 72. 2.

5. μείζους] So that the bluff common sense of the Ephor and his "good allies," is a mere mask for national hatred: cp. i. 23. 8. "καταπροδιδόναι = to betray to utter ruin." Kr.

γίγνεσθαι, μήτε τοὺς ξυμμάχους καταπροδιδῶμεν, ἀλλὰ ξὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπίωμεν πρὸς τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας.”

87. 1. Τοιαῦτα δὲ λέξας ἐπεψήφισεν αὐτὸς ἔφορος ὢν ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. 2. ὁ δέ, κρίνουσι γὰρ βοῇ καὶ οὐ ψήφῳ, οὐκ ἔφη διαγιγνώσκειν τὴν βοὴν ὅποτέρᾳ μείζων, ἀλλὰ βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς φανερώς ἀποδεικνυμένους τὴν γνώμην ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν μᾶλλον ὀρμῆσαι ἔλεξεν “Ὅτω μὲν ὑμῶν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, δοκοῦσι λελύσθαι αἱ σπονδαὶ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀδικεῖν, ἀναστήτω ἐς ἐκεῖνο τὸ χωρίον.” δείξας τι χωρίον αὐτοῖς. “ὅτῳ δὲ μὴ δοκοῦσιν, ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα.” 3. ἀναστάντες δὲ διέστησαν, καὶ πολλῶ πλείους ἐγένοντο οἷς ἐδόκουν αἱ σπονδαὶ λελύσθαι. 4. προσκαλέσαντές τε τοὺς ξυμμάχους εἶπον ὅτι σφίσι μὲν δοκοῖεν ἀδικεῖν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, βούλεσθαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς πάντας ξυμμάχους παρακαλέσαντες ψήφον ἐπαγαγεῖν, ὅπως κοινῇ βουλευσάμενοι τὸν πόλεμον ποιῶνται, ἣν δοκῇ. 5. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ’ οἴκου διαπραξάμενοι ταῦτα, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις ὕστερον ἐφ’ ἅπερ ἦλθον χρηματίσαντες. 6. ἡ δὲ διαγνώμη αὕτη τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τοῦ τὰς σπονδὰς λελύσθαι, ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει καὶ δεκάτῳ τῶν τριακοντουτίδων σπονδῶν προκεχωρηκυῶν αἱ ἐγένοντο μετὰ τὰ Εὐβοϊκά.

88. Ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰς σπονδὰς λελύσθαι καὶ πολεμητέα εἶναι οὐ τοσοῦτον τῶν ξυμμάχων πεισθέντες τοῖς λόγοις ὅσον φοβούμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μὴ ἐπὶ μείζον δυνηθῶσιν, ὀρῶντες αὐτοῖς τὰ πολλὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος

CH. LXXXVII. 2. ὁ δέ] “The implied antithesis is οἱ μὲν βοῇ ἔκρινον. ὅποτέρᾳ, “on which side;” as we should say, “whether the ayes or noes had it.” ὀρμῆσαι is transitive, = to incite. ἀναστήτω ἐς, “let him rise and go to yonder side:” cp. ξυνίστασθαι πρὸς, i. i. 1. τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα, “the other side:” cp. note on ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον, i. 2. 5.

3. διέστησαν] “Divided.” ἐγένοντο, “were found to be.”

4. ὅτι δοκοῖεν and βούλεσθαι both depend on εἶπον: cp. ii. 80. i; iii.

2. 3; iv. 46. 5; elsewhere. ποιῶνται: the present is not common after ὅπως: cp. i. 56. 2.

6. διαγνώμη, for διάγνωσις, is peculiar to Thuc. τοῦ λελύσθαι is a genitive of material, expressing the opinion of which the decision consisted: cp. vii. 42. 2, πέρας τοῦ ἀπαλλαγῆναι. προκεχωρηκυῶν: so we talk of a bill, a writ, or a treaty “running.”

CH. LXXXVIII. ἐπὶ μείζον δυνηθῶσιν] “Lest their power should grow greater:” cp. i. 23. 8; 86. 5. τὰ πολλὰ, the greater part,

ὑποχείρια ἤδη ὄντα. 89. 1. οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐν οἷς ηὔξηθησαν. 2. ἐπειδὴ Μῆδου ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης νικηθέντες καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων καὶ οἱ καταφυγόντες αὐτῶν ταῖς ναυσὶν εἰς Μυκάλην διεφθάρησαν, Λεωτυχίδης μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὅσπερ ἡγεῖτο τῶν ἐν Μυκάλῃ Ἑλλήνων, ἀπεχώρησεν ἐπ' οἴκου ἔχων τοὺς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ξυμμάχους· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου ξύμμαχοι ἤδη ἀφεστηκότες ἀπὸ βασιλέως ὑπομείναντες Σηστὸν ἐπολιόρκουν Μήδων ἐχόντων, καὶ ἐπιχειμάσαντες εἶλον αὐτὴν ἐκλιπόντων τῶν βαρβάρων. 3. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπέπλευσαν ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου ὥς ἕκαστοι κατὰ πόλεις. 4. Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὸ κοινόν, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖς οἱ βάρβαροί ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπῆλθον, διεκομίζοντο εὐθὺς ὅθεν ὑπεξέθεντο παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν περιούσαν κατασκευήν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ τὰ τείχη. τοῦ τε γὰρ περιβόλου βραχέα εἰστήκει καὶ οἰκίαι αἱ μὲν πολλαὶ πεπτώκε-

is a hyperbole not ill suited to express the panic of the Lacedaemonians.

CH. LXXXIX. 1. οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι] The chapters from the 89th to the 118th give a concise history of Greek affairs from the Persian to the Peloponnesian War. It has been noticed that "they form a regular continuation of the work of Herodotus, and connect immediately with the 121st chapter of his last book" (Arn.). They are known as the *Πεντηκοντία*, or Summary, and have been admired ever since the Scholiast's time for the clearness and rapidity of the narrative. They were written with a special object: see i. 97. 2.

ἦλθον ἐπὶ] "Addressed themselves to the enterprises" (Kr.). Better perhaps "attained to the position" of head of the Confederacy of Delos, with a well-fortified city and harbour.

2. τῶν ἐν Μυκάλῃ] "Who fought at Mycale." Cp. ii. 34. 6, τοὺς ἐν

Μαραθῶνι: iii. 113. 3, τῶν ἐν Ἰδομέναϊς: iv. 57. 4, τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Λακεδαιμονίους.

3. ὥς ἕκαστοι] "To their several states:" cp. i. 3. 5.

4. αὐτοῖς] Cp. notes on i. 6. 3; 13. 3. ὅθεν = ἐκεῖθεν οἱ: cp. Soph. *Trach.* 701, ἐκ δὲ γῆς ὅθεν προύκειτ', from the ground on which it lay. παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας: the article is omitted either because in the perpetual wars of this time the removal of women and children to some place of safety was a very common measure of precaution (cp. notes on *τάφους*, i. 26. 3; *νεκρούς*, i. 54. 2); or because its repetition with each of several items belonging to the same person would be cumbrous, and unnecessary if the person himself is sufficiently defined by the context. So in English we should say, "he lost money, credit, and friends," quite as often as "he lost his money, his credit, and his friends." Cp. ii. 72. 6, πόλιν καὶ οἰκίας.

σαν, ὀλίγαι δὲ περιήσαν, ἐν αἷς αὐτοὶ ἐσκήνησαν οἱ δυνατοὶ τῶν Περσῶν. 90. 1. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ αἰσθόμενοι τὸ μέλλον ἦλθον πρεσβεία, τὰ μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡδίων ἂν ὀρώντες μήτε ἐκείνους μήτ' ἄλλον μηδένα τεῖχος ἔχοντα, τὸ δὲ πλεον τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐξοτρυνόντων καὶ φοβουμένων τοῦ τε ναυτικοῦ αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, ὃ πρὶν οὐχ ὑπῆρχε, καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸν Μηδικὸν πόλεμον τόλμαν γενομένην. 2. ἡξίου τε αὐτοὺς μὴ τειχίζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐξω Πελοποννήσου μᾶλλον ὅσοις εἰστήκει ξυγκαθελεῖν μετὰ σφῶν τοὺς περιβόλους, τὸ μὲν βουλόμενον καὶ ὑποπτον τῆς γνώμης οὐ δηλοῦντες ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὡς δὲ τοῦ βαρβάρου, εἰ αὐθις ἐπέλθοι, οὐκ ἂν ἔχοντος ἀπὸ ἐχυροῦ ποθεν, ὥσπερ νῦν ἐκ τῶν Θηβῶν, ὀρμᾶσθαι τὴν τε Πελοπόννησον πᾶσιν ἔφασαν ἱκανὴν εἶναι ἀναχώρησιν τε καὶ ἀφορμήν. 3. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι Θεμιστοκλέους γνώμη τοὺς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους ταῦτ' εἰπόντας ἀποκρινάμενοι ὅτι πέμψουσιν ὡς αὐτοὺς πρέσβεις περὶ ὧν λέγουσιν, εὐθὺς ἀπήλλαξαν· ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἐκέλευεν ἀποστέλλειν ὡς τάχιστα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, ἄλλους δὲ πρὸς ἑαυτῷ ἐλομένους πρέσβεις μὴ εὐθὺς ἐκπέμπειν, ἀλλ' ἐπισχεῖν μέχρι τοσούτου ἕως ἂν τὸ τεῖχος ἱκανὸν αἴρωσιν ὥστε ἀπομάχεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἀναγκαιοτάτου ὕψους· τειχίζειν δὲ πάντας

CH. XC. 1. πρεσβεία] Dativus modi: cp. i. 102. 1, ἦλθον . . . πλῆθει οὐκ ὀλίγῃ. ἡδίων ἂν ὀρώντες = ὅτι ἡδίων ἂν ἑώρων. For the alternation of the nominative with the genitive absolute, cp. i. 75. 1. γενομένην, cp. note on κατέσχηκός, i. 11. 6.

2. ἀλλὰ καί] Not only to do it themselves, but also, &c. For the omission of οὐ μόνον, cp. i. 144. 5; vi. 55. 3; viii. 27. 3. For εἰστήκει some read ξυνεἰστήκει, "had stood or held together:" the subject is ὁ περιβόλος or τὰ τεῖχη. τὸ βουλόμενον καὶ ὑποπτον τῆς γνώμης, "the designs and suspicions which they really entertained." Cp. τὸ ὀργιζόμενον τῆς γνώμης, ii. 59. 4; ἐν τῷ διαλλάσσοντι τῆς γνώμης, iii. 10. 1; τῆς γνώμης τὸ θυμούμενον, vii. 68. 1: and for the article and participle used as an abstract substantive, see i. 36. 1.

ὡς δέ] Cp. note on i. 2. 6. "But pretending that the barbarian, if he were to attack them again, would not be able to fix his head-quarters in a strong town, like Thebes in the recent war." ὀρμᾶσθαι, i. 64. 3. ἀναχώρησιν καὶ ἀφορμήν, "as a rendezvous and base of operations."

3. ὡς αὐτούς] ὡς is thus used of motion towards, only before words which denote or imply animate objects, except in a few doubtful passages, as at viii. 103. 1 (where some read ὡς Ἀβυδὸν), and Soph. *Trach.* 365. The usage probably arose from the frequent conjunction of ὡς and εἰς, according to Donaldson, *G. G.* 477, though if so it is odd that ὡς should be subject to a restriction which does not apply to εἰς: cp. i. 50. 6, ὡς ἐς ἐπίπλουν.

ἐκ τοῦ ἀναγ. ὕψους] "The low-

πανδημεὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας, φειδομένους μήτε ἰδίου μήτε δημοσίου οἰκοδομήματος ὅθεν τις ὠφέλεια ἔσται ἐς τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ καθαιρουντας πάντα. 4. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα διδάξας καὶ ὑπειπὼν τᾶλλα ὅτι αὐτὸς τὰ κεῖ πράξοι ὥχετο. 5. καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ἔλθων οὐ προσήει πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς, ἀλλὰ διῆγε καὶ προῦφασίζετο. 6. καὶ ὁπότε τις αὐτὸν ἔροιτο τῶν ἐν τέλει ὄντων ὅ τι οὐκ ἐπέρχεται ἐπὶ τὸ κοινόν, ἔφη τοὺς ξυμπρέσβεις ἀναμένειν, ἀσχολίας δέ τινος οὔσης αὐτοὺς ὑπολειφθῆναι, προσδέχεσθαι μέντοι ἐν τάχει ἥξειν καὶ θαυμάζειν ὥς οὕτω πάρεσιν. 91. 1. οἱ δὲ ἀκούοντες τῷ μὲν Θεμιστοκλεῖ ἐπεΐθουτο διὰ φιλίαν αὐτοῦ· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀφικνουμένων καὶ σαφῶς κατηγορούντων ὅτι τειχίζεται τε καὶ ἤδη ὕψος λαμβάνει, οὐκ εἶχον ὅπως χρῆ ἀπιστῆσαι. 2. γνοὺς δὲ ἐκεῖνος κελεύει αὐτοὺς μὴ λόγοις μᾶλλον παράγεσθαι ἢ πέμψαι σφῶν αὐτῶν ἄνδρας οἵτινες χρηστοὶ καὶ πιστῶς ἀπαγγελοῦσι σκεψάμενοι. 3. ἀποστέλλουσιν οὖν, καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κρύφα πέμπει κελεύων ὥς

est height that would enable them to defend themselves with advantage;’ the height that was absolutely necessary and barely sufficient, less than which would be wholly useless” (Arn.). See note on i. 2. 2.

4. ὑπειπὼν] Cp. i. 35. 5. “Having first told them that he himself would manage the rest of the business, the measures that must be taken at Sparta:” see Madv. G. S. 178, r. 5.

6. ὁπότε . . . ἔροιτο] See note on i. 49. 3. ὅ τι, “why he does not come,” literally, “as to his not coming,” ὅ τι οὐκ ἐπέρχεται being a substantival clause, = *quod non venit* (Arn.). See Madv. G. S. 170 a, r. and *Lat. Gram.* 398 b, r. 2. But the relation of τί to ὅ τι is the same as that of ποῦ to ὅπου, of πότε to ὁπότε, and of πῶς to ὅπως: that is to say, τί, ποῦ, πότε, πῶς, are *direct*, ὅ τι, ὅπου, ὁπότε, ὅπως, are *indirect* interrogations. Thus i. 137. 3, φράζει τῷ ναυκλήρῳ ὅστις ἐστί = “he tells the captain who he is,”

and in the present passage ἤρουντο ὅ τι οὐκ ἐπέρχεται = “they asked what his not coming is,” or, “means,” = “why he does not come.” τὸ κοινόν, the assembly of Spartan citizens: i. 67. 3.

CH. XCI. 1. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων] These words must be joined closely with ἀφικνουμένων. Themistocles came and told them one story; *every one* else that came told them another. Kriiger refers to i. 22. 2 for support of his assertion, that οἱ ἄλλοι sometimes differs but very slightly from ἄλλοι, meaning simply *the* others who are naturally thought of in connexion with the matter in hand. But see note there. ὕψος λαμβάνει, sc. τὸ τεῖχος, to be supplied from τειχίζεται. ὅπως χρῆ, how they were to disbelieve, how they could disbelieve: cp. ii. 51. 4; iv. 34. 3.

2. μὴ . . . μᾶλλον] In English we should put the “rather” with the second, the positive clause: cp. note on i. 9. 3. χρηστοί, sc. εἰσὶ. Cp. i. 120. 7.

ἤκιστα ἐπιφανῶς κατασχεῖν καὶ μὴ ἀφεῖναι πρὶν ἂν αὐτοὶ πάλιν κομισθῶσιν· ἥδη γὰρ καὶ ἤκον αὐτῷ οἱ ξυμπρέσβεις Ἀβρώνυχός τε ὁ Λυσικλέους καὶ Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου ἀγγέλλοντες ἔχειν ἱκανῶς τὸ τεῖχος· ἐφοβεῖτο γὰρ μὴ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι σφᾶς, ὅποτε σαφῶς ἀκούσειαν, οὐκέτι ἀφῶσιν.

4. οἳ τε οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς πρέσβεις ὥσπερ ἐπεστάλη κατεῖχον, καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπελθὼν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐνταῦθα δὴ φανερώς εἶπεν ὅτι ἡ μὲν πόλις σφῶν τετείχισται ἥδη ὥστε ἱκανῇ εἶναι σῶζειν τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας· εἰ δέ τι βούλονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἢ οἱ ξύμμαχοι πρεσβεύεσθαι παρὰ σφᾶς, ὡς πρὸς διαγιγνώσκοντας τὸ λοιπὸν ἰέναι τὰ τε σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ξύμφορα καὶ τὰ κοινά. 5. τὴν τε γὰρ πόλιν ὅτε ἐδόκει ἐκλιπεῖν ἄμεινον εἶναι καὶ ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσβῆναι, ἄνευ ἐκείνων ἔφασαν γνόντες τολμῆσαι, καὶ ὅσα αὐτῷ μετ' ἐκείνων βουλευέσθαι, οὐδενὸς ὕστεροι γνώμῃ φανῆναι. 6. δοκεῖν οὖν σφίσι καὶ νῦν ἄμεινον εἶναι τὴν ἐαυτῶν πόλιν τεῖχος ἔχειν, καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοῖς πολίταις καὶ ἐς τοὺς πάντας ξυμμάχους ὠφελιμώτερον ἔσεσθαι. 7. οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τε εἶναι μὴ ἀπὸ ἀντιπάλου παρα-

3. αὐτοῖ] “He and his colleagues:” so σφᾶς, i. 62. 3, and just below. Ἀβρώνυχος, Hdt. viii. 21. ἀκούσειαν: the mood is accommodated rather to ἐφοβεῖτο than to ἀφῶσιν.

4. ἐνταῦθα δὴ = tum demum. ἐνταῦθα, hereupon, repeats the preceding participle, as οὕτως so commonly does. τὸ λοιπὸν ἰέναι, sc. εἶπεν = ἐκέλευεν: “he bade the Lacedaemonians for the future approach them as men well able to judge of their own interests and those of Hellas.” τὰ κοινά, sc. ξύμφορα: cp. i. 37. 4, τὸ εὐπρεπὲς ἄσπονδον, and the passages quoted there.

5. ἔφασαν] Above we have εἶπεν, below again ἔφη: by the singular, Themistocles alone is represented as speaking; by the plural, Themistocles and his colleagues.

ὅσα . . . βουλευέσθαι] For the infinitive in a relative clause, cp. ii. 102. 7, ὅτε δὴ ἀλᾶσθαι αὐτόν, and

Madv. G. S. 169 a. οὐδενὸς ὕστεροι, “inferior to no man.”

6. ἐς . . . ὠφελιμώτερον] “More advantageous with reference to.” So in Latin, *utiliter in publicum; gratus in vulgus*.

7. μὴ ἀπὸ ἀντ. παρασκευῆς] Sc. βουλευόμενοι. “It was not possible to bear themselves like equals in deliberation for the common weal, unless they had an equal means for war to back their voice.” ἀπό is “acting from,” “availing oneself of:” cp. ii. 62. 5; 77. 1; iv. 18. 2. For the position of μή, cp. i. 141. 6, μὴ πρὸς ὁμοίαν ἀντιπαρασκευήν, and for a definition of ὁμοῖον, ii. 44. 4, οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τε ἴσον τι ἢ δίκαιον βουλευέσθαι οἳ ἂν μὴ καὶ παῖδας ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου παραβαλλόμενοι κινδυνεύωσιν. ἴσον = equal in dignity, commanding equal respect. ὁμοῖον = δίκαιον = equal in quality, in solicitude for the general welfare, in public spirit.

σκευῆς ὁμοῖόν τι ἢ ἴσον ἐς τὸ κοινὸν βουλευέσθαι. 8. ἡ πάντα οὖν ἀτειχίστους ἔφη χρῆναι ξυμμαχεῖν ἡ καὶ τάδε νομίζειν ὀρθῶς ἔχειν. 92. 1. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκούσαντες ὀργὴν μὲν φανεράν οὐκ ἐποιοῦντο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ κωλύμῃ, ἀλλὰ γνώμης παραινέσει δῆθεν τῷ κοινῷ ἐπρεσβεύσαντο· ἅμα δὲ καὶ προσφιλεῖς ὄντες ἐν τῷ τότε διὰ τὴν ἐς τὸν Μῆδον προθυμίαν τὰ μάλιστα αὐτοῖς ἐτύγχανον· τῆς μέντοι βουλήσεως ἀμαρτάνοντες ἀδήλως ἤχθοντο. 2. οἱ τε πρέσβεις ἐκατέρων ἀπῆλθον ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνεπικλήτως.

93. 1. Τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν πόλιν ἐτείχισαν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ. 2. καὶ δῆλη ἡ οἰκοδομία ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐστίν ὅτι κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐγένετο. οἱ γὰρ θεμέλιοι παντοίων λίθων ὑπόκεινται καὶ οὐ ξυνειργασμένων ἐστίν ἡ, ἀλλ' ὥς ἕκαστοί ποτε προσέφερον· πολλαί τε στήλαι ἀπὸ σημάτων καὶ λίθοι εἰργασμένοι ἐγκατελέγησαν. 3. μείζων γὰρ ὁ περίβολος πανταχῇ ἐξήχθη τῆς πόλεως, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάντα ὁμοίως κινεῦντες ἠπείγοντο. 4. ἔπεισε δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς οἰκοδομεῖν. ὑπῆρκετο δ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς ἥς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίοις ἠρξε· νομίζων τό τε χωρίον καλὸν εἶναι, λιμένας ἔχον τρεῖς αὐτο-

CH. XCII. 1. οὐκ ἐποιοῦντο] "Did not display." οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ κωλύμῃ, "for they did not send their embassy to stop them, but to advise their state on a matter of opinion (or of policy) as they pretended." δῆθεν, says Suidas, προσποίησιν μὲν ἔχει ἀληθείας, δύναμιν δὲ ψευδοῦς: it implies that a statement to which it is attached may well be suspected of falsehood or insincerity. Cp. i. 127. 1; iii. 68. 2; iv. 99.

CH. XCIII. 2. οὐ ξυνειργασμένων] "And in some places not hewn so as to fit together." ἀλλ' ὥς ἕκαστοι, "but as each person at any time happened to bring them," i. e. just as they came to hand. εἰργασμένιο, οἷον ἐγγεγλυμμένοι, τύπους τινὰς καὶ πρόσωπα ἔχοντες (Sch.). Colonel Leake saw whole courses of masonry formed of portions of broken Doric columns, and composite blocks

of Doric entablature. For ἐγκατελέγησαν, see Buttmann's *Lexilogus*, s. v. λέγω.

4. ὑπῆρκετο] Cp. note on i. 46. 1. ἀρχῆς· κατὰ τινὰ ἐνιαυτὸν ἠγεμῶν ἐγένετο· πρὸ δὲ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἠρξε Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐνιαυτὸν ἓνα (Sch.). No Archons are given for the years B.C. 482 and 481. Krüger supposes Themistocles to have been Archon Eponymus in the first of these years; Clinton in the second. Grote (vol. v. p. 338, note) declines to decide what office or what year is meant; and indeed nobody appears to know: the Scholiast's ἠγεμῶν does not help us, and ἐνιαυτὸν ἓνα can refer only to duration and not to date.

τρεῖς] Zea, Aphrodision, and Kantharos. καὶ αὐτούς: the subject to προφέρειν can scarcely be other than τὸ χωρίον—"and that it would

φνεῖς, καὶ αὐτοὺς ναυτικούς γεγενημένους μέγα προφέρειν ες τὸ κτήσασθαι δύναμιν. τῆς γὰρ δὴ θαλάσσης πρῶτος ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀνθεκτέα ἐστί, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθύς ξυγκατεσκεύαζε. 5. καὶ ὠκοδόμησαν τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ τὸ πάχος τοῦ τείχους ὅπερ νῦν ἔτι δῆλόν ἐστι περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ· δύο γὰρ ἅμαξαι ἐναντίαι ἀλλήλαις τοὺς λίθους ἐπήγον. 6. ἐντος δὲ οὔτε χάλιξ οὔτε πηλὸς ἦν, ἀλλὰ ξυνωκοδομημένοι μεγάλοι λίθοι καὶ ἐν τομῇ ἐγγώνιοι σιδήρῳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὰ ἔξωθεν καὶ μολύβδῳ δεδεμένοι. 7. τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἥμισυ μάλιστα ἐτελέσθη οὗ διανοεῖτο. 8. ἐβούλετο γὰρ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ πάχει ἀφιστάναί τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιβουλὰς· ἀνθρώπων τε ἐνόμιζεν ὀλίγων καὶ τῶν ἀχρειοτάτων ἀρκέσειν τὴν φυλακὴν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσβήσεσθαι. 9. ταῖς γὰρ ναυσὶ μάλιστα προσέκειτο, ἰδὼν ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τῆς βασιλέως στρατιᾶς τὴν κατὰ θάλασσαν ἔφοδον εὐπορωτέραν τῆς κατὰ γῆν οὔσαν· τὸν τε Πειραιᾶ ὠφελιμώτερον ἐνόμιζε τῆς

help them greatly in acquiring power when once they had become a naval power." The position of τε (a matter in which Thuc. is exceedingly capricious) cannot be held to militate against this rendering. Nevertheless, Arnold (followed by Krüger) translates, "their having become a naval people would be a great help towards their acquiring power," making αὐτοὺς ναυτικούς γεγενημένους the subject; and i. 23. 8 (τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡγοῦμαι μεγάλους γιγνομένους . . . ἀναγκάσαι), ioo. 3 (πολέμιον ἦν τὸ χωρίον . . . κτιζόμενον), iii. 36. i (προσξυνεβάλετο οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τῆς ὁρμῆς αἱ Πελοποννησίων νῆες . . . τολμήσασαι παρακινδυνεῦσαι) might be quoted in his defence. The intransitive sense (to have an advantage) here ascribed to προφέρειν by these two critics, is supported by i. 123. i, and Eur. *Med.* 1090, καὶ φημι βροτῶν οἵτινές εἰσιν πάμπαν ἄπειροι μὴδ' ἐφύτευσαν παῖδας προφέρειν εἰς εὐτυχίαν τῶν γειναμένων. Arnold further remarks, that νομίζων προφέρειν, instead of ἂν προφέρειν, or of the future tense, may

be defended from i. 127. i, νομίζοντες . . . προχωρεῖν. εὐθύς is explained below to mean εὐθύς μετὰ τὴν Μήδων ἀναχώρησιν.

5. δύο γὰρ ἅμαξαι] Cp. Arist. *Av.* 1124. "Two carts meeting one another brought stones, which were laid together, right and left, on the outer side of each, and thus formed two primary parallel walls, between which the interior space (of course at least as broad as the joint breadth of the two carts) was not filled up with rubble in the usual manner of the Greeks, but constructed throughout the whole thickness of squared stones cramped together with metal" (Grote, vol. v. p. 339). σιδήρῳ καὶ μολύβδῳ, with iron soldered with lead. οὗ = τοῦτου ὅ.

8. καὶ τῶν ἀχρειοτάτων] "And those the most useless," i. e. those who were above or below the military age. καί = ἰδού (see note on i. 3. 2), and the conjunction bears a similar explanatory sense at i. 80. 3, πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τοὺς Πελοποννησίους καὶ τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας.

ἄνω πόλεως, καὶ πολλάκις τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις παρήνει, ἣν ἄρα ποτὲ κατὰ γῆν βιασθῶσι, καταβάντας ἐς αὐτὸν ταῖς ναυσὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθίστασθαι. 10. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐτειχίσθησαν καὶ τᾶλλα κατεσκευαζοντὸ εὐθύς μετὰ τὴν Μήδων ἀναχώρησιν.

94. 1. Πausanias δὲ ὁ Κλεομβρότου ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξεπέμφθη μετὰ εἴκοσι νεῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου· ξυνέπλεον δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τριάκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων πλήθος. 2. καὶ ἐστράτευσαν ἐς Κύπρον καὶ αὐτῆς τὰ πολλὰ κατεστρέψαντο, καὶ ὕστερον ἐς Βυζάντιον Μήδων ἐχόντων καὶ ἐξεπολιόρκησαν ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ. 95. 1. ἤδη δὲ βιαίου ὄντος αὐτοῦ οἱ τε ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἤχθοντο καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα οἱ Ἴωνες καὶ ὅσοι ἀπὸ βασιλέως νεωστὶ ἠλευθέρωντο· φοιτῶντές τε πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἠξίουσαν αὐτοὺς ἡγεμόνας σφῶν γενέσθαι κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς καὶ Πausanias μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν ἣν πού βιάζεται. 2. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐδέξαντό τε τοὺς λόγους καὶ προσεῖχον τὴν γνώμην ὥς οὐ περιοψόμενοι τᾶλλα τε καταστησόμενοι ἢ φαίνοιτο ἄριστα αὐτοῖς. 3. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μετεπέμποντο Πausanias ἀνακρινοῦντες ὧν πέρι ἐπυνθάνοντο· καὶ γὰρ ἀδικία πολλὴ κατηγορεῖτο αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἀφικνουμένων, καὶ τυραννίδος μᾶλλον ἐφαινέτο μίμησις ἢ στρατηγία. 4. ξυνέβη τε αὐτῷ καλεῖσθαι τε ἅμα καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους τῷ ἐκείνου ἔχθει παρ' Ἀθηναίους μετατάξασθαι πλὴν τῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου στρατιωτῶν. 5. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα τῶν μὲν ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τινα ἀδικημάτων εὐθύνθη, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα ἀπολύεται μὴ ἀδικεῖν· κατη-

CH. XCIV. 1. ἐξεπέμφθη] B.C. 478, Arn.; B.C. 477, Kr.

CH. XCV. 1. κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενές] Cp. i. 9. 2, and for the fact, i. 2. 6.

2. προσεῖχον] "Began to watch his conduct with a determination to interfere." τᾶλλα: not only to check the insolence of Pausanias, but to arrange matters between themselves and the Greek states which needed their aid against the Persians. "This apparently must

have happened in the beginning of the year 477" (Arn.). αὐτοῖς should mean "to the allies," but it appears to be equivalent to σφίσιν, "to themselves."

5. μέγιστα is an adverbial accusative after ἀδικεῖν. For ἀπολύεται μή, cp. i. 10. 1, ἀπιστεῖν μή, and note on i. 73. 4. The positive idea of the verdict which affirms that he is not guilty prevails over the negative idea of acquitting.

γορεῖτο δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐχ ἥκιστα Μηδισμὸς καὶ ἐδόκει σαφέστατον εἶναι. δ. καὶ ἐκείνον μὲν οὐκέτι ἐκπέμπουσιν ἄρχοντα, ^{Doric} Δόρκιν δὲ καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν ἔχοντας οὐ πολλήν· οἷς οὐκέτι ἐφίεσαν οἱ ξύμμαχοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν· οἱ δὲ αἰσθόμενοι ἀπῆλθον· 7. καὶ ἄλλους οὐκέτι ὕστερον ἐξέπεμψαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, φοβούμενοι μὴ σφίσιν οἱ ἐξιόντες χεῖρους γίγνωνται, ὅπερ καὶ ἐν τῷ Πausanias ἐνεῖδον· ἀπαλλαξείοντες δὲ καὶ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ πολέμου καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους νομίζοντες ἱκανοὺς ἐξηγεῖσθαι καὶ σφίσιν ἐν τῷ τότε παρόντι ἐπιτηδεύουσιν. 96. 1. παραλαβόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐκόντων τῶν ξυμμάχων διὰ τὸ Πausanias μῖσος, ἔταξαν ἅς τε ἔδει παρέχειν τῶν πόλεων χρήματα πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον καὶ ἅς ναῦς. πρόσχημα γὰρ ἦν ἀμύνασθαι ὧν ἔπαθον δηοῦντας τὴν βασιλέως χώραν. 2. καὶ Ἑλληνοταμίαι τότε πρῶτον Ἀθηναίοις κατέστη ἀρχή, οἱ ἐδέχοντο τὸν φόρον. οὕτω γὰρ ὠνομάσθη τῶν χρημάτων ἡ φορά. 3. ἦν δ' ὁ πρῶτος φόρος ταχθεῖς τετρακόσια τάλαντα καὶ ἐξήκοντα. 4. ταμιεῖόν τε Δῆλος ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ αἱ ξυνοδοὶ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐγίγνοντο. 97. 1. ἡγούμενοι δὲ αὐτονόμων τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ξυμμάχων καὶ ἀπὸ κοινῶν ξυνόδων βου-

7. χεῖρους] Cp. i. 77. 8. ἱκανούς, cp. i. 76. 2.

CH. XCVI. 1. πρόσχημα] Thuc. appears to say that the Persian War was only the stalking-horse of Athenian ambition, and that his countrymen were actuated all along by purely selfish motives. And he distinctly states that the object by which the Asiatic Greeks were allured into the Confederacy of Delos was not defence but revenge. Cp. Hdt. viii. 3, ὡς γὰρ δὴ ὠσάμενοι τὸν Πέρσεια περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἡδὴ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο. On the other hand Thuc. admits (viii. 5. 5) that, down to a late period in the Peloponnesian War, Athenian predominance alone saved the Greek cities on the continent of Asia from paying tribute to the king. ὧν ἔπαθον, "for what they had suffered," ὧν = τούτων ᾧ: cp. the genitive after

εὐθύνη above, and Madv. G. S. 61 a, b.

2. Ἑλληνοταμίαι . . . ἀρχή] "A board of magistrates called Hellenotamiae." See Smith, *Dict. Ant.* φόρος ὠνομάσθη καὶ ἐτάχθη ὑπὸ Ἀριστείδου τοῦ δικαίου ὁ πρῶτος (Sch.). At the commencement of the Peloponnesian War the average income derived by the Athenians from this source was 600 talents: see note on ii. 13. 3. When the Athenian alliance was revived after B.C. 377, the contributions of the confederates were called σύνταξις, not φόρος—the word had become so odious from the associations of suffering and degradation which had grown up round it.

CH. XCVII. 1.] ἀπό denotes the manner or origin of the deliberation: cp. i. 91. 7, and viii. 79. 1, δόξαν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ ξυνόδου. τοσάδε,

λενόντων τοςάδε ἐπῆλθον πολέμῳ τε καὶ διαχειρίσει πραγμάτων μεταξὺ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ, ἃ ἐγένετο πρὸς τε τὸν βάρβαρον αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς σφετέρους ξυμμάχους νεωτερίζοντας καὶ Πελοποννησίων τοὺς αἰὲ προστυγχάνοντας ἐν ἐκάστῳ. 2. ἔγραψα δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ λόγου ἐποίησάμην διὰ τόδε, ὅτι τοῖς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἅπασιν ἐκλιπὲς τοῦτο ἦν τὸ χωρίον καὶ ἡ τὰ πρὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν Ἑλληνικὰ ξυνετίθεσαν ἡ αὐτὰ τὰ Μηδικά· τούτων δὲ ὅσπερ καὶ ἠΐσατο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ξυγγραφῇ Ἑλλάνικος, βραχέως τε καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἐπεμνήσθη. 3. ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπόδειξιν ἔχει τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν οἷῳ τρόπῳ κατέστη.

98. 1. Πρῶτον μὲν Ἡίονα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι Μήδων

“as many” as I am about to relate. τοὺς αἰὲ προστυγχάνοντας, “with whom they came into collision on each successive occasion.”

2. χωρίον] A place or period of history. So τόπος in Aristotle, *locus* and *campus* in Latin. “The work of Hellanicus, which consisted of four books at least, is generally quoted under the name of Ἀθίς” (Kr.). τοῖς χρόνοις, “in respect of the chronology.”

3. ἔχει] Sc. αὐτά, the contents of this digression. “It will serve as an account of the rise and constitution of the Athenian empire.” “The word ἡγεμονία is extremely general, denoting any case of following a leader and of obedience however temporary, qualified, or indeed little more than honorary (cp. i. 38. 2; iii. 61. 3); and ἡγεμών sometimes means simply a guide (iii. 98. 1; vii. 50. 2). But the words ἀρχή, ἄρχειν, ἄρχεσθαι, *voc. pass.*, are more specific in their application, and imply both superior dignity and coercive authority to a greater or less extent. Cp. ii. 8. 7; v. 69. 1. The πόλις ἀρχὴν ἔχουσα is analogous to ἀνὴρ τύραννος, vi. 85. 1.” Grote, v. p. 396, note.

CH. XCVIII. 1. Ἡίονα] “The

is not sounded, the Attic form being ἧών” (Kr.). The dates are uncertain. Krüger fixes the fall of Eon and the capture of Scyrus in B. C. 476. But all we can affirm with confidence is that these events, with the war against Carystus, occurred some time between the events narrated in the 95th chapter and the siege of Naxos in 466 B. C., which is pretty accurately fixed by its coincidence with the death of Xerxes, see i. 137. 5. But, says Grote, the bones of Theaeus seem to have been brought from Scyrus to Athens in 469 B. C., and the island was most probably reduced shortly before this. Scyrus would seem to have been a nest of pirates, hence perhaps the severity of its treatment. We are not to suppose that these three operations occupied the new confederacy for the first ten years of its existence. From Hdt. vii. 106, 107, we may learn that there were numerous strongholds of the Persians in Thrace and on the Hellespont which had to be reduced in detail: Doriscus was still held for the king when Hdt. wrote. See Grote, vol. v. ch. xlv. Krüger places the siege of Naxos in B. C. 473.

ἔχόντων πολιορκία εἶλον καὶ ἡνδραπόδισαν Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου στρατηγούντος. 2. ἔπειτα Σκῦρον τὴν ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ νῆσον, ἣν ὥκουν Δόλοπες, ἡνδραπόδισαν καὶ ὥκισαν αὐτοί. 3. πρὸς δὲ Καρυστίους αὐτοῖς ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων Εὐβοέων πόλεμος ἐγένετο, καὶ χρόνῳ ξυνέβησαν καθ' ὁμολογίαν. 4. Ναξίοις δὲ ἀποστᾶσι μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπολέμησαν καὶ πολιορκία παρεστήσαντο. πρώτη τε αὕτη πόλις ξυμμαχίς παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἐδουλώθη, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὡς ἐκάστη ξυνέβη. 99. 1. αἰτίαι δὲ ἄλλαι τε ἦσαν τῶν ἀποστάσεων καὶ μέγισται αἱ τῶν φόρων καὶ νεῶν ἔκδεια καὶ λειποστράτιον εἶ τῳ ἐγένετο. οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκριβῶς ἔπρασσον καὶ λυπηροὶ ἦσαν οὐκ εἰωθύσιν οὐδὲ βουλομένοις τालαιπωρεῖν προσάγοντες τὰς ἀνάγκας. 2. ἦσαν δέ πως καὶ ἄλλως οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκέτι ὁμοίως ἐν ἡδονῇ ἄρχοντες, καὶ οὔτε ξυνεστράτευον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ῥαδίον τε προσάγεσθαι ἦν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἀφισταμένους. 3. ὧν αὐτοὶ αἵτιοι ἐγένοντο οἱ ξύμμαχοι διὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀπόκνησιν ταύτην τῶν στρατειῶν οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ ὑπ' οἴκου ὦσι, χρήματα ἐτάξαντο ἀντὶ τῶν νεῶν τὸ ἰκνούμενον ἀνάλωμα φέρειν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν

4. αὕτη is subject: "this is the first allied state which was reduced to slavery in violation of the established rule." The construction of the next words is ἔπειτα δὲ ὡς τῶν ἄλλων ἐκάστη ξυνέβη δουλωθῆναι οὕτως ἐδουλώθη. Here then begins the Athenian ἀρχή, empire, or tyranny, as distinct from her previous constitutional presidency or ἡγεμονία.

CH. XCIX. 1. ἔκδεια] Arrears. Suidas distinguishes ἔκδεια from ἔνδεια, ἔκδεια γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ μέρος καταβαλεῖν ὧν ὀφείλει τις, ἔνδεια δὲ τὸ μηδὲν ὕλως καταβαλεῖν. ἀκριβῶς ἔπρασσον, "exacted their dues with rigour." τὰς ἀνάγκας, "applying the torture:" τὰς = the well-known methods of compulsion. Or if we suppose, as would seem most likely, that the Athenians collected the tribute not from individuals but from states, which of course could

not be subjected to bodily torture, the words will mean "applying the harsh pressure" of which so many complaints were made. For the character of the Ionians, cp. Hdt. vi. 12.

2. ἐν ἡδονῇ] "The Athenians were no longer as acceptable as masters" as they had been as leaders. For ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου, cp. i. 77. 5. The allies should have had an equal share in the command and in the booty, and maintained an equal force, the only efficient guarantee for their fair treatment. As it was they found the money, Athens found ships and men; the purse was on one side and the sword on the other,—an unequal alliance.

3. χρήματα] "Agreed to pay their proportion of the expenses in money." ξυμφέροιεν, see note on i. 49. 3.

Ἀθηναίοις ἠϋξέτο τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀπὸ τῆς δαπάνης ἣν ἐκείνοι
 ξυμφέροιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ὁπότε ἀποσταῖεν, ἀπαράσκευοι καὶ
 ἄπειροι ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καθίσταντο.

100. 1. Ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἡ ἐπ' Εὐρυμέδοντι
 ποταμῷ ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ πεζομαχία καὶ ναυμαχία Ἀθηναίων
 καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων πρὸς Μήδους, καὶ ἐνικὼν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ
 ἀμφοτέρα Ἀθηναῖοι Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου στρατηγούντος,
 καὶ εἶλον τριήρεις Φοινίκων καὶ διέφθειραν τὰς πασας ἐς
 διακοσίας. 2. χρόνῳ τε ὕστερον ξυνέβη Θασίους αὐτῶν
 ἀποστῆναι διενεχθέντας περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας Θράκῃ
 ἐμπορίων καὶ τοῦ μετάλλου ᾧ ἐνέμοντο. 3. καὶ ναυσὶ μὲν
 ἐπὶ Θάσον πλευσαντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ναυμαχίᾳ ἐκράτησαν
 καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀπέβησαν, ἐπὶ δὲ Στρυμόνα πέμψαντες
 μυρίους οἰκήτορας αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς
 χρόνους, ὥς οἰκιοῦντες τὰς τότε καλουμένας Ἐννέα ὁδοὺς νῦν
 δὲ Ἀμφίπολιν, τῶν μὲν Ἐννέα ὁδῶν αὐτοὶ ἐκράτησαν, ἃς
 εἶχον Ἡδωνοί, προελθόντες δὲ τῆς Θράκης ἐς μεσόγειαν
 διεφθάρησαν ἐν Δραβήσκῳ τῇ Ἡδωνικῇ ὑπὸ τῶν Θρακῶν
 ξυμπάντων, οἷς πολέμιον ἦν τὸ χωρίον αἱ Ἐννέα οδοὶ κτι-
 ζόμενον. 101. 1. Θάσιοι δὲ νικηθέντες μάχαις καὶ πολιορ-

CH. C. 1. Ἐγένετο] B.C. 469, Kr.; B.C. 466, Clinton. ἀμφοτέρα, cp. note on i. 13. 5. τὰς πάσας ἐς, "in all as many as." πᾶς with the article in this way is in fact a disguised subject; thus αἱ πᾶσαι ἃς διέφθειραν ἦσαν διακόσιαι (Kr.). Cp. i. 60. 1. They may or may not have destroyed the whole Persian fleet — Thuc. does not say. See Grote.

2. Θασίους] B.C. 467, Kr.; according to other authorities, B.C. 465. On the Thasian gold mines see Hdt. vi. 46. Those on the mainland were at Scapte Hyle, and yielded an average yearly income of eighty talents. ἐνέμοντο, see note on i. 2. 2.

3. αὐτοί] Thuc. may mean, as Krüger says, that the Athenians alone held the Nine Ways while the allies pushed on to Drabescus. But

Poppo is more probably right in thinking that αὐτοί marks a sudden change of subject from πέμψαντες to οἱ μύριοι οἰκήτορες. κτιζόμενον is predicate: "who regarded the colonization of the spot called the Nine Ways as an act of war." Cp. ἅμα τῷ σίτῳ ἀκμάζοντι (iii. 1. 1.), "with the ripening of the corn;" ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ δύνοντι, "with the setting of the sun;" αἱ δυνάμεις μείζους ἐγγιγνόμεναι (i. 2. 4), "the growth of power;" also note on i. 93. 4. So in Latin, *occisus Caesar*, "the murder of Caesar." A settlement at Nine Ways would have commanded the bridge over the Strymon, "which served as an important communication for all the people of the interior;" hence the determined hostility of the natives to all the attempts of the Greeks to effect a lodgment there: see iv. 102, and Grote, vi. p. 16.

κούμενοι Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπεκαλοῦντο καὶ ἐπαμῦναι ἐκέλευον ἐσβαλόντας ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν. 2. οἱ δὲ ὑπέσχοντο μὲν κρύφα τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἔμελλον, διεκωλύθησαν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ γενομένου σεισμοῦ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ οἱ Εἰλωτες αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν περιοίκων Θουριάται τε καὶ Αἰθαιῆς ἐς Ἰθώμην ἀπέστησαν. 3. πλείστοι δὲ τῶν Εἰλώτων ἐγένοντο οἱ τῶν παλαιῶν Μεσσηνίων τότε δουλωθέντων ἀπόγονοι. ἥ καὶ Μεσσήνιοι ἐκλήθησαν οἱ πάντες. 4. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἐν Ἰθώμῃ πόλεμος καθειστήκει Λακεδαιμονίοις· Θάσιοι δὲ τρίτῳ ἔτει πολιορκούμενοι ὠμολόγησαν Ἀθηναίοις τείχος τε καθελόντες καὶ ναῦς παραδόντες χρήματά τε ὅσα ἔδει ἀποδοῦναι αὐτίκα ταξάμενοι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν φέρειν, τὴν τε ἡπειρον καὶ τὸ μέταλλον ἀφέντες. 102. 1. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, ὡς αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἰθώμῃ ἐμῆκύνετο ὁ πόλεμος, ἄλλους τε ἐπεκαλέσαντο ξυμμάχους καὶ Ἀθηναίους· οἱ δ' ἦλθον Κίμωνος στρατηγοῦντος πλήθει οὐκ ὀλίγῳ. 2. μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπεκαλέσαντο ὅτι τειχομαχεῖν ἐδόκουν δυνατοὶ εἶναι, τοῖς δὲ

CH. CI. 2. ἔμελλον] “Intended to fulfil their promise.” “The first intent of unprovoked and even treacherous hostility—the germ of the future Peloponnesian War—is conceived and reduced to an engagement by Sparta” (Grote, v. p. 419). αὐτοῖς, see notes on i. 6. 3; 13. 3. According to Arist. *Pol.* ii. 6. 2, the Helots were always ὥσπερ ἐφεδρεύοντες τοῖς ἀτυχήμασι, ready to take advantage of or put a finishing stroke to any disaster that befell the Spartans. See Smith, *Dict. Ant.*, Helotes, Perioeci.

ἐς Ἰθώμην] “The memorable hill of Ithome, the ancient citadel of their Messenian forefathers,” was their last stronghold, where they took refuge when they could no longer hold the open country.

3. τότε] At that well-known time, in the famous Messenian wars: cp. i. 76. 1.

4. καθελόντες] Not before they capitulated, see note on i. 18. 3. τὸ λοιπὸν φέρειν depends upon ὅσα

ἔδει.

CH. CII. 1. ἐμῆκύνετο] At one time the insurgents were on the point of taking Sparta itself, which was only saved by the promptitude and valour of the young king Archidamus. At another Leimnestus, who killed Mardonius at Plataea, was overpowered and slain with 300 men in the plain of Stenyclerus: See Hdt. ix. 35. 64. Krüger places the Athenian expedition in 464 B.C.; others in 461 B.C.

2. τειχομαχεῖν] They were equally famous for building walls and for storming them: cp. iv. 69. 2 for the first, and Hdt. ix. 70 for the second. τοῖς δέ, the Lacedaemonians, opposed to οἱ μὲν implied before ἐδόκουν. τούτου = τοῦ τειχομαχεῖν. ἐνδεᾶ ἐφαίνετο, things appeared to be deficient, there seemed to be a need of this: cp. on i. 7. γάρ, “for otherwise,” had they possessed the requisite engineering skill. βία, by storm.

πολιορκίας μακρᾶς καθεστηκυίας τούτου ἐνδεᾶ ἐφαίνετο· βία γὰρ ἂν εἶλον τὸ χωρίον. 3. καὶ διαφορὰ ἐκ ταύτης τῆς στρατείας πρῶτον Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις φανερά ἐγένετο. 4. οἱ γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπειδὴ τὸ χωρίον βία οὐχ ἠλίσκετο, δείσαντες τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ τολμηρὸν καὶ τὴν νεωτεροποιίαν καὶ ἄλλοφύλους ἅμα ἡγησάμενοι μή τι ἦν παραμείνωσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἰθώμῃ πεισθέντες νεωτερίσωσι, μόνους τῶν ξυμμάχων ἀπέπεμψαν τὴν μὲν ὑποψίαν οὐ δηλοῦντες, εἰπόντες δὲ ὅτι οὐδὲν προσδέονται αὐτῶν ἔτι. 5. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἔγνωσαν οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ βελτίονι λόγῳ ἀποπεμπόμενοι, ἀλλὰ τινος ὑπὸπτου γενομένου, καὶ δεινὸν ποιησάμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἀξιώσαντες ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων τοῦτο παθεῖν, εὐθύς, ἐπειδὴ ἀνεχώρησαν, ἀφέντες τὴν γενομένην ἐπὶ τῷ Μήδῳ ξυμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς Ἀργείοις τοῖς ἐκείνων πολεμίοις ξύμμαχοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ πρὸς Θεσσαλοὺς ἅμα ἀμφοτέροις οἱ αὐτοὶ ὄρκοι καὶ ξυμμαχία κατέστη. 103. 1. οἱ δ' ἐν Ἰθώμῃ δεκάτῳ ἔτει, ὥς οὐκέτι ἐδύναντο ἀντέχειν, ξυνέβησαν πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐφ' ᾧ τε ἐξίασιν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ὑπόσπονδοι καὶ μηδέποτε ἐπιβήσονται αὐτῆς· ἦν δέ τις ἀλίσκηται, τοῦ λαβόντος εἶναι δούλον· 2. ἦν δέ τι καὶ χρηστήριον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις Πυθικὸν πρὸ τοῦ τὸν ἱκέτην τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἰθωμήτα ἀφιέναι. 3. ἐξήλθον δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ παῖδες

3. φανερά] Contrast with ἀδήλως ἤχθοντο, i. 92. 1.

4. τὸ τολμηρόν] Their daring and their revolutionary spirit. ἄλλοφύλους, for the Athenians were Ionians, the Spartans Dorians. μή refers to δείσαντες, which has thus a double construction — first with the accusative, τὸ τολμηρόν, second, with μή and the subjunctive, which limits and explains more precisely the object of their alarm. “Lest they should attempt some lawless stroke.”

5. ἐπὶ τῷ β. λόγῳ] “For the more decent reason,” which they professed. ἐπὶ τῷ Μήδῳ, against the Mede. κατέστη agrees only with the nearer of its two subjects: cp.

ἐστρατήγει, i. 29. 1. The Athenians were stung to the quick by this insulting dismissal. Pericles and Ephialtes had urged them to refuse aid to Sparta, they had sacrificed their interests to the lofty Panhellenism of Cimon, and this was their reward.

CH. CIII. 1. δεκάτῳ] Krüger would read δ', = τετάρτῳ: cp. i. 57. 4. ἐφ' ᾧ τε, on condition that. Cp. i. 113. 4; 126. 11; iv. 30. 4, where ἐφ' ᾧ is used with the same construction and sense. See Madv. G. S. 103, r. 3. εἶναι is governed directly by ξυνέβησαν.

2. χρηστήριον . . . ἀφιέναι] Cp. λόγος αὐξηθῆναι, i. 2. 6.

καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναῖοι δεξάμενοι κατὰ ἔχθος ἤδη τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐς Ναύπακτον κατῴκισαν, ἣν ἔτυχον ἡρηκότες νεωστὶ Λοκρῶν τῶν Ὀζολῶν ἐχόντων. 4. προσ-
εχώρησαν δὲ καὶ Μεγαρῆς Ἀθηναίοις ἐς ξυμμαχίαν Λακε-
δαιμονίων ἀποστάντες, ὅτι αὐτοὺς Κορίνθιοι περὶ γῆς ὄρων
πολέμῳ κατεῖχον. καὶ ἔσχον Ἀθηναῖοι Μέγαρα καὶ Πηγάς,
καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη ὠκοδόμησαν Μεγαρεῦσι τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς
πόλεως ἐς Νίσαιαν καὶ ἐφρούρουν αὐτοί. 5. καὶ Κορινθίοις
μὲν οὐχ ἥκιστα ἀπὸ τοῦδε τὸ σφοδρὸν μῖσος ἤρξατο πρῶτον
ἐς Ἀθηναίους γενέσθαι.

104. 1. Ἰνάρως δὲ ὁ Ψαμμητίχου Λίβυς βασιλεὺς Λιβύων
τῶν πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ ὀρμώμενος ἐκ Μαρείας τῆς ὑπὲρ Φάρου
πόλεως ἀπέστησεν Αἰγύπτου τὰ πλέω ἀπὸ βασιλέως Ἀρ-
ταξέρξου, καὶ αὐτὸς ἄρχων γενόμενος Ἀθηναίους ἐπηγάγετο.
2. οἱ δέ, ἔτυχον γὰρ ἐς Κύπρον στρατευόμενοι ναυσὶ διακο-
σίαις αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων, ἦλθον ἀπολιπόντες τὴν
Κύπρον, καὶ ἀναπλεύσαντες ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον
τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ κρατοῦντες καὶ τῆς Μέμφιδος τῶν δύο μερῶν

3. ἤδη] Which they had already conceived. *Ναύπακτον*, the modern Lepanto.

4. καὶ Μεγαρῆς] “The Megarians also,” as well as the Argives. This alliance “placed the Athenians in possession of the passes of Mount Geraneia, so that they could arrest the march of a Peloponnesian army over the isthmus, and protect Attica from invasion.” At the same time it gave deadly offence to the Corinthians. Hence the bitter hatred of the Athenians against the Megarians when the latter, by changing sides, again exposed Attica almost without defence to the hostility of the Peloponnesians, which had been incurred in great measure on their account. See i. 114. 1. *περὶ γῆς ὄρων*, “about landmarks”—a common cause of war: see i. 26. 3, also 122. 3; iv. 92. 4. The date is about 461—460 B. C.

τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη] Nisaea was

nearly a mile from Megara, which, like so many of the old towns, was *ἀνωκισμένη* (i. 7). “These ‘long walls’ were an ingenious invention for the purpose of extending the maritime arm of Athens to an inland city.” See Grote.

5. τὸ σφοδρὸν μῖσος] “That violent and notorious hatred which they bore towards the Athenians.” Arn.

CH. CIV. 1. ἀπέστησεν] B. C. 460. ὀρμώμενος ἐκ, cp. i. 64. 3.

2. ἀναπλεύσαντες] “Ctesias tells of a pitched battle in which Achaemenes, the brother of Artaxerxes, was slain, and with him 100,000 men (cp. Hdt. iii. 12; vii. 7). A remarkable defeat indeed!” (Kr.) τῶν δύο μερῶν, two-thirds: i. 74. 1. *Λευκὸν τεῖχος*, White Castle: so called, according to the Scholiast, because it was built of stone, while the rest of the town was of brick.

πρὸς τὸ τρίτον μέρος ὃ καλεῖται Λευκὸν τεῖχος ἐπολέμουν. ἐνῆσαν δὲ αὐτόθι Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων οἱ καταφυγόντες καὶ Αἰγυπτίων οἱ μὴ ξυναποστάντες.

105. 1. Ἀθηναίοις δὲ ναυσὶν ἀποβᾶσιν ἐς Ἀλῖας πρὸς Κορινθίους καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίους μάχῃ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐνίκων Κορίνθιοι. 2. καὶ ὕστερον Ἀθηναῖοι ἐναυμάχησαν ἐπὶ Κεκρυφαλείᾳ Πελοποννησίων ναυσί, καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι. 3. πολέμου δὲ καταστάντος πρὸς Αἰγινήτας Ἀθηναίοις μετὰ ταῦτα ναυμαχία γίγνεται ἐπ' Αἰγίνῃ μεγάλῃ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Αἰγινητῶν, καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἑκατέροις παρήσαν, καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ναῦς ἐβδομήκοντα λαβόντες αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀπέβησαν καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν Λεωκράτους τοῦ Στροίβου στρατηγούντος. 4. ἔπειτα Πελοποννήσιοι ἀμύνειν βουλόμενοι Αἰγινήταις ἐς μὲν τὴν Αἴγιναν τριακοσίους ὀπλίτας πρότερον Κορινθίων καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίων ἐπικούρους διεβίβασαν, τὰ δὲ ἄκρα τῆς Γερανείας κατέλαβον καὶ ἐς τὴν Μεγαρίδα κατέβησαν Κορίνθιοι μετὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων, νομίζοντες ἀδυνάτους ἔσεσθαι Ἀθηναίους βοηθεῖν τοῖς Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐν τε Αἰγίνῃ ἀπούσης στρατιᾶς πολλῆς καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ· ἦν δὲ καὶ βοηθῶσιν, ἀπ' Αἰγίνης ἀναστήσεσθαι αὐτούς. 5. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ μὲν πρὸς Αἰγίνῃ στράτευμα οὐκ ἐκίνησαν, τῶν δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὑπολοίπων οἱ τε πρεσβύτατοι καὶ οἱ νεώτατοι ἀφικνούνται ἐς τὰ Μέγαρα Μυρωνίδου στρατηγούντος. 6. καὶ μάχης γενομένης ἰσορρόπου πρὸς Κορινθίους διεκρίθησαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ ἐνόμισαν αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔχειν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ. 7. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐκράτησαν γὰρ ὅμως

CH. CV.] The events narrated in this and the succeeding chapter fall, according to Krüger, in 460 B. C., according to Grote in 459—458 B. C. ἐνίκων, were victorious: i. 13. 8. "Possibly it may have been in this expedition that the Athenians acquired possession of Troezen, which we find afterwards (i. 115. 1) in their dependence, without knowing when it became so." Grote.

4. πρότερον . . . ἐπικούρους] Sc.

ὄντας: cp. ἔχθος ἤδη, i. 103. 3.

5.] οἱ νεώτατοι "are περίπολοι, youths from eighteen to twenty; οἱ πρεσβύτατοι, those above the age of forty or perhaps sixty" (Poppo). See Smith, *Dict. Ant.*, Exercitus.

6. αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι] "Both sides claimed to have come off best in the encounter."

7. ὅμως] Although the Corinthians denied it. τροπαῖον: cp. i. 54. 1, 2. κακίζόμενοι, taunted. καὶ αὐτοί, i. 31. 3.

μᾶλλον, ἀπελθόντων τῶν Κορινθίων τροπαῖον ἔστησαν· οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι κακιζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πρεσβυτέρων καὶ παρασκευασάμενοι ἡμέρας ὕστερον δώδεκα μάλιστα ἐλθόντες ἀνθίστασαν τροπαῖον καὶ αὐτοὶ ὡς νικήσαντες. 8. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκβοηθήσαντες ἐκ τῶν Μεγάρων τοὺς τε τὸ τροπαῖον ἰστάντας διαφθείρουσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ξυμβαλόντες ἐκράτησαν. 106. 1. οἱ δὲ νικώμενοι ὑπεχώρουν, καὶ τι αὐτῶν μέρος οὐκ ὀλίγον προσβιασθὲν καὶ διαμαρτὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐσέπεσεν ἕς του χωρίου ἰδιώτου ᾧ ἔτυχεν ὄρυγμα μέγα περιεῖργον καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἔξοδος. 2. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι γνόντες κατὰ πρόσωπόν τε εἶργον τοῖς ὀπλίταις καὶ περιστήσαντες κύκλῳ τοὺς ψιλοὺς κατέλευσαν πάντας τοὺς ἐσελθόντας, 3. καὶ πάθος μέγα τοῦτο Κορινθίοις ἐγένετο. 4. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἀπεχώρησεν αὐτοῖς τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπ' οἴκου.

107. 1. Ἦρξαντο δὲ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη ἐς θάλασσαν Ἀθηναῖοι οἰκοδομεῖν, τό τε Φαληρόνδε καὶ τὸ ἐς Πειραιᾶ. 2. καὶ Φωκέων στρατευσάντων ἐς Δωριᾶς τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων μητρόπολιν Βοιὸν καὶ Κυτίνιον καὶ Ἐρινεὸν καὶ ἐλόντων ἐν τῶν πολισμάτων τούτων, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Νικομήδους τοῦ Κλεομβρότου ὑπὲρ Πλειστοάνακτος τοῦ Πausανίου βασιλέως νέον ὄντος ἔτι ἡγου-

CH. CVI. 1. προσβιασθέν] “‘Being forced thereto;’ πρὸς τὸ ἐσελθεῖν βιασθέν. Cp. προσαναγκάζω, iv. 87. 1; vii. 18” (Poppo). For the position of χωρίου, cp. i. 45. 2. The construction of the next words is ᾧ ἔτυχεν ὃν ὄρυγμα μέγα περιεῖργον αὐτό.

2. κατὰ πρόσωπον] On the side of the entrance which fronted them as they came up to the field. κατέλευσαν—with slings. The Athenian ψιλοί were mere tumultuary forces, and did not form a distinct arm: cp. vi. 94.

CH. CVII. 1. Ἦρξαντο] B.C. 458—457, Grote; B.C. 459, Kr. τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη, cp. ii. 13. 9. These walls were a device for carrying out the recommendations of Themistocles (i. 93. 9) without abandoning the

upper city: cp. note on i. 103. 4. “‘They were regarded as the second great stride in Athenian ambition next to the fortification of Piræus: cp. i. 69. 1.” Grote.

2. Δωριᾶς] “‘Thuc. allows only three states to the Dorians; Strabo adds Pindus, and speaks of a Doric Tetrapolis; Pliny of a Pentapolis; the Scholiast on Pindar of a Hexapolis” (Kr.). Three seems to have been the proper number of the Doric tribes, though in some places, as at Argos, Aegina, Epidaurus, Sicyon, a fourth was added, and some states, as Corinth and Elis, had even more. Hence the Doric metropolis, originally at any rate, in all probability consisted of three towns.

μένου ἐβοήθησαν τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν ἑαυτῶν τε πεντακοσίοις καὶ χιλίοις ὀπλίταις καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων μυρίοις. καὶ τοὺς Φωκέας ὁμολογίᾳ ἀναγκάσαντες ἀποδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν ἀπεχώρουν πάλιν. 3. καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν μὲν αὐτοὺς, διὰ τοῦ Κρισαίου κόλπου εἰ βούλονται περαιούσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι ναυσὶ περιπλεύσαντες ἔμελλον κωλύσειν· διὰ δὲ τῆς Γερανείας οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐφαίνετο αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίων ἐχόντων Μέγαρα καὶ Πηγὰς πορεύεσθαι. 4. δύσοδός τε γὰρ ἡ Γεράνεια καὶ ἐφρουρεῖτο αἰεὶ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων· καὶ τότε ἡσθάνοντο αὐτοὺς μέλλοντας καὶ ταύτῃ κωλύσειν· 5. ἔδοξε δ' αὐτοῖς ἐν Βοιωτοῖς περιμείνασι σκέψασθαι ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἀσφαλέστατα διαπορεύσονται. 6. τὸ δέ τι καὶ ἄνδρες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπῆγον αὐτοὺς κρύφα ἐλπίσαντες δῆμόν τε καταπαύσειν καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχῃ οἰκοδομούμενα. 7. ἐβοήθησαν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πανδημεὶ καὶ Ἀργείων χίλιοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων ὥς ἕκαστοι· ξύμπαντες δὲ ἐγένοντο τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ μύριοι. 8. νομίσαντες δὲ ἀπορεῖν ὅπῃ διέλθωσιν ἐπεστράτευσαν αὐτοῖς καὶ τι καὶ τοῦ δήμου καταλύσεως ὑποψία. 9. ἦλθον δὲ καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἱππῆς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικόν, οἱ μετέστησαν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ παρὰ τοὺς

6. τὸ δέ τι καί] “And partly also,” or, “and another reason which influenced them was that:” cp. i. 118. 2; and note on ii. 4. 4. ἐπῆγον, kept calling them in: the middle voice would be more natural, but cp. i. 16; 18. 2. δῆμον without article, because it is used here in a general abstract way: translate, to put down (not “*their* popular party” but) democracy. τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχῃ οἰκοδομούμενα, “the building of the long walls:” cp. note on i. 100. 3. Grote (vol. v. p. 440) explains very clearly the state of party feeling in Athens at this juncture, and the connexion between the long walls and the apprehensions of the aristocrats.

7. ἐβοήθησαν] “βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ followed by the name of a person signifies ‘to carry aid *against* him;’

but followed by the name of a place it signifies ‘to carry aid *to* it’” (Arn.). ὥς ἕκαστοι, “contingents of various strength:” the two words seem to coalesce into one, so as to form a third nominative to ἐβοήθησαν. Cp. κατὰ ἔθνη, i. 3. 2.

8. ὅπῃ διέλθωσιν] “Which way they are to pass:” the deliberative subjunctive. The subjunctive in Homer is nearly equivalent to the future, thus *Il.* i. 262, οὐ γὰρ πω τοίους ἴδον ἀνέρας οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι: this will explain the relationship between ὅτῳ τρόπῳ διαπορεύσονται and ὅπῃ διέλθωσιν. Cp. Don. *G. G.* 292; Madv. *G. S.* 121; and see also note on i. 19. 1. ὑποψία, co-ordinate with νομίσαντες: cp. i. 80. 1.

9. κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικόν] Cp. i. 102. 5.

Λακεδαιμονίους. 108. 1. γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἐν Τανάγρα τῆς Βοιωτίας ἐνίκων Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, καὶ φόνος ἐγένετο ἀμφοτέρων πολὺς. 2. καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν εἰς τὴν Μεγαρίδα ἐλθόντες καὶ δενδροτομήσαντες πάλιν ἀπῆλθον ἐπ' οἴκου διὰ Γερανείας καὶ ἰσθμοῦ. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ δευτέρα καὶ ἑξηκοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐστράτευσαν εἰς Βοιωτοὺς Μυρωνίδου στρατηγούντος, καὶ μάχῃ ἐν Οἰνοφύτοις τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς νικήσαντες τῆς τε χώρας ἐκράτησαν τῆς Βοιωτίας καὶ Φωκίδος, καὶ Ταναγραίων τὸ τεῖχος περιεῖλον, καὶ Λοκρῶν τῶν Ὀπουντίων ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας ὁμήρους τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους ἔλαβον, τὰ τε τεῖχη τὰ ἑαυτῶν τὰ μακρὰ ἐπετέλεσαν. 3. ὠμολόγησαν δὲ καὶ Αἰγινῆται μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τεῖχη τε περιελόντες καὶ ναῦς παραδόντες φόρον τε ταξάμενοι εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον. 4. καὶ Πελοπόννησον περιέπλευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι Τολμίδου τοῦ Τολμαίου στρατηγούντος· καὶ τὸ νεώριον τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐνέπρησαν καὶ Χαλκίδα Κορινθίων πόλιν εἶλον καὶ Σικυωνίους ἐν ἀποβάσει τῆς γῆς μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν.

109. 1. Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐπέμενον καὶ αὐτοῖς πολλὰ ἰδέαι πολέμων κατέστησαν. 2. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἐκράτουν τῆς Αἰγύπτου Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ βασιλεὺς πέμπει εἰς Λακεδαίμονα Μεγάβαζον ἄνδρα Πέρσῃν χρήματα ἔχοντα, ὅπως εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐσβαλεῖν πεισθέντων τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπαγάγοι

CH. CVIII. 1. γενομένης] Krüger places the battle of Tanagra in B.C. 458. Others consider that it happened about the end of B.C. 457, Oenophyta being fought early in B.C. 456. One of the chief objects aimed at by Sparta in this expedition was "to strengthen Thebes, and to render her ascendancy effective over the Boeotian cities, as the best way of providing a neighbour at once powerful and hostile to the Athenians, and preventing their farther aggrandisement by land" (Grote). Hence Plato could say that the Athenians fought at Tanagra ὑπὲρ τῆς Βοιωτῶν ἐλευ-

θερίας (*Menex.* 242).

2. ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας] One from each of "the hundred families or houses of the Locrians, which formed in old times the ruling body in the nation." Arn.

3. ὠμολόγησαν] 457 B.C., Kr.; 455 B.C., Grote. Grote refers the completion of the long walls to the same year; Krüger to 458 B.C. περιελόντες, cp. note on i. 18. 3.

4. περιέπλευσαν] 456 B.C. Kr.; 455 B.C., Grote and Arnold. νεώριον, Gythium.

CH. CIX. 1. πολλὰ ἰδέαι] διάφοροι πόλεμοι οἷον ναυμαχίαι καὶ πεζομαχίαι καὶ νῆκαι καὶ ἥτται. Sch.

Ἀθηναίους. 3. ὥς δὲ αὐτῷ οὐ προὔχῳρει καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἄλλως ἀναλοῦτο, ὁ μὲν Μεγάβαζος καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρημάτων πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐκομίσθη, Μεγάβυζον δὲ τὸν Ζωπύρου πέμπει ἄνδρα Πέρσῃν μετὰ στρατιᾶς πολλῆς· ὃς ἀφικόμενος κατὰ γῆν τοὺς τε Αἰγυπτίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους μάχῃ ἐκράτησε καὶ ἐκ τῆς Μέμφιδος ἐξήλασε τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ τέλος εἰς Προσωπίτιδα τὴν νῆσον κατέκλησε, καὶ ἐπολιόρκει ἐν αὐτῇ ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ μῆνας ἕξ, μέχρι οὗ ξηράνας τὴν διώρυχα καὶ παρατρέψας ἄλλη τὸ ὕδωρ, τὰς τε ναῦς ἐπὶ τοῦ ξηροῦ ἐποίησε καὶ τῆς νήσου τὰ πολλὰ ἤπειρον, καὶ διαβὰς εἴλε τὴν νῆσον περὶ. 110. 1. οὕτω μὲν τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πράγματα ἐφθάρη, ἕξ ἔτη πολεμήσαντα· καὶ ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν πορευόμενοι διὰ τῆς Λιβύης εἰς Κυρήνην ἐσώθησαν, οἱ δὲ πλείστοι ἀπώλοντο. 2. Αἰγυπτος δὲ πάλιν ὑπὸ βασιλέα ἐγένετο πλὴν Ἀμυρταίου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι βασιλέως· τοῦτον δὲ διὰ μέγεθος τε τοῦ ἔλους οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἐλεῖν, καὶ ἅμα μαχιμώτατοί εἰσι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἔλειοι. 3. Ἰνάρως δὲ ὁ Λιβύων βασιλεύς, ὃς τὰ πάντα ἔπραξε περὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, προδοσίᾳ ληφθεὶς ἀνεσταυρώθη. 4. ἐκ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ξυμμαχίδος πεντήκοντα τριῇ-

3. ἄλλως] "Otherwise than for any good, i. e. in vain." Arn.

Ζωπύρου] The Zopyrus through whose devotion Darius captured Babylon: see Hdt. iii. 160. Megabyzus was one of the generals in the army with which Xerxes invaded Greece, Hdt. vii. 82. The island of Prosopitis appears from this passage to have been enclosed between the loop of a canal and the river Nile: see Hdt. ii. 41. ἐπὶ τοῦ ξηροῦ ἐποίησε, "left them high and dry."

CH. CX. 1. τὰ τῶν Ἑ. πράγματα] "The fortunes or forces of the Greeks"—little more than a periphrasis for οἱ Ἕλληνες: "cp. Hdt. vii. 9, οὐκ εἰς τοῦτο θράσεος ἀνήκει τὰ Ἑλλήνων πράγματα" (Kr.). πολεμήσαντα is somewhat strangely made to agree with πράγματα rather

than Ἑλλήνων. Poppo compares Pind. *Pyth.* i. 139, ὁ Τυρσανῶν τ' ἀλαλητὸς ναυσίστονον ὕβριν ἰδών, and Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 16, quod species ipsa carminum docet non impetu et instinctu nec ore uno fluens. The date is B.C. 455 or 454. ἐσώθησαν εἰς, escaped to.

2. ἔλεσι] "Amyrtaeus was finally reduced to submission and probably put to death by the Persians" (Arn.). See Hdt. iii. 15. As to the marshes see Hdt. ii. 4, 92, 137, 151. The name seems to have included the whole Delta, especially that part of it which lay between the Bolbitine and Sebennytic branches of the Nile. This region was formed by the alluvial deposits of the river, and was not as yet sufficiently raised above the water level to be quite dry and firm.

ρεις διάδοχοι πλέουσai ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔσχον κατὰ τὸ Μεν-
δήσιον κέρασ, οὐκ εἰδότες τῶν γεγενημένων οὐδέν. καὶ αὐτοῖς
ἐκ τε γῆς ἐπιπесόντες πεζοὶ καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης Φοινίκων
ναυτικὸν διέφθειραν τὰς πολλὰς τῶν νεῶν, αἱ δ' ἐλάσσους
διέφυγον πάλιν. 5. τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην στρατείαν
Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμαχῶν ἐς Αἴγυπτον οὕτως ἐτελεύτη-
σεν.

111. 1. Ἐκ δὲ Θεσσαλίας Ὀρέστης ὁ Ἐχεκρατίδου υἱὸς
τοῦ Θεσσαλῶν βασιλέως φεύγων ἐπεισεν Ἀθηναίους ἑαυτὸν
κατάγειν· καὶ παραλαμβάντες Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Φωκέας ὄντας
συμμαχοὺς Ἀθηναῖοι ἐστράτευσαν τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἐπὶ Φάρ-
σαλον. 2. καὶ τῆς μὲν γῆς ἐκράτουν ὅσα μὴ προϊόντες πολὺ
ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων, οἱ γὰρ ἱππῆς τῶν Θεσσαλῶν εἶργον, τὴν δὲ
πόλιν οὐχ εἶλον, οὐδ' ἄλλο προὔχώρει αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ὧν ἔνεκα
ἐστράτευσαν, ἀλλ' ἀπεχώρησαν πάλιν Ὀρέστην ἔχοντες
ἄπρακτοι. 3. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον χίλιοι
Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς τὰς ἐν Πηγαῖς ἐπιβάντες, εἶχον δ'
αὐτοὶ τὰς Πηγὰς, παρέπλευσαν ἐς Σικυῶνα Περικλέους τοῦ
Ξανθίππου στρατηγούντος, καὶ ἀποβάντες Σικυωνίων τοὺς

4. **διάδοχοι]** “To relieve a por-
tion of the former fleet.” ἔσχον
κατά, put in to or by way of· in
this sense the verb is more com-
monly followed by ἐς or the dative.
εἰδότες agrees in gender with ναῦται
implied in τριήρεις: cp. i. 7.

CH. CXI. 1. Ὀρέστης] “He
was perhaps connected with the
Aleuadae of Larisa. The Aleuadae
are called by Herodotus ‘kings of
Thessaly’ (vii. 6), and he applies
the same title to Cineas, who came
to help the Pisistratidae against
Sparta (v. 63). They were prob-
ably Tagi, as Jason of Pherae was
afterwards chosen to command the
whole Thessalian nation in war;
but not, strictly speaking, kings of
it” (Arn.). See Smith, *Dict. Ant.*,
Tagus. φεύγων, being an exile, or
having been expelled from. τῆς
Θεσσ. ἐπὶ Φάρσαλον, cp. note on i.
13. 2. The date is B.C. 454.

2. ὅσα μὴ] “So far as they could
do so without stirring to any dis-
tance from the camp.” Cp. iv. 16.
1, ὅσα μὴ ἀποβαλίνοντας, “as far as
they could without landing,” on the
understanding that they were not to
land: and Soph. *O. T.* 348, εἶρ-
γᾶσθαι ὅσον μὴ χερσὶ καίνων. “ὅσα
μὴ, like ὅτι μὴ, ἄτε, οἶα, has grown
by usage into a complete adverb, so
as to have lost all the grammatical
construction which ὅσα would re-
quire as an adjective” (Arn.). τὰ
ὅπλα, “the place where the spears
and shields were piled,” which was
an open space in the camp where
the arms would be readily accessible
in cases of surprise (Arn.). Better
take it to mean (as at iii. 1. 2) the
hoplites or heavy infantry.

3 εἶχον δ' αὐτοί] They garrisoned
Pegae themselves; they did not
trust the Megarians with it.

προσμίξαντας μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν. 4. καὶ εὐθύς παραλαβόντες Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ διαπλεύσαντες πέραν, τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας ἐς Οἰνιάδας ἐστράτευσαν καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν, οὐ μέντοι εἶλόν γε, ἀλλὰ ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου. 112. 1. ὕστερον δὲ διαλιπόντων ἐτῶν τριῶν σπονδαὶ γίγνονται Πελοποννησίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις πενταετεῖς. 2. καὶ Ἑλληνικοῦ μὲν πολέμου ἔσχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς δὲ Κύπρον ἐστρατεύοντο ναυσὶ διακοσίαις αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων Κίμωνος στρατηγούντος, 3. καὶ ἐξήκοντα μὲν νῆες ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἔπλευσαν, Ἀμυρταίου μεταπέμποντος τοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι βασιλέως, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι Κίτιον ἐπολιόρκουν. 4. Κίμωνος δὲ ἀποθανόντος καὶ λιμοῦ γενομένου ἀπεχώρησαν ἀπὸ Κιτίου καὶ πλεύσαντες ὑπὲρ Σαλαμῖνος τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ Φοίνιξι καὶ Κίλιξιν ἐναυμάχησαν καὶ ἐπεζομάχησαν ἅμα, καὶ νικήσαντες ἀμφοτέρα ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου, καὶ αἱ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου νῆες πάλιν αἱ ἐλθοῦσαι μετ' αὐτῶν. 5. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν ἱερὸν καλούμενον πόλεμον ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ κρα-

4. παραλαβόντες] "Having taken with them a force of Achaeans." This mention of the Achaeans as allies of Athens explains i. 115. 1, where their country is included amongst those which were to be given back to the Peloponnesians: cp. also v. 82. 1, where Achaea is spoken of as hostile to Sparta. The alliance may have been formed during the expedition of Tolmides (above, 108. 4), but we do not know how many of the Achaean states joined it. Krüger, however, takes παραλαβόντες to mean "having received into their alliance." πέραν, to the opposite coast.

CH. CXII. 1. διαλιπόντων] "After three years had intervened;" literally, after three years had left an interval. The treaty was concluded, according to Grote in B.C. 452; according to Krüger in B.C. 451; according to Clinton in B.C. 450.

2. ἔσχον] "Refrained from." ἔχω here takes both the meaning and

construction of παύομαι: cp. notes on i. 73. 4; 77. 8.

3. μεταπέμποντος] Thuc. uses the active voice in seven or eight other places: cp. iv. 30. 3; vii. 8. 1; and see note on i. 107. 6.

4. ὑπὲρ Σαλαμῖνος] "Off Salamis." This manner of speaking is derived from the apparent elevation of the horizon line of the sea above the shore, so that vessels seem ascending as they go further away from the land. Similar is the use of μετέωρος and ἀνάγειν (Arn.). ἀμφοτέρα, cp. i. 100. 1. πάλιν, sc. ἀπεχώρησαν: cp. πάλιν ἀπῆλθον, i. 108. 2. Was there any definite treaty between the Athenians and the Persian king? See Grote, vol. v. p. 455.

5. τὸν ἱερὸν . . . πόλεμον] B.C. 448. The Delphians were partisans of Sparta, and it was important for the Spartans that the temple should be in the hands of men whom they could trust. So (i. 118. 4) we find that they got an oracle in their favour; and more solid advantages

τήσαντες τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱεροῦ παρέδοσαν Δελφοῖς· 113. 1. καὶ αὖθις ὕστερον Ἀθηναῖοι ἀποχωρησάντων αὐτῶν στρατεύσαντες καὶ κρατήσαντες παρέδοσαν Φωκεῦσι. καὶ χρόνου ἐγγενομένου μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀθηναῖοι, Βοιωτῶν τῶν φευγόντων ἐχόντων Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ Χαιρώνειαν καὶ ἄλλ' ἅττα χωρία τῆς Βοιωτίας, ἐστράτευσαν, ἐαυτῶν μὲν χιλίοις ὀπλίταις τῶν δὲ ξυμμάχων ὡς ἐκάστοις, ἐπὶ τὰ χωρία ταῦτα πολέμια ὄντα, Τολμίδου τοῦ Τολμαίου στρατηγοῦντος. 2. καὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἐλόντες [καὶ ἀνδραποδίσαντες] ἀπεχώρουν φυλακὴν καταστήσαντες. 3. πορευομένοις δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν Κορωνείᾳ ἐπιτίθενται οἱ τε ἐκ τῆς Ὀρχομενοῦ φυγάδες Βοιωτῶν καὶ Λοκροὶ μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ Εὐβοέων φυγάδες καὶ ὅσοι τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης ἦσαν καὶ μάχῃ κρατήσαντες τοὺς μὲν διέφθειραν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, τοὺς δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβον. 4. καὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἐξέλιπον Ἀθηναῖοι πᾶσαν, σπονδὰς ποιησάμενοι ἐφ' ᾧ τοὺς ἄνδρας κομιοῦνται. 5. καὶ οἱ φεύγοντες Βοιωτῶν κατελθόντες καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες αὐτόνομοι πάλιν ἐγένοντο.

114. 1. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον Εὐβοία ἀπέστη

still were to be expected, i. 121. 3.

CH. CXIII. 1.] Φωκεῦσι — who were their allies, i. 108. 2; iii. 1. τῶν φευγόντων, those who after the battle of Oenophyta had been driven into exile by the dominant Atticizing party. Except at Athens political toleration seems to have been almost unknown in Greece. Each faction as it came into power proscribed the most prominent men on the other side. Hence nearly every city had its φυγάδες, and the “return of the exiles” (κάθοδος, κατιεναι, καταγαγεῖν τοὺς φυγάδας) was another name for a revolution. ὡς ἐκάστοις is here treated quite like a single word: cp. ἔστιν οἷ, and notes on i. 6. 6; 107. 7. It means here “with larger or smaller parties,” “with contingents of different strength” from their different allies. The date is 447 (Gr.) or 446 B.C. (Kr.)

2. [καὶ ἀνδραποδίσαντες] Poppo

omits these words “ex optimorum librorum auctoritate.” It is as yet too early in the war for such brutality — besides the Athenians had no particular grudge against the people of Chaeronea, and moreover there was no time to effect the sale.

3. τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης] Note on i. 10. 4.

4. ἐφ' ᾧ] Cp. note on i. 103. 1, and Madv. G. S. 103, r. 3. Coroneia was to Athens what Sphacteria was to Sparta. See Grote.

5. οἱ ἄλλοι] Sc. τῶν Βοιωτῶν. “So the exiles of the Boeotians returned home and with all the rest of their countrymen became independent again.” So Kr. Grote, however, with Arn. and Poppo, supposes the Phocians and Locrians to be meant.

CH. CXIV. 1. ἀπέστη] B.C. 446. διαβεβηκότος . . . αὐτῷ the fondness of our author for the genitive absolute often causes great harshness of construction: cp. ii. 8. 5;

ἀπὸ Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν διαβεβηκότος ἤδη Περικλέους στρατιᾷ Ἀθηναίων ἡγγέλθη αὐτῷ ὅτι Μέγαρα ἀφέστηκε καὶ Πελοποννήσιοι μέλλουσιν ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ οἱ φρουροὶ Ἀθηναίων διεφθαρμένοι εἰσὶν ὑπὸ Μεγαρέων πλὴν ὅσοι ἐς Νίσαιαν ἀπέφυγον. 2. ἐπαγαγόμενοι δὲ Κορινθίους καὶ Σικωνίους καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίους ἀπέστησαν οἱ Μεγαρῆς. 3. ὁ δὲ Περικλῆς πάλιν κατὰ τάχος ἐκόμιζε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας. 4. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐς Ἐλευσίνα καὶ Θρίῳζε ἐσβαλόντες ἐδῆσαν, Πλειστοάνακτος τοῦ Πausανίου βασιλέως Λακεδαιμονίων ἡγουμένου, καὶ τὸ πλεον οὐκέτι προελθόντες ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου. 5. καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι πάλιν ἐς Εὐβοίαν διαβάντες Περικλέους στρατηγούντος κατεστρέψαντο πᾶσαν. 6. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ὁμολογία κατεστήσαντο, Ἐστιαίᾳς δὲ ἐξοικίσαντες αὐτοὶ τὴν γῆν ἔσχον. 115. 1. ἀναχωρήσαντες δὲ ἀπὸ Εὐβοίας οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον σπονδὰς ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς συμμαχοὺς τριακοντούτεις, ἀποδόντες Νίσαιαν καὶ Πηγὰς καὶ Τροιζῆνα καὶ Ἀχαΐαν ταῦτα γὰρ εἶχον Ἀθηναῖοι Πελοποννησίων. 2. ἔκτῳ δὲ ἔτει Σαμίους καὶ Μιλησίους πόλεμος ἐγένετο περὶ Πριήνης· καὶ οἱ Μιλήσιοι ἐλασσούμενοι τῷ πολέμῳ παρ' Ἀθηναίους ἐλθόντες κατεβόων τῶν Σαμίων. 3. συνεπελαμβάνοντο δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς Σάμου ἄνδρες ἰδιῶται νεωτερίσαι βουλόμενοι τὴν πολιτείαν. 4. πλεύσαντες οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Σάμον

83. 3; iii. 13. 9; 55. 2; iv. 8. 8; 12. 1; 41. 4; and other places; also *Madv. G. S.* 181, r. 5.

4. Θρίῳζε] εἰς τὸ Θριάσιον πεδῖον ὡς Ἀθήναζε (Sch.) τὸ πλεον, "any further:" cp. note on i. 9. 3. οὐκέτι, "no longer," is just the reverse of ἤδη. A corrupt motive was ascribed to this retreat; and both Pleistoanax and his governor or adjutant Cleandrides were banished from Sparta: see ii. 21. 1; v. 16.

6. κατεστήσαντο] "Settled according to their own interest."

CH. CXV. I. σπονδὰς] B.C. 445.

Ἀχαΐαν, cp. i. 111. 4; iv. 21. 3; v. 82. 1. Πελοποννησίων, see *Madv. G. S.* 47, r. 3. Henceforth the Athenian empire is again confined to the sea and sea-port towns; she no longer attempts to extend her dominions by land. This change in her policy harmonized very well with the extension of her democracy by Pericles and Ephialtes, which gave additional strength and importance to the ναυτικὸς ὄχλος. See Grote, vol. vi. ad init.

3. νεωτερίσαι] "To revolutionize the government:" they wanted a democracy.

ναυσὶ τεσσαράκοντα δημοκρατιαν κατέστησαν, καὶ ὁμήρους ἔλαβον τῶν Σαμίων πεντήκοντα μὲν παῖδας ἴσους δὲ ἄνδρας καὶ κατέθεντο ἐς Λήμνον, καὶ φρουρὰν ἐγκαταλιπόντες ἀνεχώρησαν. 5. τῶν δὲ Σαμίων ἦσαν γάρ τινες οἳ οὐχ ὑπέμενον ἄλλ' ἔφυγον ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον, ξυνθέμενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις καὶ Πισσούθνη τῷ Ὑστάσπου ξυμμαχίαν, ὃς εἶχε Σάρδεις τότε, ἐπικούρους τε ξυλλέξαντες ἐς ἐπτακοσίους διέβησαν ὑπὸ νύκτα ἐς τὴν Σάμον. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῷ δήμῳ ἐπανέστησαν καὶ ἐκράτησαν τῶν πλείστων, ἔπειτα τοὺς ὁμήρους κλέψαντες ἐκ Λήμνου τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέστησαν καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς τοὺς Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας οἳ ἦσαν παρὰ σφίσιν ἐξέδοσαν Πισσούθνη, ἐπὶ τε Μιλητον εὐθύς παρεσκευάζοντο στρατεύειν. 6. ξυνἀπέστησαν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Βυζάντιοι.

116. 1. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ᾗσθοντο, πλεύσαντες ναυσὶν ἐξήκοντα ἐπὶ Σάμου ταῖς μὲν ἐκκαίδεκα τῶν νεῶν οὐκ ἐχρήσαντο· ἔτυχον γὰρ αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Καρίας ἐς προσκοπὴν τῶν Φοινισσῶν νεῶν οἰχόμεναι, αἱ δ' ἐπὶ Χίου καὶ Λέσβου περιαγγέλλουσαι βοηθεῖν. τεσσαράκοντα δὲ ναυσὶ καὶ τέσσαρσι Περικλεους δεκάτου αὐτοῦ στρατηγούντος ἐναυμά-

5.] τῶν Σαμίων τινές must be joined both with ἦσαν and with ξυνθέμενοι. Cp. vii. 48. 2, καὶ ἦν γὰρ τι καὶ ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις βουλόμενον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὰ πράγματα ἐνδοῦναι ἐπεκηρυκεύετο ὡς αὐτόν. The parenthesis is dovetailed into the sentence, by means of a common subject. ἡπειρον: most probably to Anaea, see iii. 32. 2. Πισσοῦθνη: they applied also to the Spartan league for aid, which was refused on the advice of the Corinthians: cp. i. 40. 5. τῶν πλείστων: apparently a party of democrats succeeded in maintaining themselves in some fort.

ἐπὶ . . Μίλητον] A striking instance of the fierce unreflecting hatred which animated the quarrels of these little Greek states: the Samians had just committed an act which would array against them the

whole power of the Athenian empire; yet they could not forego their wretched grudge against Miletus.

CH. CXVI. 1. ταῖς . . . ἐκκαίδεκα] “The predicating of any thing as to any one part of a number, implies that the opposite to it may be predicated of the remainder, and thus the number is divided into two distinct parts, each of which is clearly defined, and may therefore have the article affixed to it” (Arn.). Cp. note on i. 10. 2. περιαγγέλλουσαι, “carrying round requisitions for aid.”

δεκάτου αὐτοῦ] Amongst his colleagues was Sophocles the tragedian, who had brought out his *Antigone* the year before, and was in high favour. The poet was sent with a detachment to bring up the Chian and Lesbian contingents.

χησαν πρὸς Τραγία τῇ νήσῳ Σαμίων ναυσὶν ἑβδομήκοντα, ὧν ἦσαν αἱ εἴκοσι στρατιώτιδες· ἔτυχον δὲ αἱ πᾶσαι ὑπὸ Μιλήτου πλέουσαι. καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι. 2. ὕστερον δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐβοήθησαν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν νῆες τεσσαράκοντα καὶ Χίων καὶ Λεσβίων πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, καὶ ὑποβάντες καὶ κρατοῦντες τῷ πεζῷ ἐπολιόρκουν τρισὶ τείχεσι τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ἅμα. 3. Περικλῆς δὲ λαβὼν ἐξήκοντα ναῦς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφορμουσῶν ὥχετο κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ Καύνου καὶ Καρίας, ἐσαγγελθέντων ὅτι Φοίνισσαι νῆες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πλέουσιν· ὥχετο γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Σάμου πέντε ναυσὶ Στῆσαγόρας καὶ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τὰς Φοινίσσας. 117. 1. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ Σάμιοι ἑξαπιναιῶς ἑκπλουν ποιησάμενοι ἀφράκτῳ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπιπесόντες τὰς τε προφυλακίδας ναῦς διέφθειραν καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες τὰς ἀνταναγομένας ἐνίκησαν, καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐκράτησαν ἡμέρας περὶ τέσσαρας καὶ δέκα καὶ ἐσεκομίσαντο καὶ ἐξεκομίσαντο ἃ ἐβούλουντο. 2. ἐλθόντος δὲ Περικλέους πάλιν ταῖς ναυσὶ κατεκλήσθησαν. 3. καὶ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ὕστερον προσεβοήθησαν τεσσαράκοντα μὲν αἱ μετὰ Θουκυδίδου καὶ

2. τρισὶ τείχεσι] “With three forts.”

3. ἐσαγγελθέντων] “News having been brought.” Cp. i. 74. 1, σαφῶς δηλωθέντος, and for the plural ἀδύνατα ἦν, i. 1. 3. See Madv. *G. S.* 181 *d*, and *Lat. Gram.* 429. ἐπ' αὐτοὺς = ἐπὶ σφᾶς, against the Athenians: cp. i. 95. 2 (Kr.). σφᾶς might have been used, but ἐσαγγελθέντων has virtually introduced a new subject. ἐπὶ τὰς Φοινίσσας, “to fetch the Phoenician fleet.” He was unsuccessful, probably because Pisuthnes “did not choose openly to violate the convention of Callias, whereby the Persians were forbidden to send a fleet westward of the Chelidonian promontory” (Grote, vi. 39), —if there was any such convention.

CH. CXVII. 1. ἀφράκτῳ] “Unfortified as it was:” cp. note on ἐρήμους, i. 49. 6. And the article might have been omitted: cp. note on i.

5. 1. The ships were usually drawn up on the beach and protected by a palisade, a precaution which on this occasion the Athenians had neglected to take. A small number of ships was left afloat to act as a guard and prevent surprise. These having been attacked and destroyed, the Athenians had no other resource but to launch their ships in haste, and endeavour to meet the enemy before they could land; and this being done in confusion, and the ships being launched and brought into action separately or in small parties, they were successively overpowered and defeated (Arn.). The present participle ἀνταναγομένας describes this long and disorderly movement — “those which kept putting to sea to meet them.”

3. Θουκυδίδου] Not the historian, says the Scholiast. “If it be Thucydides the son of Melesias, we must

Ἄγνωτος καὶ Φορμίωνος νῆες, εἴκοσι δὲ αἱ μετὰ Τληπολέμου καὶ Ἀντικλέους, ἐκ δὲ Χίου καὶ Λέσβου τριακοντα. 4. καὶ ναυμαχίαν μὲν τινα βραχεῖαν ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Σάμιοι, ἀδύνατοι δὲ ὄντες ἀντισχεῖν ἐξεπολιορκήθησαν ἐν ἅτῳ μηνὶ καὶ προσεχώρησαν ὁμολογίᾳ τεῖχος τε καθελόντες καὶ ὁμήρους δόντες καὶ ναῦς παραδόντες καὶ χρήματα τὰ ἀναλωθέντα κατὰ χρόνους ταξάμενοι ἀποδοῦναι. 5. ξυνέβησαν δὲ καὶ Βυζάντιοι ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον ὑπήκοοι εἶναι.

118. 1. Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἤδη γίγνεται οὐ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον τὰ προειρημένα, τά τε Κερκυραϊκὰ καὶ τὰ Ποτιδαιατικὰ καὶ ὅσα πρόφασις τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου κατέστη. 2. ταῦτα δὲ ξύμπαντα ὅσα ἔπραξαν οἱ Ἕλληνες πρὸς τε ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸν βάρβαρον ἐγένετο ἐν ἔτεσι πεντήκοντα μάλιστα μεταξὺ τῆς Ξέρξου ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου· ἐν οἷς Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν τε ἀρχὴν ἐγκρατεστέραν κατεστήσαντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ μέγα ἐχώρησαν δυνάμεως. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αἰσθόμενοι οὔτε ἐκώλυνον εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ βραχύ, ἡσύχαζόν τε τὸ πλεον τοῦ χρόνου, ὄντες μὲν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μὴ ταχεῖς ἵεναι ἐς τοὺς πολέμους εἰ μὴ ἀναγκάζοιντο τὸ δέ τι καὶ πολέμοις οἰκείοις ἐξειργόμενοι, πρὶν δὴ ἡ δύναμις τῶν Ἀθηναίων σαφῶς ἦρετο καὶ τῆς ξυμμαχίας αὐτῶν ἥπτοντο. 3. τότε δὲ οὐκέτι ἀνασχετὸν ἐποιοῦντο, ἀλλ' ἐπιχειρητέα ἐδόκει εἶναι πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ καὶ καθαιρετέα ἢ ἰσχύς ἣν δύνωνται ἀραμένοις τόνδε τὸν

suppose him to have been restored from ostracism before the regular time—a supposition indeed no way inadmissible in itself, but which there is nothing else to countenance." Grote.

4. καθελόντες] i. 18. 3; 101. 4. τὰ ἀναλωθέντα, the expense of the siege. κατὰ χρόνους, by instalments.

CH. CXVIII. 2. ἐγκρατεστέραν] "More despotic:" cp. i. 76. 1. ἐπὶ μέγα, cp. i. 16; ii. 97. 5. ἐπὶ βραχύ, slightly, feebly. μὴ ταχεῖς: "Adnotandum μὴ quod apud participium causale rarius legitur in scriptis Atticorum, saepius apud communis dia-

lecti scriptores" (Poppo). Arn. supposes that μὴ is a corrupt reading of the later copyists; Krüger, that it is due to the influence of the infinitive. This is surely impossible unless either ὄντες is equivalent to ὄντες οἶοι, or οἶοι has dropped out of the text: see Madv. G. S. 166 c. Arnold's suspicion is perhaps a little confirmed by the observation, that a copyist might be tempted to prefer the smoother τοῦ μὴ to the harsh τοῦ οὐ. Poppo appears to think that the same consideration may have influenced Thuc. himself. τὸ δέ τι, i. 107. 6. ἥπτοντο, began to meddle with.

πόλεμον. 4. αὐτοῖς μὲν οὖν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις διέγνωστο λελύσθαι τε τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀδικεῖν· πέμψαντες δὲ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπηρώτων τὸν θεὸν εἰ πολεμοῦσιν ἄμεινον ἔσται. ὁ δὲ ἀνείλεν αὐτοῖς, ὡς λέγεται, κατὰ κράτος πολεμοῦσι νίκην ἔσσεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφη ξυλλήψεσθαι καὶ παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἄκλητος. 119. 1. αὖθις δὲ τοὺς ξυμμάχους παρακαλέσαντες ψῆφον ἐβούλοντο ἐπαγαγεῖν εἰ χρὴ πολεμεῖν. 2. καὶ ἐλθόντων τῶν πρέσβεων ἀπὸ τῆς ξυμμαχίας καὶ ξυνόδου γενομένης οἳ τε ἄλλοι εἶπον ἃ ἐβούλοντο κατηγοροῦντες οἱ πλείους τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀξιοῦντες γενέσθαι, καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι δεηθέντες μὲν καὶ κατὰ πόλεις πρότερον ἐκάστων ἰδίᾳ ὥστε ψηφίσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, δεδιότες περὶ τῇ Ποτιδαίᾳ μὴ προδιαφθαρῇ, παρόντες δὲ καὶ τότε καὶ τελευταῖοι ἐπελθόντες ἔλεγον τοιαύδε.

120. 1. “Τοὺς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους, ὧ ἄνδρες ξύμμαχοι,

4. διέγνωστο] i. 87. 4. As to αὐτοῖς, see i. 67. 3. ἄμεινον ἔσται, “whether they would gain by war.”

CH. CXIX. 1. αὖθις] “About the end of 432 B.C., or the beginning of January, 431 B.C.” (Grote, vi. 138). εἰ χρὴ, i. 40. 5.

2. οἱ πλείους] Cp. note on δεδιότες, i. 49. 5. κατὰ πόλεις, from city to-city. δεηθέντες ὥστε, cp. ἐδίδασκεν ὥστε, viii. 45. 3, and note on i. 28. 6; also Madv. *G. S.* 154, r. 3.

CH. CXX.] In their former speech (lxviii.—lxxi.) the Corinthian envoys endeavoured to rouse the Lacedaemonians, and directed all their arguments and taunts against them alone. Now their object is to nerve the allies for war. To those who, dwelling in the interior, had not come into immediate contact with the Athenians, and so were not as keenly alive as the rest to the necessity of the struggle, they show that the interests of the agricultural and maritime states were identical—the one being producers, the others merchants, by whom alone the sale and

distribution of their commodities could be effected. Then they turn to more general topics: (1) the resources of the league and the good grounds they had for expecting victory; (2) the false and disgraceful position in which they found themselves, and the impossibility of avoiding war. Under the first head, which forms an answer to the speech of Archidamus (lxxx.—lxxxv.), they urge their superior numbers and discipline—their wealth, in which after all they were not inferior to the Athenians, since they might borrow from Delphi and Olympia, and no member of the league would refuse to tax himself for his own salvation—their courage—the advantages they had against Athens, as an ill-cemented wide-spread empire whose subjects they might detach, and whose revenues they might intercept, and as a purely naval power whose territory they might permanently occupy. Under the second head they taunt their allies, who though Dorians are insulted with impunity by the despised Ionians,

οὐκ ἂν ἔτι αἰτιασαίμεθα ὥς οὐ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐψηφισμένοι τὸν πόλεμόν εἰσι καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐς τοῦτο νῦν ξυνήγαγον. 2. χρὴ γὰρ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τὰ ἴδια ἐξ ἴσου νέμοντας τὰ κοινὰ προσκοπεῖν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἐκ πάντων προτιμῶνται. 3. ἡμῶν δὲ ὅσοι μὲν Ἀθηναίοις ἤδη ἐνηλλάγησαν οὐχὶ διδαχῆς δέονται ὥστε φυλάξασθαι αὐτούς· τοὺς δὲ τὴν μεσόγειαν μᾶλλον καὶ μὴ ἐν πόρῳ κατωκημένους εἰδέναι χρὴ ὅτι, τοῖς κάτω ἦν μὴ ἀμύνωσι, χαλεπωτέραν ἔξουσι τὴν κατακομιδὴν τῶν ὠραίων καὶ πάλιν ἀντίληψιν ὧν ἡ θάλασσα τῇ ἡπείρῳ δίδωσι, καὶ τῶν νῦν λεγομένων μὴ κακοὺς κριτὰς ὥς μὴ προσηκόντων εἶναι, προσδέχεσθαι δέ ποτε, εἰ τὰ κάτω προοῖντο, καὶ μέχρι σφῶν τὸ δεινὸν προελθεῖν, καὶ περὶ

who used to be so brave and are now threatened with an ignominious servitude, who used to hate tyrants and now tolerate a despot-city. They insinuate that they have been corrupted by that very wealth which Archidamus regretted they did not possess. The God had promised his aid, and declared the treaty to have been violated. In a word, matters had come to such a pass that war, and speedy war, was inevitable.

1. ἔτι] “Any longer,” as we did before, i. 69. 2; and this reference is sufficient to show that Classen is wrong in making καὶ . . . ξυνήγαγον independent on αἰτιασαίμεθα ὥς οὐ. ἐς τοῦτο, “for this purpose,” to declare war.

2. γάρ] Had they not done so we should have had a right to blame them still, for “it is the duty of chieftains to be watchful for the federal interests, and not abuse their power for private ends; just as in other matters they are honoured above all.” ἐξ ἴσου νέμοντας = dealing, conducting, or administering on a footing of equality: cp. i. 71. 1. ἐν ἄλλοις, ἐν προεδρίᾳ καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις (Sch.); though others make ἄλλοις masculine—amongst others, i. e. foreign states. The leader of a confederacy, say the

Corinthians, has an official duty, the promotion of the common weal, and for the discharge of this duty he is paid by the honours attaching to his position; he has no right to seek for a further and illegitimate profit by availing himself of the advantages of his supremacy to secure his private aggrandisement. But for the purpose of the argument, τὰ ἴδια ἐξ ἴσου νέμοντας would be better away. ἐκ = out of, with the idea of preference, as in ἐκπρεπής.

3. ἐν πόρῳ] “In the track of commerce,” that is, on the coast: see i. 7. κατωκῆσθαι elsewhere is followed by an adverbial definition of place: cp. ii. 96. 1; 99. 4; iii. 34. 1; v. 83. 3. With the accusative κατοικοῦντας would be more in accordance with Attic usage. But cp. θέσιν κειμένα, i. 37. 3. χαλεπωτέραν ἔξουσι, “will find it more difficult.” ἀντίληψιν, without article, see note on i. 7. ὥς μὴ προσηκόντων, “as if they did not concern you.” εἶναι is governed by χρὴ.

προσδέχεσθαι] “But expect that if they betray the maritime cities the danger will sooner or later (ποτε) reach their own doors.” ἂν προελθεῖν is resolvable into ὅτι ἂν προέλθοι, which is nearly equivalent to the future indicative; and the optative προοῖντο is almost as odd here as in

αὐτῶν οὐχ ἥσσον νῦν βουλεύεσθαι. 4. διόπερ καὶ μὴ ὀκνεῖν δεῖ αὐτοὺς τὸν πόλεμον ἀντ' εἰρήνης μεταλαμβάνειν. 5. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ σωφρόνων μὲν ἐστίν, εἰ μὴ ἀδικοῖντο, ἡσυχάζειν, ἀγαθῶν δὲ ἀδικουμένους ἐκ μὲν εἰρήνης πολεμεῖν, εὖ δὲ παρασχόν ἐκ πολέμου πάλιν ξυμβῆναι, καὶ μήτε τῇ κατὰ πόλεμον εὐτυχίᾳ ἐπαίρεσθαι μήτε τῇ ἡσυχίᾳ τῆς εἰρήνης ἠδόμενον ἀδικεῖσθαι. 6. ὃ τε γὰρ διὰ τὴν ἠδονὴν ὀκνῶν τάχιστ' ἂν ἀφαιρεθείη τῆς ῥαστώνης τὸ τερπνὸν δι' ὅπερ ὀκνεῖ, εἰ ἡσυχάζοι, ὃ τε ἐν πολέμῳ εὐτυχίᾳ πλεονάζων οὐκ ἐντεθύμηται θράσει ἀπίστῳ ἐπαιρόμενος. 7. πολλὰ γὰρ κακῶς γνωσθέντα ἀβουλοτέρων τῶν ἐναντίων τυχόντων κατωρθώθη, καὶ ἔτι πλέω ἂ καλῶς δοκοῦντα βουλευθῆναι ἐς τοῦναντίον αἰσchrῶς περιέστη. 8. ἐνθυμεῖται γὰρ οὐδεὶς ὁμοῖα τῇ πίστει καὶ ἔργῳ ἐπεξέρχεται, ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἀσφαλείας

the next section but one. οὐχ ἥσσον, "no less than about us."

4.] μὴ ὀκνεῖν = to be ready. As often Thuc. here joins to the infinitive the negative which properly belongs to the governing verb. The Corinthians mean rather that they ought not to hesitate: see note on i. 77. 3.

5. εἰ μὴ ἀδικοῖντο] "Usitatus ἐὰν μὴ ἀδικῶνται diceretur" (Poppo). But cp. i. 121. 5; ii. 39. 5; iii. 10. 1; vi. 34. 5. So Arist. *Eth. Nic.* vii. 14. 8, εἴ τῳ ἡ φύσις ἀπλῇ εἴη ἀεὶ ἡ αὐτὴ πρᾶξις ἠδίστη ἐσται: and Hdt. i. 32, οὐ γὰρ ὁ μέγα πλούσιος μᾶλλον τοῦ ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἔχοντος ὀλιώτερός ἐστι εἰ μὴ οἱ τύχῃ ἐπίσποιτο. In a hypothetical sentence the Greeks usually balance as nearly as possible the degrees of conditionality in the antecedent and consequent; thus an optative with εἰ is usually followed by the same mood with ἂν. Here, however, an antecedent expressing a bare supposition is coupled with a positive affirmation. Translate, "wise men keep quiet, supposing they are not wronged." See Madv. *G. S.* 135.

ἐκ . . . εἰρήνης] "to quit peace for war." ἐκ, of immediate sequence.

παρασχόν, "when a fair opportunity has presented itself:" cp. v. 14. 1; 60. 5; 63. 1. ἠδόμενον, as if ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα χρῆ had preceded.

6. εἰ ἡσυχάζοι] Not a simple repetition of ὁ διὰ τὴν ἠδονὴν ὀκνῶν. Translate with Poppo, "if he were to persist in his inaction." ὁ . . . πλεονάζων, "he whom good luck has made exorbitant." ἐντεθύμηται, with participle, cp. vi. 78. 1; for the perfect, cp. Madv. *G. S.* 112, r. 2.

7. ἔτι πλέω] Supply ἐστί. Some MSS. omit ἔ, so does Cobet. Translate, not "there are still more," which would make the absence of the verb almost intolerable, but "those are still more numerous which," &c. ἐς τοῦναντίον is explained and amplified by αἰσchrῶς—"which turned out the opposite way, and ended in disgrace." See note on ἀπίστως, i. 21. 1.

8. ὁμοῖα] "For no man works out his plans as perfectly as he conceives them in his confidence." Göller, Krüger, Poppo, and Classeu adopt Reiske's conjecture ὁμοῖα—"for no man performs as confidently as he plans," which gives a slightly better sense, and a better order of the words. But Arnold retains

μὲν δοξάζομεν, μετὰ δέους δὲ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐλλείπομεν. 121. 1. ἡμεῖς δὲ νῦν καὶ ἀδικούμενοι τὸν πόλεμον ἐγείρομεν καὶ ἱκανὰ ἔχοντες ἐγκλήματα, καὶ ὅταν ἀμυνώμεθα Ἀθηναίους καταθησόμεθα αὐτὸν ἐν καιρῷ. 2. κατὰ πολλὰ δὲ ἡμᾶς εἰκὸς ἐπικρατῆσαι, πρῶτον μὲν πλήθει προὔχοντας καὶ ἐμπειρία πολεμικῇ, ἔπειτα ὁμοίως πάντας ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ἰόντας. 3. ναυτικόν τε ᾧ ἰσχύουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης τε ἐκάστοις οὐσίας ἐξαρτυσόμεθα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ Ὀλυμπίᾳ χρημάτων. δάνεισμα γὰρ ποιησάμενοι ὑπολαβεῖν οἰοί τε ἐσμὲν μισθῷ μείζονι τοὺς ξένους αὐτῶν ναυβάτας. 4. ὦνητὴ γὰρ Ἀθηναίων ἡ δυναμις μᾶλλον ἢ οἰκεία· ἡ δὲ ἡμετέρα ἦσσον ἂν τοῦτο πάθοι, τοῖς σώμασι τὸ πλεόν ἰσχύουσα ἢ τοῖς χρήμασι. 5. μιᾷ τε νίκη ναυμαχίας κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἀλίσκονται· εἰ δ' ἀντίσχοιεν, μελετήσομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν πλέονι χρόνῳ τὰ ναυτικά. 6. καὶ ὅταν τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐς τὸ ἴσον καταστήσωμεν, τῇ γε εὐψυχίᾳ δήπου περιεσόμεθα. 7. ὃ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν φύσει ἀγαθόν,

ὁμοῖα, the reading of the MSS., and there seems to be no sufficient reason for departing from it.

CH. CXXI. 1. ἡμεῖς δέ] The speaker reverts to what he had said about brave men—"our wrongs force us into war, our moderation and coolness guarantee us success." πόλεμον ἐγείρομεν is a Homeric phrase: cp. *Il.* ii. 440; xi. 213.

2. κατὰ πολλὰ] "On many grounds:" cp. i. 9. 2, κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον. As to the position and prospects of the Peloponnesians, compare with this passage the speeches of Archidamus and of Pericles. πλήθει, cp. 80. 3; 81. 1. ἐμπειρία, cp. 142. 4. ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα, "to carry out the word of command." παραγγέλλειν is to pass an order from man to man along the line: cp. v. 66. 4. ὁμοίως, because all the Dorian states had the same or nearly the same discipline, especially their παιωνισμός was the same (vii. 44. 5). Arnold compares ii. 11. 10, κάλλιστον γὰρ τόδε καὶ ἀσφαλέστα-

τον πολλοὺς ὄντας ἐν κόσμῳ χρωμένους φαίνεσθαι. But Mr. Grote translates "with equal heart or zeal."

3. Δελφοῖς] This seems to prove, as Poppo says, that the temple was no longer in possession of the Phocians: see i. 113. 1. The Athenians had a similar resource, see ii. 13. 4. ὑπολαβεῖν, as at i. 68. 3, = to take secretly, entice away. Pericles contradicts the Corinthian, i. 143. 2. ναυβάτας is borrowed from the tragedians.

4. τοῦτο] The seduction of our men by a higher rate of pay. ἀλίσκονται: the present is used in Greek as in Latin to express the certainty or imminence of a future event. Cp. vi. 91. 3, εἰ αὕτη ἡ πόλις ληφθήσεται, ἔχεται καὶ ἡ πᾶσα Σικελία, and Virgil's Quae prima pericula vito? *Aen.* iii. 367.

5. ἀντίσχοιεν] See note on ἀδικοῖντο, i. 120. 5. μελετήσομεν, i. 80. 3; 142. 5, 6.

ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο διδαχῇ. ὃ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι ἐπιστήμη προὔχουσι καθαιρετέον ἡμῖν ἐστι μελέτη. 8. χρήματα δ' ὥστ' ἔχειν ἐς αὐτά, οἴσομεν· ἢ δεινὸν ἂν εἴη εἰ οἱ μὲν ἐκείνων ξύμμαχοι ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ τῇ αὐτῶν φέροντες οὐκ ἀπεροῦσιν—ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπὶ τῷ τιμωρούμενοι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἅμα σώζεσθαι οὐκ ἄρα δαπανήσομεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ὑπ' ἐκείνων αὐτὰ ἀφαιρεθέντες αὐτοῖς τούτοις κακῶς πιάσχειν; 122. 1. ὑπάρχουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι ὁδοὶ πολέμου ἡμῖν, ξυμμάχων τε ἀπόστασις, μάλιστα παραίρεσις οὔσα τῶν προσόδων αἷς ἰσχύουσι, καὶ ἐπιτειχισμὸς τῇ χώρᾳ, ἄλλα τε

7. ὃ . . . προὔχουσι] “Their superiority:” ὃ is the accusative of extent (like πολὺ, 25. 4; πλεῖστον, iv. 12. 3), and with its verb forms a substantive.

8. ἐς αὐτά] “For this purpose,” paying our crews during practice. οὐκ ἀπεροῦσιν: translate, “otherwise it would be strange if, while their allies contribute without a murmur to their own enslavement—shall not we then spend our money to punish our foes and save ourselves at the same time?” ἢ = *aliouquin*: cp. i. 78. 4; v. 63. 3. οὐκ is used after εἰ according to some, because it coalesces with the verb, as at Soph. *Ajax* 1131, εἰ τοὺς θανόντας οὐκ ἔῃς θάπτειν παρών: but wrongly, for while οὐκ ἐῷ (= *veto*) is a positive idea, οὐκ ἀπεροῦσιν can scarcely be other than negative. The fact is we have here an instance of what Classen calls the “paratactic structure,” a somewhat archaic mode of building the sentence, whereby two clauses, which in a later stage of language would be subordinated one to the other, and connected by some particle expressing distinctly the relation of causation or contrast (*while, although*) in which they stand to one another, are loosely united by μέν and δέ. In the present passage the hypothesis does not apply to the first clause at all—οἱ μὲν . . . οὐκ ἀπεροῦσιν contains a matter of fact. Cp. i. 35. 3, καὶ δεινὸν εἰ τοῖσδε μὲν

. . . ἔσται πληροῦν τὰς ναῦς . . . ἡμῶς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς προκειμένης ξυμμαχίας ἔρξουσι. The second οὐκ is to be explained by an anacoluthon, which, according to Madvig, is very common in sentences formed on this model; the εἰ loses its force, owing to the intervention of the first (parenthetical) clause, and the second clause is a question. Cp. Lysias, xii. 36, οὐκ οὐκ δεινὸν εἰ τοὺς μὲν στρατηγούς . . . θανάτῳ ἐζημιώσατε· τούτους δὲ δὴ . . . οὐκ ἄρα χρὴ κολάζεσθαι; see G. S. 189.

αὐτοῖς τούτοις] “Gibbon says that the Greeks at the last siege of Constantinople buried their money, rather than contribute it to the service of their country; and that by thus crippling their own means of defence, their money and themselves became alike the prey of the enemy.” Arn.

CH. CXXII. 1.] ἀπόστασις “hic est τὸ ἀφιστάναι, *sollicitatio ad deficiendum*, non, ut plerumque, τὸ ἀφίστασθαι, *defectio*” (Poppo). Others prefer to translate “revolt of allies,” leaving it to be guessed whether voluntary or instigated revolt is meant. The word is not transitive elsewhere, but cp. ἀδεέστερον, i. 36. 1, and πιστότατος, i. 132. 3. μάλιστα παραίρεσις οὔσα, “which is the most efficient mode of stripping them of their revenues.”

ἐπιτειχισμός] The building and

ὅσα οὐκ ἂν τις νῦν προΐδοι. 2. ἤκιστα γὰρ πόλεμος ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς χωρεῖ, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀφ' αὐτοῦ τὰ πολλὰ τεχνᾶται πρὸς τὸ παρατυγχάνον. ἐν ᾧ ὁ μὲν εὐοργήτως αὐτῷ προσομιλήσας βεβαιότερος, ὁ δὲ ὀργισθεὶς περὶ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐλάσσω πταίει. 3. ἐνθυμώμεθα δὲ καὶ ὅτι, εἰ μὲν ἦσαν ἡμῶν ἐκάστοις πρὸς ἀντιπάλους περὶ γῆς ὄρων διαφοραί, οἷστον ἂν ἦν· νῦν δὲ πρὸς ξύμπαντάς τε ἡμᾶς Ἀθηναῖοι ἱκανοὶ καὶ κατὰ πόλιν ἔτι δυνατώτεροι. 4. ὥστε εἰ μὴ καὶ ἀθρόοι καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ ἕκαστον ἄστει μιᾷ γνώμῃ ἀμυνούμεθα αὐτούς, δίχα γε ὄντας ἡμᾶς ἀπόνως χειρώσονται. 5. καὶ τὴν ἦσαν, εἰ καὶ δεινὸν τῷ ἀκοῦσαι, ἴστω οὐκ ἄλλο τι φέρουσιν ἢ ἀντικρὺς δουλείαν· ὃ καὶ λόγῳ ἐνδοιασθῆναι αἰσχρὸν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ πόλεις τοσάσδε ὑπὸ μιᾶς κακοπαθεῖν. 6. ἐν ᾧ

occupation of a permanent fort in or rather against and to coerce an enemy's country (for the sense of ἐπὶ cp. iii. 93. 3, ὧν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ ἐκτίζετο). Such a post served as a rendezvous for political malcontents, deserters, and runaway slaves, and hampered, if it did not stop, the cultivation of the land. Heraclea in Trachis, *l. l.*, and the Athenian posts at Atalante, ii. 32. 1; Pylus, iv. 3. 3, and Cythera, iv. 54. 4. But the Peloponnesians do not appear to have thought of this mode of annoyance against Athens till it was suggested to them by Alcibiades, vi. 91. 6.

2. ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς] "By fixed laws," cp. i. 13. 1. αὐτὸς δέ, "but for itself, and from its own resources it generally shapes its plans to meet the emergency of the moment." War is personified, as at iii. 82. 3; vi. 34. 2. ἐν ᾧ = διό (Sch.) — "in which state of things," or "so that," "he who deals with him coolly is safe, he who in blind fury embraces him (ὀργισθεὶς περὶ αὐτόν) meets with many a fall." βεβαιότερος, οὐκ ἐλάσσω, safer than the passionate man, oftener than the cool man.

3. ἀντιπάλους] "Equal," see

note on i. 11. 3. κατὰ πόλιν, state by state, against each city singly.

4. γνώμη] This word has three main senses in Thuc. (1) The mind in its widest sense, opposed to σῶμα, and embracing both intellect and will, cp. i. 70. 6; (2) the intellect alone, cp. i. 70. 3; 75. 1; 77. 3; 91. 5; (3) the will alone and so = resolution, decision, spirit, cp. i. 71. 1; ii. 8. 8; 11. 6; 59. 1,—and so here. δίχα, i. 64. 2.

5. ἀντικρὺς] "Downright." Contrast (iv. 86. 2) ἀσαφὴ ἑλευθερίαν, "an uncertain half-and-half sort of liberty." Arn. "The adverb appears to have an adjectival force in spite of the absence of the article. Cp. λίθων λογάδην, iv. 31. 2; ξυσταδὸν μάχαις, vii. 81. 4." Cl. See also i. 103. 3; 105. 4; ii. 3. 4. ὅ = τὸ δουλευθῆναι. "It is an affront to Peloponnesus that the very name of slavery should be pronounced as within possibility applicable to it" (Arn.). ἐνδοιάζω in the active = to doubt (i. 36. 1; vi. 91. 4); in the passive = to be doubted, regarded as not impossible;" but the word is not used elsewhere by Attic writers.

6. ἐν ᾧ] Again neuter. "In which case," "if this were to hap-

ἢ δικαίως δοκοῖμεν ἂν πάσχειν ἢ διὰ δειλίαν ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ τῶν πατέρων χείρους φαίνεσθαι οἱ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἡλευθέρωσαν· ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐδ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς βεβαιοῦμεν αὐτό, τύραννον δὲ ἐῷμεν ἐγκαθεστάναι πόλιν, τοὺς δ' ἐν μιᾷ μονάρχους ἀξιούμεν καταλύειν. 7. καὶ οὐκ ἴσμεν ὅπως τάδε τριῶν τῶν μέγιστων συμφορῶν ἀπήλλακται, ἀξυνεσίας ἢ μαλακίας ἢ ἀμελείας. 8. οὐ γὰρ δὴ πεφευγότες ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὴν πλείστους δὴ βλάβησαν καταφρόνησιν κεχωρήκατε, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ πολλοῦ σφάλλιν τὸ ἐναντίον ὄνομα ἀφροσύνη μετωνόμασται. 123. 1. τὰ μὲν οὖν προγεγενημένα τί δεῖ μακρότερον ἢ ἐς ὅσον τοῖς νῦν συμφέρεи αἰτιᾶσθαι; περὶ δὲ τῶν ἔπειτα μελλόντων τοῖς παροῦσι βοηθοῦντας χρὴ ἐπιταλαιπωρεῖν· πάτριον γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐκ τῶν πόνων τὰς ἀρετὰς κτᾶσθαι καὶ μὴ μεταβάλλειν τὸ ἔθος, εἰ ἄρα πλούτῳ τε νῦν καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ ὀλίγον προφέρετε· οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον ἂ τῇ ἀπορίᾳ ἐκτῆθῃ τῇ περιουσίᾳ ἀπολέσθαι· ἀλλὰ θαρσύνοντας ἰέναι

pen." αὐτό = τὸ ἡλευθέρωσθαι. ἐγκαθεστάναι, "to be established among us:" cp. ii. 44. 2. τύραννον is here probably a substantive—"we suffer a tyrant when it is a city that plays the part." But it may be an adjective—cp. ἀνὴρ τύραννος, vi. 85. 1. For the epithet as applied to Athens by her enemies and accepted by herself, cp. i. 124. 3; ii. 63. 2; iii. 37. 2; vi. 85. 1, and Arist. *Knights* 1114, 1330. καταλύειν, see i. 18. 1.

7. ἀπήλλακται] "Is free from," "can be regarded as unaffected by:" cp. i. 143. 3.

8. πεφευγότες] This clause may be translated in two ways. Either, with Arnold, "for you have not escaped these accusations by taking your stand on contempt, for contempt itself is the rankest folly" (ἀφροσύνη = ἀξυνεσία); or, with Classen, "for surely you have not escaped from these vices only to fall into contempt, that most fatal vice of all." οὐ γὰρ δὴ, hinting under the appearance of unbelief a suspicion that the case is even worse

than it seems: cp. v. 111. 4. The play upon the words καταφρόνησις, ἀφροσύνη can scarcely be translated. We have already noticed the tendency of Thuc. to point an antithesis by words similar in sound or derivation at i. 33. 4.

CH. CXXIII. 1. τοῖς νῦν] "At greater length than is expedient for our present purpose."

περὶ δὲ τῶν ἔπειτα μελλόντων] "But for the sake of the future you must take more than ordinary pains to mend the present." τὸ ἔπειτα is sometimes distinguished from τὸ μέλλον, cp. Soph. *Ant.* 611. Krüger would omit μελλόντων, or read ἐς ἔπειτα (cp. i. 130. 1); but alteration is needless, as Thuc. is by no means averse to pleonasm (see i. 3. 1), or τὰ ἔπειτα μέλλοντα may mean "the immediate future." ἐπιταλαιπωρεῖν = προσθεῖναι τὸν πόνον (Sch.), and βοηθεῖν is somewhat similarly used just below and 140. 2; ii. 63. 1. προφέρετε, οἱ γὰρ Λάκωνες τῶν προγόνων ἦσαν ὀλίγον εὐπορώτεροι (Sch.). εἰ ἄρα, i. 70. 8. χρήσαντος, i. 118. 4.

κατὰ πολλὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, τοῦ τε θεοῦ χρήσαντος καὶ αὐτοῦ ὑποσχομένου ξυλλήψεσθαι καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος πάσης ξυναγωνιουμένης, τὰ μὲν φόβῳ, τὰ δὲ ὠφελείᾳ. 2. σπονδὰς τε οὐ λύσετε πρότεροι, ἅς γε καὶ ὁ θεὸς κελεύων πολεμεῖν νομίζει παραβεβάσθαι, ἡδίκημέναις δὲ μᾶλλον βοηθήσετε· λύνουσι γὰρ οὐχ οἱ ἀμυνόμενοι, ἀλλ' οἱ πρότεροι ἐπιόντες. 124. 1. ὥστε πανταχόθεν καλῶς ὑπάρχον ὑμῖν πολεμεῖν καὶ ἡμῶν τάδε κοινῇ παραινούντων, εἴπερ βεβαιότατον τὸ ταῦτα συμφέροντα καὶ πόλεσι καὶ ἰδιώταις εἶναι, μὴ μέλλετε Ποτιδαιάταις τε ποιεῖσθαι τιμωρίαν οὐσι Δωριεῦσι καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰώνων πολιορκουμένοις, οὗ πρότερον ἦν τούναντίον, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μετελθεῖν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν· 2. ὥς οὐκέτι ἐνδέχεται περιμένοντας τοὺς μὲν ἤδη βλάπτεσθαι,

φόβῳ, those whose independence was threatened by the Athenians, **ὠφελείᾳ**, those whom they had already enslaved. The simple dative here = ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ, i. 73. 2: cp. κέρδει, vii. 57. 10.

2. **σπονδὰς**] Not *the* treaty, cp. i. 53. 2. ἅς γε, i. 11. 4. The participle **κελεύων**, somewhat unusually, denotes a proof of the finite verb—"by advising war he shows that he thinks." **ἡδίκημέναις βοηθήσετε** seems almost to personify **Σπονδαί**—"you will vindicate their insulted majesty." **πρότεροι**, "unprovoked."

CH. CXXIV. 1. **πανταχόθεν**] "Look at the matter from which side you will," cp. i. 17. 2. With **ὑπάρχον** cp. **παρασχόν**, i. 120. 5, and **ὑπάρχουσι**, i. 122. 1. **κοινῇ**, "for the common good," or "in the interest of all," which, though an unusual, is surely not here an inadmissible sense of this adverb, as Krüger says it is. What else can it mean?

βεβαιότατον] "If it is most certain that this *is* for the interest of every state and individual" in the league: the clause is an apology for the use of the word **κοινῇ**, and **ταῦτα** = **πολεμεῖν**. For the meaning of **βεβαιότατον**, cp. i. 70. 3. This is Arnold's translation and gives an

easy and satisfactory sense. Some editors, however, are not content with it, and, adopting Reiske's conjecture **ταυτά**, render "if identity of interests is the best guarantee of success for states and individuals." In this case **εἴπερ . . . εἶναι** gives the reason for the following exhortation. So Classen and (apparently) Krüger. Poppo translates as Arnold, but refers **ταῦτα** to **μὴ μέλλετε ποιεῖσθαι τιμωρίαν**.

Δωριεῦσι] An appeal partly to Doric pride (see v. 9. 1; vi. 77. 1; vii. 5. 4; viii. 25. 4), partly to kinship. **μετελθεῖν**, "to go and save:" cp. i. 34. 2.

2. **ὥς οὐκέτι ἐνδέχεται**] It is clear that **οὐκέτι ἐνδέχεται** has nothing to do, in sense, with **τοὺς μὲν ἤδη βλάπτεσθαι**, so that these last words are another instance of the "paratactic structure" noticed on i. 121. 4. Cp. also i. 28. 5, **πρότερον δ' οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν τοὺς μὲν πολιορκεῖσθαι, αὐτοὺς δὲ δικάζεσθαι**. And the real infinitive is disguised in **περιμένοντας**. Translate, "for some of us are already enslaved, and it is no longer possible that we others should wait till the same fate befalls us, as it speedily will if it become known that we have met, but dare not defend ourselves."

τούς δ', εἰ γνωσθησόμεθα ξυνελθόντες μὲν ἀμύνεσθαι δὲ οὐ
τολμῶντες, μὴ πολὺ ὕστερον τὸ αὐτὸ πάσχειν ἀλλὰ νομί-
σαντες ἐς ἀνάγκην ἀφίχθαι, ὧ ἄνδρες ξύμμαχοι, καὶ ἅμα
τάδε ἄριστα λέγεσθαι, ψηφίσασθε τὸν πόλεμον, μὴ φοβη-
θέντες τὸ αὐτίκα δεινόν, τῆς δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ πλείονος
εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμήσαντες· ἐκ πολέμου μὲν γὰρ εἰρήνη μᾶλλον
βεβαιούται, ἀφ' ἡσυχίας δὲ μὴ πολεμῆσαι οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀκίν-
δυνον. 3. καὶ τὴν καθεστηκυῖαν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πόλιν
τύραννον ἡγησάμενοι ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως καθεστάναι, ὥστε
τῶν μὲν ἤδη ἄρχειν, τῶν δὲ διανοεῖσθαι, παραστησώμεθα
ἐπελθόντες, καὶ αὐτοί τε ἀκινδύνως τὸ λοιπὸν οἰκῶμεν καὶ
τούς νῦν δεδουλωμένους Ἑλληνας ἰλευθερώσωμεν." 4. τοιαῦτα
οἱ Κορίνθιοι εἶπον.

125. 1. Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπειδὴ ἀφ' ἀπάντων ἤκουσαν
γνώμην, ψῆφον ἐπήγαγον τοῖς συμμαχοῖς ἅπασιν ὅσοι παρή-
σαν ἐξῆς καὶ μείζονι καὶ ἐλάσσονι πόλει· καὶ τὸ πλῆθος
ἐψηφίσαντο πολεμεῖν. 2. δεδογμένον δὲ αὐτοῖς εὐθὺς μὲν

ἀλλά] Do not delay *but*. ἐς
ἀνάγκην ἀφίχθαι, that we have no
choice left. The verb is most pro-
bably impersonal. διὰ πλείονος,
more enduring than the danger by
which it was purchased. φοβη-
θέντες, ἐπιθυμήσαντες, aorist par-
ticiples, because the sense of the
motives must precede the act of
voting.

ἐκ πολέμου] "As a fruit of war."
ἀφ' ἡσυχίας like ἐξ εἰρήνης, i. 120.
5 (Kr.). With μᾶλλον and οὐχ
ὁμοίως cp. βεβαιότερος and οὐκ
ἐλάσσω, i. 122. 2.

3. τύραννον] There is the same
doubt as at i. 122 6, whether this
word is substantive or adjective,
and we may translate either "the
despot city which has established
herself," or, "the city which has
established herself as a despot;"
but the last rendering is perhaps
the better of the two. ἐπὶ πᾶσιν,
to the peril of all: cp. iii. 93. 3.
διανοεῖσθαι, sc. ἄρχειν: cp. i. 1. 1.
παραστησώμεθα, cp. i. 29. 3.

CH. CXXV. 1. ἐξῆς] They did

not divide, but each delegate was
asked for his vote in turn. μείζονι
καὶ ἐλάσσονι: each city had one vote
and consequently an equal influence
upon the decision, whether it was
large or small. This radical fault
in the system of representation,
which the Greeks never tried or
never were able to cure, would
have been fatal to any attempt at
close and harmonious co-operation,
except under the coercing power of
a sovereign head. The great towns
were jealous and disaffected, and
the small ones became the tools of
the most powerful member of the
federation. Compare the history of
the Athenian empire, and later of the
Latin and Achaean leagues: and see
Niebuhr, *Lect. on Anc. Hist.* ii. 208.

τὸ πλῆθος] Cp. v. 30. 1, where
we are told that one of the articles
of the Peloponnesian confederacy
was κύριον εἶναι ὃ τι ἂν τὸ πλῆθος
τῶν συμμάχων ψηφίσηται, ἣν μὴ τι
θεῶν ἢ ἡρώων κώλυμα ᾖ.

2. δεδογμένον] See note on i. 2.

2. ἀδύνατα, i. 1. 3.

ἀδύνατα ἦν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀπαρασκεύοις οὖσιν· ἐκπορίζεσθαι δὲ ἐδόκει ἐκάστοις ἂν πρόσφορα ἦν καὶ μὴ εἶναι μέλλησιν· 3. ὅμως δὲ καθισταμένοις ὧν ἔδει ἐνιαυτὸς μὲν οὐ διетρίβη, ἔλασσον δέ, πρὶν ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἄρασθαι φανερώς. 126. 1. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐπρεσβεύοντο τῷ χρόνῳ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐγκλήματα ποιούμενοι, ὅπως σφίσιν ὅτι μεγίστη πρόφασις εἴη τοῦ πολεμεῖν, ἣν μή τι ἐσακούωσι. 2. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν πρέσβεις πέμψαντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐκέλευον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸ ἄγος ἐλαύνειν τῆς θεοῦ· τὸ δὲ ἄγος ἦν τοιόνδε. 3! Κύλων ἦν Ὀλυμπιονίκης ἀνὴρ Αθηναῖος τῶν πάλαι εὐγενῆς τε καὶ δυνατός, ἐγεγαμήκει δὲ θυγατέρα Θεαγένους Μεγαρέως ἀνδρός, ὃς κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐτυράννει Μεγάρων. 4. χρωμένῳ δὲ τῷ Κύλῳ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνείλεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ τοῦ Διὸς τῇ μεγίστῃ ἑορτῇ καταλαβεῖν τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν. 5. ὁ δὲ παρά τε τοῦ Θεαγένους δυναμιν λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀναπείσας, ἐπειδὴ ἐπῆλθον Ολύμπια τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, κατέλαβε τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὡς ἐπὶ τυραννίδι, νομίσας ἑορτὴν τε τοῦ Διὸς

3. ὅμως δὲ answers to εὐθὺς μὲν: it was impossible for them to go to war at once, still they were ready in less than a year. καθισταμένοις, παρασκευαζομένοις (Sch.).

CH. CXXVI. 2. τὸ ἄγος . . . τῆς θεοῦ] τοὺς τὸ ἄγος δράσαντας τῆς θεοῦ, τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς (Sch.). ἄγος, like the Latin word *sacer*, is a *vox media*, and so as a Scholiast quoted by Krüger says, κατ' εὐφημισμὸν καὶ τὰ μιάσματα ἄγῃ λέγεται. Here it is used of those who had wrought the pollution, or rather of their descendants, upon whom the family curse still rested, the ἐναγεῖς καὶ ἀλιτήριοι τῆς θεοῦ. ἐλαύνειν (see Soph. O. T. 98) is the proper word for banishing such an "offence of the goddess."

3. Κύλων] τοῦ διηγλήματος τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Κύλωνα τὴν σαφήνειάν τινες θαυμάσαντες εἶπον ὅτι λέων ἐγέλασεν ἐνταῦθα (Sch.). A lion, because Thuc. was admired for his "stern beauty" (τὸ φοβερὸν κάλλος). Cylon

is said to have won the Diaulos, Ol. xxxv., B.C. 640. The date of his insurrection is B.C. 612: see Hdt. v. 71. ἀνὴρ may belong either to Ὀλυμπιονίκης or to Ἀθηναῖος or to both, and the third construction is perhaps the best. τῶν πάλαι, for many of the Athenians were immigrants: see i. 2. 6.

5. ἐπῆλθον] Other MSS. read ἐπῆλθεν, but the best exhibit the plural. See note on i. 58. 1, and the passages then quoted, especially v. 75. 2. τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, τοῦτο προσέθηκεν ἐπειδὴ ἔστιν Ὀλύμπια καὶ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ ἐν Ἀθήναις. Sch.

ὡς ἐπὶ τυραννίδι] "With the apparent intention of making himself despot." See notes on i. 2. 6; 48. 1. ὡς denotes the outward semblance of an action, but this may coincide with the real motive. ἐαυτῷ τι προσήκειν, "had a special fitness for *his* design," or "was a day of good promise for *him*."

μεγίστην εἶναι καὶ ἑαυτῷ τι προσήκειν Ὀλύμπια νενικηκότι. 6. εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἢ ἄλλοθί που ἡ μεγίστη ἐορτὴ εἴρητο, οὔτε ἐκεῖνος ἔτι κατενόησε τό τε μαντεῖον οὐκ ἐδήλου. ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις Διάσια ἃ καλεῖται Διὸς ἐορτὴ Μειλιχίου μεγίστη, ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ᾗ πανδημεὶ θύουσιν, πολλὰ οὐχ ἱερεῖα ἀλλὰ θύματα ἐπιχώρια· δοκῶν δὲ ὀρθῶς γινώσκειν ἐπεχείρησε τῷ ἔργῳ. 7. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι αἰσθόμενοι ἐβοήθησάν τε πανδημεὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ προσκαθεζόμενοι ἐπολιόρκουν. 8. χρόνου δὲ ἐπιγιγνομένου οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τρυχάμενοι τῇ προσεδρείᾳ ἀπῆλθον οἱ πολλοί, ἐπιτρέψαντες τοῖς ἐννέα ἄρχουσι τὴν φυλακὴν καὶ τὸ πᾶν αὐτοκράτορσι διαθεῖναι ἢ ἂν ἄριστα διαγιγνώσκωσι· τότε δὲ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πολιτικῶν οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες ἔπραссον. 9. οἱ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Κύλωνος πολιορκούμενοι φλαύρως εἶχον σίτου τε καὶ ὕδατος ἀπορίᾳ. 10. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κύλων καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἐκδιδράσκουσιν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ὥς ἐπιέζοντο καὶ τινες καὶ ἀπέθνησκον ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, καθίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἰκέται τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει. 11. ἀναστήσαντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιτετραμμένοι τὴν φυλακὴν, ὥς ἐώρων ἀποθνήσκοντας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, ἐφ' ᾧ μηδὲν κακὸν ποιήσουσιν, ἀπαγαγοντες ἀπέκτειναν· καθεζομένους δὲ τινὰς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Σεμνῶν θεῶν ἐν τοῖς βωμοῖς

6. ἔτι.] He understood all up to this point, but here his acuteness was at fault. καί, the Athenians also have a festival of Zeus: the conjunction refers not to Διάσια but to Διὸς ἐορτή. ἃ καλεῖται, as it is called.

πολλοί.] Cp. note on i. 48. 5. θύματα, τινὰ πέμματα εἰς ζώων μορφὰς τετυπωμένα ἔθνον (Sch.). These "offerings allowed by Attic customs" were made by the poorer classes, who could not afford ἱερεῖα, victims. The same practice prevailed in Egypt, Hdt. ii. 47. ὀρθῶς γινώσκειν, "that he was right in his interpretation."

8. αὐτοκράτορσι.] "With unlimited powers." There is a contradiction here between Thuc. and Herodotus, who says ταύτους ἀνιστάεσι μὲν οἱ

πρυτάνεις τῶν ναυκράρων, οἵπερ ἔνεμον τότε τὰς Ἀθήνας. See Grote iii. 110 sqq. τότε: for the changes in the position and power of the Archons consult Smith, *Dict. Ant.*

9. φλαύρως.] "In Thuc. always φαῦλος and φλαύρως, never φαύλως or φλαῦρος." Porro.

11. ἐπιτετραμμένοι.] See note on προβαλλομένοις, i. 73. 2. ἀποθνήσκοντας, dying, likely to die. ἐφ' ᾧ belongs to ἀναστήσαντες—"having persuaded them to leave sanctuary by a promise to do them no harm:" cp. i. 103. 1. They were anxious to get them out before they actually expired, because a temple was rendered unclean by the presence of a corpse: cp. i. 134. 5, also i. 8. 2; iii. 104. 3.

ἐπὶ.] "Before the Dread God-

ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ διεχρήσαντο. 12. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ἐναγεῖς καὶ ἀλιτήριοι τῆς θεοῦ ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐκαλοῦντο καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνων. 13. ἤλασαν μὲν οὖν καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἐναγεῖς τούτους, ἤλασε δὲ καὶ Κλεομένης ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ὕστερον μετὰ Ἀθηναίων στασιαζόντων, τοὺς τε ζῶντας ἐλαύνοντες καὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων τὰ ὀστᾶ ἀνελόντες ἐξέβαλον· κατήλθον μέντοι ὕστερον, καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ἔστιν ἔτι ἐν τῇ πόλει. 127. 1. τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἄγος οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐλαύνειν ἐκέλευον δῆθεν τοῖς θεοῖς πρῶτον τιμωροῦντες. εἰδότες δὲ Περικλέα τὸν Ξανθίππου προσεχόμενον αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν μητέρα καὶ νομίζοντες ἐκπεσόντος αὐτοῦ ῥᾶον σφίσι προχωρεῖν τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων. 2. οὐ μέντοι τοσοῦτον ἠλπιζον παθεῖν ἂν αὐτὸν τοῦτο, ὅσον διαβολὴν οἴσειν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ὥς καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου ξυμφορὰν τὸ μέρος ἔσται ὁ πόλεμος. 3. ὦν γὰρ δυνατώτατος τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἄγων τὴν πολιτείαν ἡναντιοῦτο πάντα

desses," the Erinnyes, whose temple stood between the city and the Areopagus. ἐν τοῖς βωμοῖς is best joined with διεχρήσαντο. ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ, "as they were passing" the temple on their way to the place of execution.

12. γένος] Especially the powerful family of the Alcmaeonids, to which Pericles belonged.

13. Κλεομένης] Cleomenes expelled them again "after" they had been recalled by Cleisthenes. He was supported by the faction of Isagoras, see Hdt. v. 70 sqq. ἐλαύνοντες embraces both οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι and Κλεομένης, and for the abrupt change to the finite verb ἐξέβαλον, see note on i. 57. 3.

CH. CXXVII. 1. δῆθεν] Cp. i. 92. 1. It here precedes the statement to which it belongs. πρῶτον, "before all things." ἐνεχόμενον αὐτῷ, sc. τῷ ἄγῳ, "that he was implicated in it by his descent on the mother's side;" for his mother Agariste was the granddaughter of Megacles, the son of Alcmaeon. τὰ

ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, "what they expected from the Athenians."

2. οἴσειν] The subject is the first clause of the chapter: "as that it," i. e. their having called upon the Athenians to expel the offence, "would give rise to a charge against him." ὥς καί, "that amongst other reasons:" see on i. 3. 2. τὸ μέρος, cp. i. 74. 4. The article is possessive; in the former passage it means *our* part, here *its* part: the Athenians would say that his disaster had its full share in bringing on the war. Arnold, however, thinks that the article is used with a tacit reference to the relative term τὸ ὅλον, *the* part as opposed to *the* whole: cp. τὰ μείζω, i. 6. 4. The enemies of Pericles had been very busy, just before this time, in their attempts to undermine his popularity, and the Lacedaemonians were trying to play into their hands. See Grote on the prosecutions of Aspasia, Anaxagoras, and Pheidias. Even Pericles himself is said to have been tried for peculation.

τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ οὐκ εἶα ὑπείκειν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ὥρμα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

128. 1. Ἀντεκέλευον δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τὸ ἀπὸ Ταινάρου ἄγος ἐλαύνειν. 2. οἱ γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀναστήσαντές ποτε ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἀπὸ Ταινάρου τῶν Εἰλώτων ἰκέτας ἀπαγαγόντες διέφθειραν, δι' ὃ δὴ καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς νομίζουσι τὸν μέγαν σεισμόν γενέσθαι ἐν Σπάρτῃ. 3. ἐκέλευον δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου ἄγος ἐλαύνειν αὐτούς· ἐγένετο δὲ τοιόνδε. 4. ἐπειδὴ Πανσανίας ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος τὸ πρῶτον μεταπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Σπαρτιατῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ καὶ κριθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπελύθη μὴ ἀδικεῖν, δημοσίᾳ μὲν οὐκέτι ἐξεπέμφθη, ἰδίᾳ δὲ αὐτὸς τριήρη λαβὼν Ἑρμιονίδα ἄνευ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Ἑλλάσποντον. 5. τῷ μὲν λόγῳ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν πόλεμον, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ τὰ πρὸς βασιλέα πράγματα πράσσειν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπεχείρησεν, ἐφιέμενος τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀρχῆς. 6. εὐεργεσίαν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε πρῶτον ἐς βασιλέα κατέθετο καὶ τοῦ παντὸς πράγματος ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο. Βυζάντιον γὰρ ἐλὼν τῇ προτέρᾳ παρουσίᾳ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Κύπρου ἀναχώρησιν· εἶχον δὲ Μῆδοι αὐτὸ καὶ βασιλέως προσήκοντές τινες καὶ ξυγγενεῖς, οἱ

CH. CXXVIII. 1. τὸ ἀπὸ Ταιν. ἄγος] “The offence of (literally, coming upon Sparta *from*) Taenarus.”

2. καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς] Cp. note on i. 19. 1. There is, however, a further difficulty here, for the emphasis expressed by καί and αὐτοῖς belongs to the subject. The sense is “they themselves acknowledge,” not, “they think that it happened to themselves (and not to others).” σεισμόν, cp. i. 101. 2.

3. Χαλκιοίκου] Athena was so called at Sparta, because her temple there was panelled with plates of bronze, like the walls of what is called the treasury of Atreus, at Mycenae. “In the latter building are still to be found bronze nails in the entrance and all over the walls

of the chamber, which must have served to fasten plates of the same metal to the wall.” Gell.

4. ἄνευ Λακ.] “Without any commission from the Lacedaemonian government.” We go back here to the events narrated in the 95th chapter.

5. πράσσειν] Infinitive of purpose to be connected with ἀφικνεῖται: cp. iv. 8. 3, ὑπεκπέμπει ἀγγεῖλαι, and note on i. 44. 1. Some MSS. insert βουλόμενος before πράσσειν, but the best omit it.

6. ἐς βασιλέα] The preposition ἐς is used as at iii. 72. 1, κατέθεντο ἐς Αἴγιναν, “he deposited a benefit with the king,” in the king’s bank, as it were, so that he might be able to draw on it whenever he chose. For κατέθετο, see on i. 33. 1.

εάλωσαν ἐν αὐτῷ, τότε τούτους οὓς ἔλαβεν ἀποπέμπει βασιλεῖ κρύφα τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ ἀπέδρασαν αὐτόν. 7. ἔπρασσε δὲ ταῦτα μετὰ Γογγύλου τοῦ Ἑρετριέως, ὃπερ ἐπέτρεψε τό τε Βυζάντιον καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους. 8. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὴν τὸν Γόγγυλον φέροντα αὐτῷ· ἐνεγέγραπτο δὲ τάδε ἐν αὐτῇ. ὥς ὕστερον ἀνευρέθη. “Παυσανίας ὁ ἡγεμὼν τῆς Σπάρτης τούσδε τέ σοι χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενος ἀποπέμπει δορὶ ἐλών, καὶ γνώμην ποιοῦμαι, εἰ καὶ σοὶ δοκεῖ, θυγατέρα τε τὴν σὴν γῆμαι καὶ σοὶ Σπάρτην τε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα ὑποχείριον ποιῆσαι. 9. δυνατὸς δὲ δοκῶ εἶναι ταῦτα πρᾶξαι μετὰ σοῦ βουλευόμενος. 10. εἰ οὖν τί σε τούτων ἀρέσκει, πέμπε ἄνδρα πιστὸν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν δι’ οὗ τὸ λοιπὸν τοὺς λόγους ποιησόμεθα.” 129. 1. τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ ἐδήλου, Ξέρξης δὲ ἤσθη τε τῇ ἐπιστολῇ καὶ ἀποστέλλει Ἀρτάβαζον τὸν Φαρνάκου ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καὶ κελεύει αὐτὸν τὴν τε Δασκυλίτιν σατραπείαν παραλαβεῖν Μεγαβάτην ἀπαλλάξαντα, ὃς πρότερον ἦρχε, καὶ παρὰ Παυσανίαν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐπιστολὴν ἀντεπετίθει αὐτῷ ὥς τάχιστα διαπέμψαι καὶ τὴν σφραγίδα ἀποδεῖξαι, καὶ ἣν τι αὐτῷ Παυσανίας παραγγέλλῃ περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πραγμάτων, πράσσειν ὥς ἄριστα καὶ πιστότατα. 2. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος τά τε ἄλλα ἐποίησεν ὥσπερ εἶρητο καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν διέπεμψεν· ἀντεγέγραπτο δὲ τάδε. “Ὡδε λέγει βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης Παυσανίᾳ. καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὓς μοι πέραν θαλάσσης ἐκ Βυζαντίου

10. ἀρέσκει] Elsewhere Thuc. always makes this verb govern the dative. τοὺς λόγους, οὐκ communications.

CH. CXXIX. 1. τὴν τε] Either τε or ἀντεπετίθει is superfluous: cp. notes on i. 57. 3; 126. 13. τὴν Δασκυλίτιν σατραπείαν: so called from the town of Dascylium, on the borders of Mysia and Bithynia, where the satrap's residence was fixed. It comprehended the cities of the Hellespont, Bithynia, and Paphlagonia, extending along the southern shore of the Hellespont, the Propontis, and the Euxine (Arn.).

After ἀντεπετίθει, κελεύει appears to start into life again and govern the infinitives ἀποδεῖξαι and πράσσειν.

2. τῶν ἀνδρῶν] “The benefit of the men,” “the benefit which you have done me in the matter of the men.” For a similar genitive, used where a genitive and preposition would have seemed more natural, cp. i. 140. 6, τὸ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα. ἀνάγραφτος, cp. Hdt. viii. 85, Φύλακος εὐεργέτης βασιλέος ἀνεγράφη οἱ δ’ εὐεργέται βασιλέος ἠροσάγγαι καλέονται Περσιστί: and Esther vi. 1, 2.

ἔσωσας κείται σοι εὐεργεσία ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ οἴκῳ ἔσαι ἀνάγραφτος, καὶ τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς ἀπὸ σοῦ ἀρέσκομαι. 3. καὶ σε μήτε νύξ μήτε ἡμέρα ἐπισχέτω ὥστε ἀνεῖναι πράσσειν τι ὧν ἐμοὶ ὑπισχνῇ, μηδὲ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου δαπάνη κεκωλύσθω, μηδὲ στρατιᾶς πλήθει, εἴ ποι δεῖ παραγίγνεσθαι· ἀλλὰ μετ' Ἀρταβάζου ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ, ὃν σοι ἔπεμψα, πρᾶσσε θαρσύν καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ καὶ τὰ σὰ ὅπη κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα ἔξει ἀμφοτέροις." 130. 1. ταῦτα λαβὼν ὁ Πανσανίας τὰ γράμματα, ὧν καὶ πρότερον ἐν μεγάλῳ ἀξιώματι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διὰ τὴν Πλαταιᾶσιν ἡγεμονίαν, πολλῶ τότε μᾶλλον ἦρτο καὶ οὐκέτι ἡδύνατο ἐν τῷ καθεστηκότι τρόπῳ βιοτεῦν, ἀλλὰ σκευὰς τε Μηδικὰς ἐνδύμενος ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἐξήει, καὶ διὰ τῆς Θράκης πορευόμενον αὐτὸν Μῆδοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐδορυφόρουν, τράπεζάν τε Περσικὴν παρετίθετο, καὶ κατέχειν τὴν διάνοιαν οὐκ ἡδύνατο, ἀλλ' ἔργοις βραχέσι προὔδηλον ἃ τῇ γνώμῃ μειζύνως ἐς ἔπειτα ἔμελλε πράξειν. 2. δυσπρόσοδόν τε αὐτὸν παρείχε καὶ τῇ ὀργῇ οὕτω χαλεπῇ ἐχρήτο ἐς πάντα ὁμοίως ὥστε μηδένα δύνασθαι προσιέναι· διόπερ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οὐχ ἥκιστα ἢ ξυμμαχία μετέστη. 131. 1. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αἰσθόμενοι τό τε πρῶτον δι' αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἀνεκάλεσαν αὐτόν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τῇ Ἑρμιονίδι νηϊ τὸ δεύτερον ἐκπλεύσας οὐ κελευσάντων αὐτῶν τοιαῦτα ἐφαίνετο ποιῶν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου βία ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἐκπολιορκηθεὶς ἐς μὲν τὴν Σπάρτην οὐκ ἐπανεχώρει, ἐς δὲ Κολωνὰς τὰς Τρωάδας

3. **κεκωλύσθω**] Sc. τι ὧν ἐμοὶ ὑπισχνῇ.

CH. CXXX. 1.] **ὑπό** because ὧν ἐν ἀξιώματι = ἀξιωθείς: cp. ii. 65. 10, ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρὸς ἀρχῇ. σκευὰς Μηδικὰς, such as the *κάνδυς* or caftan, and the *ἀναξυρίδες*. τῇ γνώμῃ belongs to ἔμελλε, = he intended. We have here again the eternal antithesis between γνώμη and ἔργον, but for which ἔμελλε might have stood by itself.

2.] **χαλεπῇ** is predicate—"the temper which he displayed was so fierce." μετέστη, i. 95. 4.

CH. CXXXI. 1. **τό τε πρῶτον**] i. 95. 3. ἐκπολιορκηθεὶς, τῇ πολιορκίᾳ ἐκβληθεὶς (Sch.). "His great station and celebrity still gave him so strong a hold on men's opinions, that he appears to have established a sort of mastery in Byzantium, from whence the Athenians, already recognized heads of the confederacy, were constrained to expel him by force" (Grote v. 364). οὕτω δὴ, "upon this, I say," introduces the apodosis to ἐπειδὴ: cp. ii. 19. 1; 70. 1; 83. 3.

ἰδρυθεὶς πράσων τε ἐσηγέλλετο αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τὴν μονὴν ποιούμενος, οὕτω δὲ οὐκέτι ἐπέσχον, ἀλλὰ πέμψαντες κήρυκα οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ σκυτάλην εἶπον τοῦ κήρυκος μὴ λείπεσθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, πόλεμον αὐτῷ Σπαρτιάτας προαγορεύειν. 2. ὁ δὲ βουλόμενος ὥς ἥκιστα ὑποπτος εἶναι καὶ πιστεύων χρήμασι διαλύσειν τὴν διαβολὴν ἀνεχώρει τὸ δεύτερον ἐς Σπάρτην. 3. καὶ ἐς μὲν τὴν εἰρκτὴν ἐσπίπτει τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφόρων· ἔξεστι δὲ τοῖς ἐφόροις τὸν βασιλέα δρᾶσαι τοῦτο· ἔπειτα διαπραξάμενος ὕστερον ἐξῆλθε, καὶ καθίστησιν ἑαυτὸν ἐς κρίσιν τοῖς βουλομένοις περὶ αὐτὸν ἐλέγχειν. 132. 1. καὶ φανερόν μὲν εἶχον οὐδὲν οἱ Σπαρτιάται σημεῖον, οὔτε οἱ ἐχθροὶ οὔτε ἡ πᾶσα πόλις, ὅτῳ ἂν πιστεύσαντες βεβαίως ἐτιμωροῦντο ἄνδρα γένους τε τοῦ βασιλείου ὄντα καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι τιμὴν ἔχοντα· Πλείσταρχον γὰρ τὸν Λεωνίδου ὄντα βασιλέα καὶ νέον ἔτι ἀνεψιὸς ὢν ἐπετρόπευεν· ὑποψίας δὲ πολλὰς παρεῖχε τῇ τε παρανομίᾳ καὶ ζηλώσει τῶν βαρβάρων μὴ ἴσος βούλεσθαι εἶναι τοῖς παροῦσι, τὰ τε ἄλλα αὐτοῦ ἀνεσκόπουν εἴτι που ἐξεδεδιήθητο τῶν καθεστῶτων νομίμων καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸν τρίποδά ποτε τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς, ὃν ἀνέθεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀπὸ

σκυτάλην] See Smith, *Dict. Ant.* μὴ λείπεσθαι, "not to stay behind the herald," to come back with him. εἰ δὲ μή, i. 28. 4.

3. ἐσπίπτει] "Was thrown into," cp. note on ἀνέστησαν ὑπό, i. 8. 3. τὸν βασιλέα: the ephors might throw the king into prison, but this does not mean that Pausanias was king, though Aristotle calls him so (*Pol.* iv. (vii.) 14. 20). διαπραξάμενος ἐξῆλθε, "obtained his release by intrigue;" χρήμασι δηλονότι καὶ λόγοις διαπραξάμενος. Sch.

CH. CXXXII. 1. ἐτιμωροῦντο] See note on i. 9. 5. ἀνεψιός: Cleombrotus, the father of Pausanias, was brother to Leonidas. Hdt. v. 41; viii. 71. παρανομία, "extravagance:" cp. vi. 15. 4; 28. 2, where Thuc. says that Alcibiades was feared and suspected by his countrymen on the same ground.

But what in free Athens was merely a tasteless eccentricity would be actually illegal in Sparta. ἴσος εἶναι τοῖς παροῦσι, "to adapt himself to things as they were."

ἐξεδεδιήθητο] In the perfect and pluperfect *δαιτάομαι* always takes the syllabic augment; in the aorist we read both *διήτησα* and *ἐδιήτησα*, *διητήθην* and *ἐδιητήθην*. τὸν τρίποδα: ὁ τρίπους ὁ χρύσειος ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ τρικαρήνου ὕφιος τοῦ χαλκέου ἐπεστεῶς (Hdt. ix. 81). The golden tripod was stolen by the Phocians in the Sacred War; for the fate of the base, see Gibbon, ii. 297 (Smith's ed.). ἐπιγράψασθαι, "to have it engraved," a common sense of the middle voice, which is discerned also in *παρετίθετο*, i. 130. 1. The elegiac distich which follows is said by Pausanias (iii. 8. 1) to be the work of Simonides.

τῶν Μήδων ἀκροθίνιον, ἡξίωσεν ἐπιγράψασθαι αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ τὸ ἐλεγείον τόδε,

Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσε Μήδων,
 Πausanías Φοίβῳ μνήμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε.

τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐλεγείον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐξεκόλαψαν εὐθύς τότε ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίποδος τοῦτο, καὶ ἐπέγραψαν ὀνομαστὶ τὰς πόλεις ὅσαι ξυγκαθελοῦσαι τὸν βάρβαρον ἔστησαν τὸ ἀνάθημα τοῦ μέντοι Πausanίου ἀδίκημα καὶ τοῦτο ἐδόκει εἶναι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τούτῳ καθειστήκει, πολλῶ μᾶλλον παρόμοιον πραχθῆναι ἐφαίνετο τῇ παρούσῃ διανοίᾳ. 2. ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς Εἰλώτας πράσσειν τι αὐτόν, καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως· ἐλευθέρωσιν τε γὰρ ὑπισχνεῖτο αὐτοῖς καὶ πολιτείαν, ἣν ξυνεπαναστῶσι καὶ τὸ πᾶν ξυγκατεργάσωνται. 3. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς οὐδὲ τῶν Εἰλώτων μηνυταῖς τισι πιστεύσαντες ἡξίωσαν νεώτερόν τι ποιεῖν εἰς αὐτόν, χρώμενοι τῷ τρόπῳ ὥπερ εἰώθασιν ἐς σφᾶς αὐτούς, μὴ ταχεῖς εἶναι περὶ ἀνδρὸς Σπαρτιάτου ἄνευ ἀναμφισβητήτων τεκμηρίων βουλευσαί τι ἀνήκεστον, πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτοῖς, ὡς λέγεται, ὁ μέλλων τὰς τελευταίας βασιλεῖ ἐπιστολὰς πρὸς Ἀρτάβαζον κομιεῖν ἀνὴρ Ἀργίλιος, παιδικά ποτε ὢν αὐτοῦ καὶ πιστότατος ἐκείνῳ, μηνυτὴς γίγνεται, δείσας κατὰ ἐνθύμησιν τινα ὅτι

ἐπέγραψαν] According to Diodorus (xi. 33) they engraved the following lines on the tripod itself—*Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόρου σωτῆρες τόνδ' ἀνέθηκαν Δουλοσύνης στυγερᾶς ῥυσάμενοι πόλιας*. The names of the cities were engraved not on the tripod but on the base, where they are still to be seen: see Smith, *Dict. Ant.* s. v. Tripod.

ἐν τούτῳ] ἐν τῇ κατηγορίᾳ τοῦ Μηδισμοῦ. Sch.

2. καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως] “And it was so too.” Cp. ii. 36. 1; iv. 24. 2; vi. 71. 2; vii. 56. 3. The first of these passages is enough to show that Classen is wrong in supposing that in this connexion of the particles δέ is the copula and καί = actually (see on i. 3. 2). See Madv.

G. S. 185, r. 2.

3. οὐδ' ὥς] “But even now, even though some of the Helots turned informers, they did not think it right, on faith of their evidence, to proceed to extremities against him.” For ταχεῖς with infinitive, cp. i. 118. 2. ἀνήκεστόν τι = death.

αὐτοῦ . . ἐκείνῳ] “Noli mirari haec pronomina de eodem dicta esse: vid. iv. 29. 4; vi. 61. 4” (Poppo). So τάδε and ταῦτα are used of the same thing in the same breath, i. 143. 7. πιστότατος is passive according to Krüger, = trusted, but Classen will have it active, in which case we must regard it as qualified by πότε. See note on ἀπόστασις, i. 122. 1.

κατὰ ἐνθύμησιν τινα] “Because he fancied he had perceived.” ἐγγε-

οὐδεὶς πω τῶν πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἀγγέλων πάλιν ἀφίκετο, καὶ παραποιησάμενος σφραγίδα, ἴνα, ἣν ψευσθῇ τῆς δόξης ἢ καὶ ἐκεῖνός τι μεταγράψαι αἰτήσῃ, μὴ ἐπιγνῶ, λύει τὰς ἐπιστολάς, ἐν αἷς ὑπονοήσας τι τοιοῦτο προσεπεστάλθαι καὶ αὐτὸν εὗρεν ἐγγεγραμμένον κτείνειν. 133. τότε δὲ οἱ ἔφοροι δείξαντος αὐτοῦ τὰ γράμματα μᾶλλον μὲν ἐπίστευσαν, αὐτήκοοι δὲ βουλευθέντες ἔτι γενέσθαι αὐτοῦ Πausανίου τι λέγοντος, ἀπὸ παρασκευῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ Ταίναρον ἰκέτου οἰχομένου καὶ σκηνησαμένου διπλὴν διαφράγματι καλύβην, ἐς ἣν τῶν τε ἐφόρων ἐντὸς τινὰς ἔκρυψε, καὶ Πausανίου ὡς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντος καὶ ἐρωτῶντος τὴν πρόφασιν τῆς ἰκετείας ἦσθοντο πάντα σαφῶς, αἰτιωμένου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὰ τε περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφέντα καὶ τᾶλλα ἀποφαίνοντος καθ' ἕκαστον ὡς οὐδὲν πώποτε αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς βασιλέα διακονίαις παραβάλοιτο, προτιμηθεῖν δ' ἐν ἴσῳ τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν διακόνων ἀποθανεῖν, κἀκείνου αὐτὰ ταῦτα ξυνομολογούντος καὶ περὶ τοῦ παρόντος οὐκ ἐώντος ὀργίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πίστιν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ διδόντος τῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἀξιούντος

γραμμένον is masculine—"he found his own name written therein for assassination." When a verb (esp. a verb of saying or ordering) should properly have a subject compounded of a substantive and an infinitive, the Greeks often preferred to make it agree with the substantive alone, and the infinitive then either becomes epexegetic, or passes into the participle. Thus ἐγγέγραπται κτείνειν αὐτόν becomes αὐτὸς ἐγγέγραπται κτείνειν, and ἀρκέσει θνήσκειν ἐμέ becomes ἀρκέσω θνήσκουσ' ἐγώ, Soph. *Ant.* 547. Krüger compares a passage of Xenophon—ἐξῆκεν ὁ χρόνος ὃς ἦν εἰρημένος παραμένειν.

CH. CXXXIII. ἀπὸ παρασκευῆς] "In pursuance of a preconcerted plan." σκηνησαμένου: "Only one bad MS. has σκηνωσαμένου, which nevertheless the sense appears to require" (Kr.). σκηνεῖσθαι (or σκηναῖσθαι) is elsewhere intransitive, cp. ii. 52. 3. "He built himself a hut divided by a par-

tition into two chambers," which being within the τέμενος of Poseidon would have the privileges of the asylum.

τῶν τε] The construction is confused, and after τῶν τε ἐφόρων τινὰς ἔκρυψε Thuc. should have added καὶ Πausανίας ὡς αὐτὸν ἦλθε τὴν πρόφασιν τῆς ἰκετείας ἐρωτήσων" (Arn.). See note on i. 53. 3, and 126. 13; 129. 1; iv. 85. 3, 7; vi. 17. 6; vii. 20. 1; also note on i. 9. 3.

παραβάλοιτο] παραβάλλομαι and παρατίθεμαι are both used in the sense of "casting down one's own stake by the side of one's adversary's" and so "exposing to risk:" cp. iii. 65. 3. προτιμηθεῖν ἀποθανεῖν some translate as ironical—"that he should be preferred to the gallows;" but the words ἐν ἴσῳ τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν διακόνων, "as if he were no better than his common tools," seem to show that the sense is merely "that he was selected to die."

πίστιν] "A promise that if he

ὥς τάχιστα πορεύεσθαι καὶ μὴ τὰ πρασσόμενα διακωλύειν.
 134. 1. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ἀκριβῶς τότε μὲν ἀπῆλθον οἱ ἔφοροι,
 βεβαίως δὲ ἤδη εἰδότες ἐν τῇ πόλει τὴν ξύλληψιν ἐποιοῦντο.
 2. λέγεται δ' αὐτὸν μέλλοντα ξυλληφθήσεσθαι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ
 ἐνὸς μὲν τῶν ἐφόρων τὸ πρόσωπον προσιόντος ὥς εἶδε,
 γινῶναι ἐφ' ᾧ ἐχώρει, ἄλλου δὲ νεύματι ἀφανεῖ χρησαμένου
 καὶ δηλώσαντος εὐνοίᾳ, πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Χαλκιοῖκου
 χωρῆσαι δρόμῳ καὶ προκαταφυγεῖν· ἦν δὲ ἐγγὺς τὸ τέμενος.
 3. καὶ ἐς οἶκημα οὐ μέγα, ὃ ἦν τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ἐσελθών· ἵνα μὴ
 ὑπαίθριος ταλαιπωροίῃ, ἡσύχαζεν. 4. οἱ δὲ τὸ παραντίκα
 μὲν ὑστέρησαν τῇ διώξει, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ τε οἰκήματος
 τὸν ὄροφον ἀφεῖλον καὶ τὰς θύρας, ἐνδον ὄντα τηρήσαντες
 αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπολαβόντες εἴσω, ἀπωκοδόμησαν, προσκαθε-
 ζόμενοί τε ἐξεπολιόρκησαν λιμῶ. 5. καὶ μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ
 ἀποψύχειν ὥσπερ εἶχεν ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι, αἰσθόμενοί τε
 ἐξάγουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἔτι ἔμπνουν ὄντα, καὶ ἐξαχθεῖς
 ἀπέθανε παραχρῆμα. 6. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐμέλλησαν μὲν ἐς τὸν
 Καιάδαν, οὐπὲρ τοὺς κακούργους ἐμβάλλειν εἰώθεσαν. ἔπειτα

would quit the asylum he should suffer no harm." For the genitive τῆς ἀναστάσεως, cp. i. 129. 2.

CH. CXXXIV. 1. ἐποιοῦντο] "Were for making," "determined to make:" cp. ἐσπένδοντο, iii. 24. 3.

2. ἐφ' ᾧ] "On what errand he was bent." νεύματι ἀφανεῖ, "a sign unobserved by the others."

3. οἶκημα] "Either 'a room,' as at iii. 68. 4, or 'a house,' as at ii. 4, 5. The latter sense is here the more probable, as the οἶκημα is said to have belonged not to the ναός, or actual temple, but to the ἱερόν, or whole mass of buildings scattered up and down the τέμενος or sacred demesne" (Poppo). But the οἶκημα seems to have been a single chamber, as otherwise it might have been difficult to unroof it. ἐνδον, εἴσω, because he could go any where within the τέμενος without fear of capture, and was not obliged to confine himself to the οἶκημα.

5. ὥσπερ εἶχεν] Properly =

"just as he was:" cp. Hdt. i. 24, ῥίψαι μιν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐωντὸν ὥσπερ εἶχε σὺν τῇ ὀκευῇ πάσῃ. Hence = "immediately," "without more delay." Cp. ii. 4. 6; iii. 30. 1; vi. 57. 3; viii. 41. 3 (in this last passage it is coupled with εὐθύς). ἐξάγουσιν, in order that the temple might not be polluted by his corpse. The death of Pausanias falls in B. C. 473 according to Krüger; Poppo places it in B. C. 468.

6. Καιάδαν] This was a cave or deep fissure in the earth, such as abounded in Lacedaemonia, and to which the country is said to owe its Homeric epithet κητώεσσα, II. ii. 581. See Buttmann, *Lexil.* εἰώθεσαν is absent from two MSS., and in two others is inserted, as a correction, between the lines: in some MSS. it stands before, in others after, ἐμβάλλειν, and lastly some MSS. of inferior value have not εἰώθεσαν but εἰώθασι. Bekker, Poppo, Göller, Arnold, and Classen omit

ἔδοξε πλησίον που κατορύξαι. 7. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς
τον τε τάφον ὕστερον ἔχρησε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις μετενεγκεῖν
οὐπὲρ ἀπέθανε, καὶ νῦν κείται ἐν τῷ προτεμενίσματι, ὃ
γραφῇ στηλῆαι δηλοῦσι. καὶ ὡς ἄγος αὐτοῖς ὄν τὸ πεπραγ-
μένον δύο σώματα ἀνθ' ἑνὸς τῇ Χαλκιοίκῳ ἀποδοῦναι. 8. οἱ
δὲ ποιησάμενοι χαλκοὺς ἀνδριάντας δύο ὡς ἀντὶ Πausανίου
ἀνέθεσαν. 135. 1. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄγος
κρίναντος, ἀντεπέταξαν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐλαύνειν αὐτό.

2. Τοῦ δὲ Μηδισμοῦ τοῦ Πausανίου Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρέσ-
βεις πέμψαντες παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ξυνεπητιῶντο καὶ τὸν
Θεμιστοκλέα, ὡς εὗρισκον ἐκ τῶν περὶ Πausανίαν ἐλέγχων,
ἠξίου τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς κολάζεσθαι αὐτόν. 3. οἱ δὲ πεισθέντες,
ἔτυχε γὰρ ὥστρακισμένος καὶ ἔχων δίαιταν μὲν ἐν Ἀργεῖ,
ἐπιφοιτῶν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄλλην Πελοπόννησον, πέμπουσι
μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐτοίμων ὄντων ξυνδιώκειν ἄνδρας
οἷς εἴρητο ἄγειν ὅπου ἂν περιτύχωσιν. 136. 1. ὁ δὲ Θεμι-
στοκλῆς προαισθόμενος φεύγει ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ἐς Κέρ-
κυραν, ὣν αὐτῶν εὐεργέτης. 2. δεδιέναι δὲ φασκόντων Κερ-
κυραίων ἔχειν αὐτὸν ὥστε Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις
ἀπέχθεσθαι, διακομίζεται ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον τὴν
καταντικρύν. 3. καὶ διωκόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν προστεταγμένων
κατὰ πύστιν ἢ χωροίῃ, ἀναγκάζεται κατὰ τι ἄπορον παρὰ

the word. Is it not possible that
εἰώθεσαν stood originally after ἐμβάλλ-
λιν, and that the copyists, to avoid
the difficulty of the construction, put
it after κακούργους, so as to make
ἐμβάλλειν depend upon ἐμέλλησαν?
Certainly ἐμέλλησαν ἐς τὸν Καῖάδαν,
sc. ἐμβάλλειν, is not so easy a con-
struction as that we can suppose
εἰώθεσαν to have been inserted to pro-
duce it. πλησίον που, "somewhere
near the Caeadas."

7. οὐπὲρ ἀπέθανε] Sc. ἐκεῖσε
οὐπὲρ. ἐν τῷ προτεμενίσματι, ἐν τῷ
προφυλαίῳ, ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ προα-
στείῳ (Sch.). It was "a sort of
lodge or entrance to the sacred
ground" (Arn.). ὡς ὕν, see note on
i. 2. 6:

8. ποιησάμενοι] ποιεῖσθαι = fa-

ciendum curare.

CH. CXXXV. 1. ἄγος κρίναν-
τος] Sc. αὐτό. "Considering that
not men only but the God himself
had pronounced the death of Pau-
sanias to be an offence."

3. ὥστρακισμένος] According to
Krüger in B.C. 476, according to
Clinton and Grote in B.C. 471.
Other authorities select interme-
diate dates. On the uncertainty of
the chronology see note on i. 98. 1.

CH. CXXXVI. 1. αὐτῶν] See
note on ἑκάστοι, i. 7.

2. ὥστε] "So as to incur their
enmity," "to incur their enmity by
retaining him."

3. κατὰ πύστιν] "And as he
was being tracked and driven from
shelter to shelter by those appointed

Ἀδμητον τὸν Μολοσσῶν βασιλέα ὄντα αὐτῷ οὐ φίλον καταλύσαι. 4. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐκ ἔτυχεν ἐπιδημῶν, ὁ δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς ἰκέτης γενόμενος διδάσκεται ὑπ' αὐτῆς τὸν παῖδα σφῶν λαβὼν καθίζεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν. 5. καὶ ἐλθόντος οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον τοῦ Ἀδμήτου δηλοῖ τε ὅς ἐστι, καὶ οὐκ ἀξιοῖ, εἴ τι ἄρα αὐτὸς ἀντεῖπεν αὐτῷ Ἀθηναίων δεομένῳ, φεύγοντα τιμωρεῖσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἂν ὑπ' ἐκείνου πολλῷ ἀσθενεστέρου ἐν τῷ παρόντι κακῶς πάσχειν, γενναῖον δὲ εἶναι τοὺς ὁμοίους ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου τιμωρεῖσθαι. 6. καὶ ἅμα αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκείνῳ χρείας τινὸς καὶ οὐκ ἐς τὸ σῶμα σώζεσθαι ἐναντιωθῆναι. ἐκείνον δ' ἂν εἰ ἐκδοίῃ αὐτόν, εἰπὼν ὑφ' ὧν καὶ ἐφ' ᾧ διώκεται, σωτηρίας ἂν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποστερήσαι. 7. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἀνίστησί τε αὐτὸν μετὰ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ υἱέος, (ὥσπερ καὶ ἔχων αὐτὸν ἐκαθέζετο, καὶ μέγιστον ἦν ἰκέτευμα τοῦτο,) 137. 1. καὶ ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἐλθοῦσι καὶ πολλὰ εἰποῦσιν οὐκ ἐκδίδωσιν, ἀλλ' ἀποστέλλει βουλόμενον ὡς βασιλέα πορευθῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτέραν θάλασσαν περὶ εἰς Πύδναν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου. 2. ἐν

to pursue him." Literally, "by way of inquiring where he had gone:" cp. κατ' ἐπήρειαν, i. 26. 3. χωρή is the (so-called) optative of repetition: see note on i. 49. 3. κατὰ τι ἄπορον, "by reason of some difficulty or other:" cp. κατὰ πολλά, i. 121. 1.

5. δηλοῖ . . . ὅς ἐστι] As a rule the relative is only used for the indirect interrogative in affirmative clauses; thus οἶδά σε ὅς ἐστι, but οὐκ οἶδά σε ὅστις ἐστὶ or τίς ἐστι: but there are instances in which ὅς is thus used even after a negative. ἀσθενεστέρου is the reading of the MSS., only one showing ἀσθενέστερον and one *ex emend.* ἀσθενέστερος. ἐκείνου is governed by ἀσθενεστέρου—"for in his present plight he might be crushed by a much weaker man than Admetus." That is to say, Admetus was so much the stronger of the two, that it would be ungenerous of him to seize that opportunity of striking down his foe. ἀσθενέστερος gives the same sense—

"for," said he, "in doing me an ill turn now you would be oppressing a man who is far weaker than yourself,"—and this being so it is scarcely worth while to reject the authority of the MSS.

6. χρείας τινός] "In some trifling petition, and not in a matter of life and death." χρείας is a genitive of reference, which Xenophon also uses after ἐναντιοῦσθαι: cp. *Anab.* vii. 6. 5, ἐναντιώσεται τῆς ἀπαγωγῆς, and see i. 36. 2; 52. 3. τό belongs not to σῶμα but to σώζεσθαι.

7.] ὥσπερ καὶ ἔχων αὐτόν explain μετὰ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ υἱέος, and ὥσπερ is used like the Latin *ut*: cp. Virg. *Aen.* v. 388, Proximus ut viridante toro consederat herbae. "As indeed (almost = for) he had also sat down with the child in his arms."

CH. CXXXVII. 1. τὴν ἑτέραν θάλασσαν] The Aegean. Alexander, the son of Amyntas and father of Perdikkas, was at this time king of

ἡ ὀλκάδος τυχὼν ἀναγομένης ἐπ' Ἰωνίας καὶ ἐπιβάς καταφέρεται χειμῶνι ἐς τὸ Ἀθηναίων στρατόπεδον ὃ ἐπολιόρκει Νάξον. 3. καί, ἦν γὰρ ἀγνῶς τοῖς ἐν τῇ νηϊ, δείσας φράζει τῷ ναυκλήρῳ ὅστις ἐστὶ καὶ δι' αὐτὸν φεύγει, καὶ εἰ μὴ σώσει αὐτόν, ἔφη ἐρεῖν ὅτι χρήμασι πεισθεὶς αὐτὸν ἄγει τὴν δὲ ἀσφάλειαν εἶναι μηδένα ἐκβῆναι ἐκ τῆς νεὸς μέχρι πλοῦς γένηται· πειθομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ χάριν ἀπομνήσεσθαι ἀξίαν. 4. ὁ δὲ ναύκληρος ποιεῖ τε ταῦτα καὶ ἀποσαλεύσας ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα ὑπὲρ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὕστερον ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Ἑφεσον. 5. καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκεῖνόν τε ἐθεράπευσε χρημάτων δόσει, ἦλθε γὰρ αὐτῷ ὕστερον ἐκ τε Ἀθηνῶν παρὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ ἐξ Ἀργούς αὐτὸν ὑπεξέκειτο, καὶ μετὰ τῶν κάτω Περσῶν τινος πορευθεὶς ἄνω ἐσπέμπει γράμματα ἐς βασιλέα Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Ξέρξου νεωστὶ βασιλεύοντα. 6. ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ ὅτι “Θεμιστοκλῆς ἤκω παρὰ σέ, ὅς κακὰ μὲν πλείστα Ἑλλήνων εἴργασμαι τὸν ὑμέτερον οἶκον, ὅσον χρόνον τὸν σὸν πατέρα ἐπιόντα ἐμοὶ

Macedonia. He is several times mentioned by Herodotus, who esteemed him for his hatred of the Persians and his friendly offices towards the Greeks: see v. 19; vii. 173; viii. 136; ix. 44. For his Philhellenism probably he was allowed to have a golden statue at Delphi: Hdt. viii. 121.

2. Νάξον] See i. 98.

3. καὶ . . γάρ] See note on i. 31. 2. σώσει, see note on i. 28. 2. τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, the one possible way to escape. μέχρι γένηται, cp. iii. 28. 2; iv. 16. 2; 41. 1; 46. 3; where the subjunctive is similarly used, without ἄν, after μέχρι οὐ. But according to Madvig (*G. S.* 127, r. 2) this licence is restricted in the case of prose writers to πρίν, μέχρι, μέχρι οὐ, and, in Hdt. alone, ἐπεὶ τε, only poets applying it to ἔως, ἔσ τε, ὅ τε, and ἐπεὶ.

5. ἐθεράπευσε] “Gratified him.” The Latin version *liberaliter prosequi* expresses θεραπεύω more closely than perhaps any English rendering can.

For a similar meaning of the verb cp. i. 9. 2. ὑπεξέκειτο is the correlative to ὑπεξέθεντο, i. 89. 4. νεωστὶ, 473 B.C. according to Krüger, but Clinton gives B.C. 465.

6. ἐμοί] “Themistocles se ducem pro patria sua universa nominat, id quod alibi faciunt legati, ut iv. 64. 1” (Poppo). But it would be nearer the truth to say that the Athenian exile assumes the air of a king in order to magnify his importance in the eyes of Artaxerxes. The same insolent egotism is visible in the letter of Pausanias, i. 128. 8; but Themistocles does not mix up his persons like the rude Spartan, nor does he reach the sublime audacity of those words γνώμην ποιοῦμαι θυγατέρα τὴν σὴν γῆμαι. ἀνάγκη: it was painful to resist a friend. ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ μὲν ἐμοί, τὰ πράγματα ἦσαν δηλονότι (Sch.), but ἡ ἀποκομιδὴ ἐγίγνετο surely applies to both clauses. “When he began to retreat in a state of things that was safe for me but perilous for him,”

ἀνάγκη ἡμυνόμην, πολὺ δ' ἔτι πλείω ἀγαθὰ, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ μὲν ἐμοί, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἐν ἐπικινδύνῳ πάλιν ἢ ἀποκομιδὴ ἐγίγνετο. 7. καὶ μοι εὐεργεσία ὀφείλεται," (γράφας τὴν [τε] ἐκ Σαλαμίως προάγγελσιν τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ τὴν τῶν γεφυρῶν, ἣν ψευδῶς προσεποιήσατο, τότε δι' αὐτὸν οὐ διάλυσιν,) "καὶ νῦν ἔχων σε μεγάλα ἀγαθὰ δρᾶσαι πάρεμι διωκόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διὰ τὴν σὴν φιλίαν. 8. βούλομαι δ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπισχῶν αὐτός σοι περὶ ὧν ἤκω δηλῶσαι." 138. 1. βασιλεὺς δέ, ὡς λέγεται, ἐθαύμασέ τε αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ ἐκέλευε ποιεῖν οὕτως. 2. ὁ δ' ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ὃν ἐπέσχε τῆς Περσίδος γλώσσης ὅσα ἠδύνατο κατενόησε καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τῆς χώρας ἀφικόμενος δὲ μετὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν γίγνεται παρ' αὐτῷ μέγας καὶ ὅσος οὐδεὶς πω Ἑλλη-

that is, "leaving me in safety while he was in extreme danger." In spite of the repetition of ἐν, which strengthens the antithesis and prevents the two adjectives from being regarded as parts of the same idea, the article is not repeated: cp. note on i. 7. According to Krüger and Poppo πάλιν ἢ ἀποκομιδὴ = ἢ πάλιν ἀποκομιδὴ, but it is better to join the adverb with ἐγίγνετο: it is inserted to express that Xerxes now set out upon a *second* great march, though the addition of ἀποκομιδὴ immediately afterwards renders it superfluous.

7. προάγγελσιν]. Themistocles sent two messages to Xerxes at Salamis; one before the battle, informing him of the projected flight of the Greeks; one after the battle, advising him to retreat with all speed (Hdt. viii. 74, 110). The word προάγγελσιν is only applicable to the first of these, to which accordingly Grote refers: it (vol. v., p. 173), though as this first message was the indirect cause of the Persian defeat it seems almost incredible that Themistocles should venture to reckon it among his services to Xerxes. But he may have meant that his intention was good,

though circumstances were against him; and indeed both he and Pausanias seem to have considered it "facile barbato imponere regi." ψευδῶς: the merit, if any, belonged to Eurybiades—see Hdt. viii. 108. τότε, cp. i. 76. 1; 101. 3.

τὴν . . οὐ διάλυσιν] Cp. iii. 95. 2, τὴν οὐ περιτείχισιν: v. 35. 2, τὴν οὐκ ἀπόδυσιν: v. 50. 4, τὴν οὐκ ἐξουσίαν. Thuc. is so fond of substituting the abstract noun for the verb that these harsh negative phrases become quite easy to him. For the string of definitive words inserted between the article and its substantive cp. i. 3. 5. σὴν φιλίαν, "friendship for you:" cp. i. 33. 3. "This letter," says Grote, "is couched in terms such as probably no European king would tolerate except from a Quaker."

CH. CXXXVIII. 1. διάνοιαν] His plan or intention.

2. τὸν ἐνιαυτόν] The year which he had asked for, 137. 8. ὅσος οὐδεὶς πω (sc. ἐγένετο). "more influential than any one had yet become." For the non-repetition of the article with ἐλπίδα see note on i. 7. δουλῶσιν is either an epexegetic infinitive (see note on i. 44. 1), in which case supply αὐτό and trans-

νων διά τε τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν ἀξίωσιν καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐλπίδα, ἣν ὑπετίθει αὐτῷ δουλώσειν, μάλιστα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πεῖραν διδούς ξυνετὸς φαίνεσθαι. 3. ἦν γὰρ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς βεβαιότατα δὴ φύσεως ἰσχὺν δηλώσας καὶ διαφερόντως τι ἐς αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἐτέρου ἄξιος θαυμάσαι. οἰκεία γὰρ ξυνέσει καὶ οὔτε προμαθὼν ἐς αὐτὴν οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἐπιμαθὼν τῶν τε παραχρῆμα δι' ἐλαχίστης βουλῆς κράτιστος γνώμων καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐπὶ πλείστον τοῦ γενησομένου ἄριστος εἰκαστής. 4. καὶ ἃ μὲν μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχοι καὶ ἐξηγήσασθαι οἷός τε· ὦν δὲ ἄπειρος εἶη κρῖναι ἱκανῶς οὐκ ἀπήλλακτο. 5. τό τε ἄμεινον ἢ χεῖρον ἐν τῷ ἀφανεί ἔτι προεώρα μάλιστα. 6. καὶ

late with Arnold, "the hope with respect to Greece which he held out to him, namely that he would enable him to conquer it," or else it is an instance of the construction noticed on i. 43. 1, and the force of ὑπετίθει passes on unbroken to δουλώσειν in spite of the intervening relative.

πεῖραν διδούς] "Because his ability was known from actual trial:" πεῖραν διδόναι is to give a sample of oneself.

3. ἦν . . . δηλώσας] Not "had shown," but "was a man who had shown." The periphrasis brings into prominence the enduring nature of the result, of the fame, that is, which he had gained by the display of his ability, and on which he was now trading. Cp. i. 1. 1, ἀκμάζοντες ἦσαν: 38. 3, ἀρέσκοντές ἐσμεν. It is to be noticed however that the usage is, from its nature and meaning, almost confined to the participles of the present and the perfect, and hence Krüger is inclined to agree with those editors who place commas after Θεμιστοκλῆς and δηλώσας and join ἦν with ἄξιος. Yet he quotes from Antiphon, ὁ παιδοτρίβης ἂν ἀποκτείνας αὐτὸν εἶη, and from Menander, τὸ σὸν διδάξας τοῦ μὲν οὐ μαθὼν ἔσει.

φύσεως ἰσχύν]. "Native genius," "inborn force of talent." ἐς αὐτό,

"in this respect." διαφερόντως is explained or repeated by μᾶλλον ἐτέρου, as at ii. 51. 1 by ἐτέρῳ πρὸς ἕτερον. τι: see note on i. 1. 2. θαυμάσαι: at ii. 40. 1 we read ἀξίαν θαυμάζεσθαι. The active, however, is far more common than the passive in Attic writers: cp. above i. 132. 3, ἐγγεγραμμένον κτείνειν. And so we say "fit to eat" more frequently than "fit to be eaten."

οἰκεία . . . ξυνέσει]. That is φύσεως ἰσχύν, "by plain mother-wit," which owed nothing either to education or to experience. τῶν τε παραχρῆμα: "as to the present no man could judge so ably with so little deliberation (διά = at an interval of, after very short reflection); as to the future no man could forecast its events so clearly or so long before." Krüger says that τῶν μελλόντων is governed by ἐπὶ πλείστον, and τοῦ γενησομένου by εἰκαστής, but the parallelism of the two clauses makes this construction impossible.

4. μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχοι]. Cp. μεταχειρίζειν, i. 13. 2. ἐξηγήσασθαι = to explain: cp. v. 26. 6, and ii. 60. 5, γινῶναι τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἐρμηνεύσαι ταῦτα, where ἐρμηνεύσαι = ἐξηγήσασθαι. ἀπήλλακτο = he was not unable, and somewhat oddly governs an infinitive: cp. i. 132. 7.

5. τὸ . . . ἄμεινον ἢ χεῖρον]. See note on i. 7. But there are certain couples

τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν, φύσεως μὲν δυνάμει μελέτης δὲ βραχύ-
τητι κράτιστος δὴ οὗτος αὐτοσχεδιάζειν τὰ δέοντα ἐγένετο.
7. νοσήσας δὲ τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον· λέγουσι δέ τινες καὶ ἐκούσιον
φαρμάκῳ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν ἀδύνατον νομίσαντα εἶναι ἐπι-
τελέσαι βασιλεῖ ἃ ὑπέσχετο. 8. μνημεῖον μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ ἐν
Μαγνησίᾳ ἐστὶ τῇ Ἀσιανῇ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ· ταύτης γὰρ ἦρχε
τῆς χώρας, δόντος βασιλέως αὐτῷ Μαγνησίαν μὲν ἄρτον, ἣ
προσέφερε πεντήκοντα τάλαντα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, Λάμψακον δὲ
οἶνον, ἐδόκει γὰρ πολυοινότατον τῶν τότε εἶναι, Μυοῦντα
δὲ ὄψον. 9. τὰ δὲ ὅστᾳ φασὶ κομισθῆναι αὐτοῦ οἱ προσή-
κοντες οἵκαδε κελεύσαντος ἐκείνου καὶ τεθῆναι κρύφα Ἀθη-
ναίων ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν θάπτειν ὥς ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ
φεύγοντος. 10. τὰ μὲν κατὰ Πausanίαν τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον
καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον λαμπροτάτους γενομένους
τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς Ἑλλήνων οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν. 139. 1.

of adjectives which are so commonly contrasted that they seem to be regarded as forming one idea, or we may say that their juxtaposition calls attention not to each separately, but to the difference between the two, or to one class of things of which both are epithets, and which therefore requires but one article. Cp. ii. 40. 5, τὰ δεινὰ καὶ ἡδέα: ii. 49. 5, τὸ πλέον καὶ ἔλασσον: and Ar. *Eth.* x. 3. 3, τῷ μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον.

6. μελέτης] This word is not quite clear: it may refer either to δι' ἐλαχίστης βουλῆς or to οὔτε προμαθῶν οὐδὲν οὔτε ἐπιμαθῶν. Arnold, taking this last view, translates, "with acquired learning most scanty." βραχύτητι is datus modi, nearly equivalent to the genitive with διά: cp. iii. 98. 6, τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, = ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, and note on ἀνδρῶν, i. 129. 2. αὐτοσχεδιάζειν τὰ δέοντα, "at extemporizing ways and means:" for the infinitive see note on i. 9. 4.

7.] νοσήσας heads the clause with great emphasis—"it was by disease that he died," not by poison. καί belongs to the whole clause—"but

there are some again who say." φαρμάκῳ, bull's blood: Arist. *Eg.* 83.

8.] μὲν answers to δέ at the beginning of 79. ἄρτον, "as bread," "for bread:" cp. χρήματα, i. 99. 3. "In the same manner we read in Herodotus (ii. 98. 1) of a city in Egypt given always to the reigning queen of Persia to supply her with shoes; of four villages near Babylon devoted to the maintenance of the satrap's hounds (i. 192. 5); of some villages given to Parysatis, the mother of Artaxerxes Mnemon, to provide her with the jewels for her girdle (Xen. *Anab.* i. 4. 9)." Arn. "What is meant in all these passages is that the king gave up to the persons named the portion of regal revenue or tribute levied in those places." Grote, v. 390 note. πολυοινότατον, cp. μικρόν, i. 10. 1; καταφανές, i. 63. 2.

9. ὥς ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ] ὥς as usual of the outward appearance, "on a charge" or "under strong suspicion of treason." Cp. *Suspectus tanquam ipse suas incenderet aedes*, Juv. iii. 222.

Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς πρώτης πρεσβείας τοιαῦτα ἐπέταξάν τε καὶ ἀντεκελεύσθησαν περὶ τῶν ἐναγῶν τῆς ἐλάσεως· ὕστερον δὲ φοιτῶντες παρὰ Ἀθηναίους Ποτιδαίας τε ἀπανίστασθαι ἐκέλευον καὶ Αἴγιναν αὐτόνομον ἀφιέναι, καὶ μάλιστά γε πάντων καὶ ἐνδηλότατα προὔλεγον τὸ περὶ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα καθελοῦσι μὴ ἂν γίνεσθαι πόλεμον, ἐν ᾧ εἴρητο αὐτοὺς μὴ χρῆσθαι τοῖς λιμέσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀρχῇ μηδὲ τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἀγορᾷ. 2. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι οὔτε τᾶλλα ὑπήκουον οὔτε τὸ ψήφισμα καθήρουν, ἐπικαλοῦντες ἐπεργασίαν Μεγαρεῦσι τῆς γῆς τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ τῆς ἀορίστου καὶ ἀνδραπόδων ὑποδοχὴν τῶν ἀφισταμένων. 3. τέλος δὲ ἀφικομένων τῶν τελευταίων πρέσβεων ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος Ῥαμφίου τε καὶ Μελησίππου καὶ Ἀγησάνδρου, καὶ λεγόντων ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ὧν πρότερον εἰώθεσαν, αὐτὰ δὲ τάδε ὅτι

CH. CXXXIX. 1. μὴ ἂν γίνεσθαι] Where ἂν is joined with the participle and infinitive in negative phrases Thuc. seems to consider himself at liberty to employ either μή, or οὐ, or μὴ οὐ; cp. note on i. 76. 1, and the following passages—ii. 36. 5, νομίζων οὐκ ἂν ἀπρεπῇ λεχθῆναι αὐτά: 93. 5, οὐδὲ εἰ διανοοῦντο μὴ οὐκ ἂν προαισθέσθαι: v. 4. 6, αἰσθόμενος οὐκ ἂν πείθειν: v. 49. 5, Ἡλεῖοι τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου εἵχοντο . . . μὴ ἂν πεισθῆναι: vi. 102. 4, νομίσαντες μὴ ἂν γενέσθαι: vi. 103. 3, οὐκέτι ἐνόμιζον ἂν περιγενέσθαι: vii. 6. 4, μὴ ἂν ἔτι ἀποτείχισαι: vii. 29. 3, ἀπροσδοκῆτοῖς μὴ ἂν τινα ἐπιθέσθαι. But μὴ preponderates.

2. τᾶλλα] Cp. i. 26. 3. ἐπεργασίαν, cp. note on i. 2. 2. Certainly the word has no sense of reciprocity here. ἀορίστου: the repetition of the article shows that this land, which was “not divided with landmarks,” that is to say not appropriated to private individuals, differs from the ἱερά or sacred demesne (Kr., Poppo, Göller). But the Scholiast says they were the same, and we may take καὶ to mean “that is to say,” a sense which it

often bears, cp. i. 80. 3. “The land on the frontier was consecrated [in the present instance to the Eleusinian goddesses] to prevent it from being enclosed; in which case the boundaries might have been a subject of perpetual dispute between the two nations.” Arn.

ἀφισταμένων] According to some the slaves of Aspasia who were stolen by some Megarians, see Arist. *Ach.* 525. But the use of the imperfect participle shows that Thuc. is speaking not of one body of runaways but of repeated and perpetual desertions, such as took place afterwards when a Lacedæmonian garrison was established at Deceleia. Again, ὑποδοχὴν could scarcely be used of theft, nor is it likely that the Athenians would go to war for an injury done to the mistress of Pericles, a courtesan. Translate, “and with affording regular harbourage to their runaway slaves;” and see Grote.

3. τῶν τελευταίων] Bearing the Spartan ultimatum. γνώμας προὔτιθεσαν, “Sibi ipsis sententias dicendi potestatem fecerunt.” Poppo.

Λακεδαιμόνιοι βούλονται τὴν εἰρήνην εἶναι, εἴη δ' ἂν εἰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας αὐτονόμους ἀφεῖτε, ποιήσαντες ἐκκλησίαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι γνώμας σφίσιν αὐτοῖς προὔτιθουσιν, καὶ ἐδόκει ἅπαξ περὶ ἀπάντων βουλευσαμένους ἀποκρίνασθαι. 4. καὶ παριόντες ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ ἔλεγον, ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα γιγνόμενοι ταῖς γνώμας καὶ ὥς χρὴ πολεμεῖν καὶ ὥς μὴ ἐμπόδιον εἶναι τὸ ψήφισμα εἰρήνης ἀλλὰ καθελεῖν, καὶ παρελθὼν Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου, ἀνὴρ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον πρῶτος Ἀθηναίων, λέγειν τε καὶ πρᾶσσειν δυνατώτατος, παρήνει τοιᾷδε.

140. 1. “Τῆς μὲν γνώμης, ᾧ Ἀθηναῖοι, αἰεὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἔχομαι μὴ εἶκειν Πελοποννησίοις, καίπερ εἰδὼς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὐ τῇ αὐτῇ ὀργῇ ἀναπειθομένους τε πολεμεῖν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ πρᾶσσοντας, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ξυμφορὰς καὶ τὰς γνώμας τρεπομένους. 2. ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ νῦν ὁμοῖα καὶ παραπλήσια

4. ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα γιγνόμενοι] “Taking some one side of the question, and some the other.”

CH. CXL.] After expressing a hope that in case of war being decided upon the Athenians will embark in it resolutely and unanimously, prepared to do their best and abide the issue, Pericles proceeds to complain of the dictatorial tone assumed by the Lacedaemonians, and their manifest intention to appeal to the sword in defiance of the treaty. The Athenians might think that Potidaea, Aegina, and the Megarian decree were small matters to go to war about, but it was not so; they had no choice between absolute surrender and determined resistance. The Peloponnesian forces consisted of a militia of farmers, poor men, and ill adapted to cope with a long war beyond seas. In council the equality of votes and differences of race and interest would fatally hamper all their plans, and a great naval state like Athens need not fear their attempts to plant a thorn in her side. The Peloponnesians laboured under two great disadvantages—want of money and want of naval skill, the last of which

they could neither learn nor buy. On the other hand Athens, strong in her fleet and her sovereignty of the seas, was invulnerable, and would certainly win in the end, if only she would curb her rash ambition and confine herself to the defensive. In conclusion, he exhorts his countrymen to take their stand upon the treaty and reject the Lacedaemonian demands, to follow the glorious example of their fathers and not to throw away an empire which had been so dearly purchased.

1. ὀργῇ] “Spirit,” “zeal.” Krüger quotes Arist. *Wasps* 1030, ἀλλ' Ἑρακλέους ὀργὴν τιν' ἔχων τοῖσι μεγίστοις ἐπιχειρεῖν. But the Scholiast and Arnold take the word to mean “temper,” “disposition,” a sense which it not uncommonly bears in the poets (as at Soph. *Ant.* 354, ἀστυνόμους ὀργάς). So perhaps in the compound adverb εὐοργήτως, i. 122. 2. ξυμφορὰς: most editors translate “events.” But it surely means “disasters,” for Pericles is complaining that men so soon begin to despond. πρὸς is “towards,” “so as to conform with.”

2. ὁμοῖα καὶ παραπλήσια] “The same or similar,” cp. i. 22. 4. ἦν

ξυμβουλευτέα μοι ὄντα καὶ τοὺς ἀναπειθομένους ὑμῶν δικαίῳ τοῖς κοινῇ δόξασιν, ἣν ἄρα τι καὶ σφαλλώμεθα, βοηθεῖν, ἢ μηδὲ κατορθοῦντας τῆς ξυνέσεως μεταποιεῖσθαι. 3. ἐνδέχεται γὰρ τὰς ξυμφορὰς τῶν πραγμάτων οὐχ ἡσσον ἀμαθῶς χωρῆσαι ἢ καὶ τὰς διανοίας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· διόπερ καὶ τὴν τύχην ὅσα ἂν παρὰ λόγον ξυμβῇ εἰώθαμεν αἰτιᾶσθαι. 4. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πρότερόν τε δῆλοι ἦσαν ἐπιβουλευόντες ἡμῖν καὶ νῦν οὐχ ἥκιστα. 5. εἰρημένον γὰρ δίκας μὲν τῶν διαφόρων ἀλλήλοις διδόναι καὶ δέχεσθαι, ἔχειν δὲ ἑκατέρους ἃ ἔχομεν, οὔτε αὐτοὶ δίκας πω ἤτησαν οὔτε ἡμῶν διδόντων δέχονται, βούλονται δὲ πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἢ λόγοις τὰ ἐγκλήματα διαλύεσθαι, καὶ ἐπιτάσσοντες ἤδη καὶ οὐκέτι αἰτιώμενοι πάρεσι. 6. Ποτιδαίας τε γὰρ ἀπανίστασθαι κελεύουσι καὶ Αἴγιναν αὐτόνομον ἀφιέναι καὶ τὸ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα καθαιρεῖν· οἱ δὲ τελευταῖοι οἶδε ἦκοντες καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας προαγορεύουσιν αὐτονόμους ἀφιέναι. 7. ὑμῶν δὲ μηδεὶς νομίσῃ περὶ βραχέος ἂν πολεμεῖν, εἰ τὸ Μεγαρέων

ἄρα καί, see note on i. 70. 8. βοηθεῖν, on i. 123. 1. οἱ ἀναπειθόμενοι are the new converts who have just been convinced, somewhat against their will, of the necessity of war, whose zeal is hottest for the moment, but not being founded on deliberate conviction, like that of Pericles himself, will soon cool. "Such men," he says, "I call upon to support the general resolve, even if we do meet with reverses; otherwise let them forfeit all claim to sagacity, even if they win." If at every mishap they mean to cry out "I told you so," let them be fair enough when we win to cry out just as loudly, that they did not tell us so. The Schol. adds that κατορθοῦντας is an antiphrasis for κατορθοῦντων, for all Athens would share in the success, not the ἀναπειθόμενοι alone.

3. τὰς ξυμφορὰς] τὰς ἀποβάσεις (Sch.). "The issues of our actions may follow a course as eccentric (or as impossible to predict) as the plans of men." You can neither foretell what a man will resolve upon in any

given situation, nor what will be the issue of his resolves: γὰρ refers to σφαλλώμεθα. ἀμαθῶς, see note on ἀπίστως, i. 21. 1. ὅσα = for all that: cp. τί ταῦτα τοὺς Λάκωνας αἰτιώμεθα; Arist. *Ach.* 514, and note on i. 3. 6.

5. εἰρημένον] See notes on i. 2. 2 and i. 78. 3. ἔχειν ἃ ἔχομεν (cp. iv. 65. 1; 118. 3) is the usual phrase for our "status quo" or "uti possidetis." Poppo remarks that this principle was not in fact one of the bases of the Thirty Years' Peace: see i. 115. 1. Perhaps the present is significant, and Pericles means, that by the peace each side was confirmed in the possession of what it held at the time when he was speaking. διδόντων, cp. i. 85. 3. διαλύεσθαι, cp. note on i. 78. 3. ἤδη and οὐκέτι, they have *ceased* to make complaints and *begun* to give their orders.

6. Μεγαρέων] See note on ἀνδρῶν, i. 129. 2. At i. 139. 1 we have τὸ περὶ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα.

ψήφισμα μὴ καθέλοιμεν, ὅπερ μάλιστα προὔχονται, εἰ καθαιρεθείη μὴ ἂν γίγνεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον· μηδ' ἐν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς αἰτίαν ὑπολίπησθε ὥς διὰ μικρὸν ἐπολεμήσατε. 8. τὸ γὰρ βραχύ τι τοῦτο πᾶσαν ὑμῶν ἔχει τὴν βεβαίωσιν καὶ πείραν τῆς γνώμης· 9. οἷς εἰ ξυγχωρήσετε καὶ ἄλλο τι μεῖζον εὐθὺς ἐπιταχθήσεσθε, ὥς φόβῳ καὶ τοῦτο ὑπακούσαντες· ἀπισχυρισάμενοι δὲ σαφὲς ἂν καταστήσαιτε αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ὑμῖν μᾶλλον προσφέρεσθαι. 141. 1. αὐτόθεν δὴ διανοήθητε ἢ ὑπακούειν πρὶν τι βλαβῆναι, ἢ εἰ πολεμήσομεν, ὥς ἔμοιγε ἄμεινον δοκεῖ εἶναι, καὶ ἐπὶ μεγάλῃ καὶ ἐπὶ βραχείᾳ ὁμοίως προφάσει μὴ εἴζοντες μηδὲ ξὺν φόβῳ ἔζοντες ἂ κεκτήμεθα. τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν δύναται δούλωσιν ἢ τε μεγίστη καὶ ἐλαχίστη δικαίωσις ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων πρὸ δίκης τοῖς πέλας ἐπιτασσόμενη. 2. τὰ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν ἐκατέροις ὑπαρχόντων

7. ὅπερ] Krüger makes this word the nominative to καθαιρεθείη, on the ground that what he calls Anticipation, or an anticipatory accusative (as in οἷδά σε ὥς καλὸς εἶ), is impossible before a particle which, like εἰ, denotes a condition. But it is surely accusative, and the words εἰ καθ. . . . πόλεμον may be regarded as an afterthought inserted to explain προὔχονται. Somewhat similar is i. 138. 2, τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐλπίδα, ἣν ὑπετίθει αὐτῷ δουλώσειν: see note there and passages referred to. The sense here is ὅπερ μάλιστα προὔχονται (προεχόμενοι) μὴ ἂν γίγνεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον εἰ καθαιρεθείη τοῦτο. αἰτία = self-reproach.

8. τὸ . . βραχύ τι] “This small thing, as you may deem it, imports no less than (πᾶσαν) the confirmation and trial of your determination.” The confirmation should follow the trial, but Thuc. has inverted the natural order (ὑστερον πρότερον). ἔχει, see note on i. 5. 1.

9.] οἷς refers to οἱ τελευταῖοι οἷδε ἦκοντες, §§ 7 and 8 being parenthetical. ἐπιταχθήσεσθε, see note on προβαλλομένοις, i. 73. 2. σαφές, “you will make it clear to them that they must change their tone, and

deal with you as equals.” μᾶλλον = more than heretofore, but see note on i. 3. 2. The infinitive προσφέρεσθαι is governed by the idea of teaching or warning implied in σαφὲς καταστήσαι. Cp. iii. 40. 12.

CH. CXLI. 1. αὐτόθεν] “Without more delay;” from the spot where you stand. διανοήθητε is here followed first by an infinitive ὑπακούειν, then by participles, εἴζοντες, ἔζοντες: cp. vi. 78. 1, ἐνθυμηθήτω μαχούμενος. As a rule, διανοεῖσθαι requires ὥς before the participle (cp. Plat. Theaet. 158 B, διανοοῦνται ὥς πετόμενοι) when it signifies to “fancy” or “be minded.” Here, however, it means “to determine,” and falls under the remarks of Madv. G. S. 178 a. καὶ . . . καί = whether . . . or: cp. i. 82. 2. δύναται = means, amounts to: cp. i. 84. 3; iii. 46. 2; iv. 95. 1; vi. 36. 2; 46. 3. ἐλαχίστη without article, see note on i. 7. ὁμοίων is masculine.

2. τὰ δὲ . . ὑπαρχόντων] “But as regards the war and the resources at the command of either side.” τὰ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων differs little, if at all, from τὰ ὑπάρχοντα: cp. τὰ τῆς ὀργῆς, ii. 60. 1; τὰ τῆς ἐμπειρίας, vii. 49. 2. Else τὰ τοῦ πολέμου, if

ὥς οὐκ ἀσθενέστερα ἔξομεν γνῶτε καθ' ἕκαστον ἀκούοντες. 3. αὐτουργοὶ τε γάρ εἰσι Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οὔτε ἰδία οὔτε ἐν κοινῷ χρήματά ἐστιν αὐτοῖς, ἔπειτα χρονίων πολέμων καὶ διαποντίων ἄπειροι διὰ τὸ βραχέως αὐτοὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ὑπὸ πενίας ἐπιφέρειν. 4. καὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι οὔτε ναῦς πληροῦντες οὔτε πεζὰς στρατιὰς πολλάκις ἐκπέμπειν δύνανται, ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων τε ἅμα ἀπόντες καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν δαπανῶντες καὶ προσέτι καὶ θαλάσσης εἰργόμενοι αἱ δὲ περιουσίαι τοὺς πολέμους μᾶλλον ἢ αἱ βίαιοι ἐσφοραὶ ἀνέχουσι. 5. σώμασί τε ἐτοιμότεροι οἱ αὐτουργοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἢ χρημασι πολεμεῖν, τὸ μὲν πιστὸν ἔχοντες ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων καὶ περιγενέσθαι, τὸ δὲ οὐ βέβαιον μὴ οὐ προαναλώσειν, ἄλλως τε καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ὅπερ εἰκὸς ὁ πόλεμος αὐτοῖς μηκύνηται. 6. μάχῃ μὲν γὰρ μιᾷ πρὸς ἅπαντας Ἕλληνας δυνατοὶ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἀντισχεῖν, πολεμεῖν δὲ μὴ πρὸς ὁμοίαν ἀντιπαρασκευὴν ἀδύνατοι, ὅταν μήτε βουλευτηρίῳ

it stood alone, might signify "the means for war."

3. αὐτουργοί] δι' ἑαυτῶν τὴν γῆν ἐργαζόμενοι σπάνει δούλων (Sch.). Cp. αὐτερέται, i. 10. 5. The review of the Athenian position which follows forms a detailed answer to the arguments of the Corinthian envoy, chaps. 121, 122. But as Pericles could not have received any thing more than a general report of what passed at the meeting of the Spartan league, we may safely conclude that in this speech Thuc. has given us only the *ξύμπασα γνώμη* (i. 22. 1) of what he really said. Not only the language, but possibly the arguments themselves, certainly the polemical form in which they are cast, belong to the historian, who, under the mask alternately of a Corinthian and of Pericles, sets before his readers the view which each belligerent took of his own position and that of his enemy. ἐπιφέρειν, sc. πολέμους. According to Pericles then the Peloponnesians were not superior ἐμπερίᾳ πολεμικῇ (i. 121. 2) even by land.

4. οὔτε ναῦς πληροῦντες] Neither naval nor land expeditions. But he has resolved the first adjective ναυτικός into a participle and substantive: cp. i. 60. 1. τῶν αὐτῶν: here only Thuc. uses τὰ αὐτῶν, elsewhere always τὰ σφέτερα. περιουσίαι refers to i. 121. 8. "Wars are fed by superfluity of wealth (such as the Athenians had, cp. ii. 13) rather than forced contributions."

5. τὸ μὲν] τὸ τῶν σωμάτων. Sch. τό is subject to περιγενέσθαι—"having a good hope that their bodies may come safely out of the danger, but a poor one that they will not spend all their money before" their end is attained. For μὴ οὐ see Madv. G. S. 211.

6. μὴ πρὸς ὁμοίαν] "To carry on a war against a power of different nature from their own," maritime that is. For the position of μή, cp. i. 91. 7. ὅταν = since, *quum*. μήτε . . . τε, cp. i. 17. 2. ἰσόψηφοι, see i. 125. 1. οὐχ ὁμόφυλοι: "not all Dorians, for instance the Thebans, Achaeans, Arcadians." Classen. The Corinthians tried to

ἐνὶ χρώμενοι παραχρῆμά τι ὀξέως ἐπιτελῶσι, πάντες τε ἰσόψηφοι ὄντες καὶ οὐκ ὁμόφυλοι τὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος σπεύδῃ· ἐξ ὧν φιλεῖ μηδὲν ἐπιτελὲς γίγνεσθαι. 7. καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν ὡς μάλιστα τιμωρήσασθαι τινα βούλονται, οἱ δὲ ὡς ἥκιστα τὰ οἰκεῖα φθεῖραι. 8. χρόνιοί τε ξυνιόντες ἐν βραχεὶ μὲν μορίῳ σκοποῦσιν τι τῶν κοινῶν, τῷ δὲ πλέονι τὰ οἰκεῖα πράσσουνσι. 9. καὶ ἕκαστος οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀμέλειαν οἶεται βλάψειν. μέλειν δέ τινι καὶ ἄλλῳ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ τι προῖδεῖν, ὥστε τῷ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ ἀπάντων ἰδίᾳ δοξάσματι λανθάνειν τὸ κοινὸν ἀθρόον φθειρόμενον. 142. 1. μέγιστον δέ, τῇ τῶν χρημάτων σπάνει κωλύσονται, ὅταν σχολῇ αὐτὰ ποριζόμενοι διαμέλλωσι· τοῦ δὲ πολέμου οἱ καιροὶ οὐ μενετοί. 2. καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἡ ἐπιτείχισις οὐδὲ τὸ ναυτικὸν αὐτῶν ἄξιον φοβηθῆναι. 3. τὴν μὲν γὰρ χαλεπὸν καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ πόλιν

sink these differences (i. 121. 2; 124. 1). For στασιωτικὸν τὸ μὴ ὁμόφυλον, see *Ar. Pol.* viii. (v). 3. 11. τὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτόν, "that which concerns himself," "his own selfish ends:" cp. τὸ ἐπὶ σφᾶς εἶναι, iv. 28. 1. A few MSS., and those not the best, read τὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν: cp. i. 17. 1. μηδέν: the negative again is joined to the infinitive instead of the finite verb, so that φιλεῖ looks as if it were impersonal. See note on i. 70. 3.

7. φθεῖραι] ἐκ τοῦ πολεμεῖν, τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ. Sch.

8. χρόνιοι] "When at last they do meet." ἐν βραχεὶ μορίῳ, "supply τῆς ξυνόδου out of ξυνιόντες." Kr. παρά, "along of his own neglect," i. e. owing to his own neglect. Cp. *Demos. Phil.* i. p. 43, οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βῶμην τοσοῦτον ἐπνύξεται ὅσον παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀμέλειαν. βλάψειν, that he will cause damage: cp. i. 23. 4. ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ, "in his stead." ὑπὸ ἀπάντων ἰδίᾳ, as if δοξάσματι were a passive participle: cp. i. 95. 5, τῶν ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τινα ἀδικημάτων, and i. 130. 1, ὧν ἐν ἀξιώματι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. "So that because this same idea is entertained by all separately, the common interests, as a whole, go to wreck

unobserved." There is a double antithesis between ἀπάντων ἀθρόον and ἰδίᾳ κοινόν.

CH. CXLII. 1. μέγιστον δέ] Cp. i. 8. 2. But μέγιστον is an adverbial accusative, as if it were μέγιστον κώλυμα κωλύσονται. "What is most important of all, they will be hindered." For the future middle in passive signification, cp. πολεμήσονται, i. 68. 3 (?); and ἐασόμενοι just below. οὐ μενετοί, will not wait: cp. *Arist. Av.* 1620, μενετοὶ θεοί, and *Tac. Hist.* i. 83. 5, occasionum velocitas.

2. καὶ μὴν οὐδ'] And further not even.

3. τὴν μὲν γάρ] "For the one kind of fortress, namely, a city of equal power, it is difficult to establish even in peace, much more then in a hostile country, where we should curb them far more than they would curb us." With τὴν supply ἐπιτείχισιν, to which πόλιν ἀντίπαλον is added as an explanatory appositive. "Pericles is distinguishing between two different methods of ἐπιτείχισις, the one by founding a city in the neighbourhood of Athens strong enough to interfere with her trade, and be a check upon her power; the

ἀντίπαλον παρασκευάσασθαι, ἥπου δὴ ἐν πολεμίᾳ τε καὶ οὐχ ἥσσουν ἐκείνοις ἡμῶν ἀντεπιτετειχισμένων. φρούριον δ' εἰ ποιήσονται, τῆς μὲν γῆς βλάβπτοιεν ἂν τι μέρος καταδρομαῖς καὶ αὐτομολίαις, οὐ μέντοι ἰκανόν γε ἔσται ἐπιτειχίζειν τε κωλύειν ἡμᾶς πλεύσαντας ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων καὶ ἥπερ ἰσχύομεν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀμύνεσθαι. 4. πλεόν γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν τοῦ κατὰ γῆν ἐκ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἐμπειρίας ἢ ἐκείνοι ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ἥπειρον ἐς τὰ ναυτικά. 5. τὸ δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπιστήμονας γενέσθαι οὐ ῥαδίως αὐτοῖς προσγενήσεται. 6. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑμεῖς, μελετῶντες αὐτὸ εὐθύς ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν, ἐξείργασθέ πω· πῶς δὴ ἄνδρες γεωργοὶ καὶ οὐ θαλάσσιοι καὶ προσέτι οὐδὲ μελετῆσαι ἐασόμενοι διὰ τὸ ὑφ' ἡμῶν πολλαῖς ναυσὶν αἰεὶ ἐφορμεῖσθαι, ἄξιον ἂν τι δρῶεν; πρὸς μὲν γὰρ ὀλίγας ἐφορμούσας καὶ διακινδυνεύσειαν πλήθει τὴν ἀμαθίαν θρασύνοντες, πολλαῖς δὲ εἰργόμενοι ἡσυχάσουσι, καὶ ἐν τῷ μὴ μελετῶντι

other, by merely raising one or two forts in Attica, as strongholds for plundering parties. Instances of the first sort of ἐπιτείχισις are Megara, founded by the Dorians as a check on the Athenian power; Heraclea in Trachinia, built to curb the Thessalians (iii. 92, 93; v. 51); almost all the Roman military colonies; and in modern times Alessandria in Italy, built by the Guelf cities of Lombardy as a check to the Ghibelin state of Pavia and to the Marquis of Montferrat; and Carrouge, intended by the dukes of Savoy to be the rival of Geneva." Arn. But as the real antithesis to τὴν μὲν γὰρ is τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης, the sentence is apparently anacoluthic; Thuc. at first meant to speak of the impracticability of ἐπιτείχισις generally, but was immediately carried away by his love of distinctions and antitheses.

οὐ μέντοι . . γε] See i. 3. 2. "Yet it will not avail to prevent us from raising forts to annoy them."

4. πλεόν γάρ] The order is πλεόν γὰρ ἐμπειρίας τοῦ κατὰ γῆν ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν ἐκ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ. But Classen

arranges the words thus: πλεόν ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν τοῦ κατὰ γῆν (cp. μετρίως ἔχοντες βίου, Hdt. i. 32) ἐξ ἐμπειρίας τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, defending himself by i. 32. 2 (μετὰ τῆς ξυμμαχίας τῆς αἰτήσεως, where the objective genitive comes between the preposition and its case) and i. 3. 1; ii. 2; 36. 2 (where the governing word has no article). But Pericles is referring to i. 121. 2, where the Corinthians boasted of their ἐμπειρία πολεμική: there are two kinds of experience, he says, and upon the whole we have more of it than they.

6. ἐξείργασθέ πω] "Have as yet perfected it." ἐασόμενοι, see above on κωλύσονται. "ἐαθήσομαι is unknown to me." Kr. ἐφορμεῖσθαι, cp. note on i. 73. 2, and ἀμελούμενοι, i. 68. 2; ἐπιβουλευόμεθα, i. 82. 1; ἡγεμονεύεσθαι, iii. 61. 3; προσετάχθησαν, v. 75. 6; ἐμβεβλήσθαι, vii. 70. 6. καὶ, "they might perhaps." ἐν τῷ μὴ μελετῶντι, "while they are debarred from practice:" see note on i. 36. 1. δι' αὐτό, διὰ τὸ ἀξυνετωτέρους εἶναι: cp. i. 2. 2.

ἀξυνετώτεροι ἔσονται καὶ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ ὀκνηρότεροι. 7. τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν τέχνης ἐστὶν ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλο τι καὶ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται ὅταν τύχῃ ἐκ παρέργου μελετᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μηδὲν ἐκείνῳ πάρεργον ἄλλο γίγνεσθαι. 143. 1. εἴ τε καὶ κινήσαντες τῶν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἢ Δελφοῖς χρημάτων μισθῷ μείζονι πειρῶντο ἡμῶν ὑπολαβεῖν τοὺς ξένους τῶν ναυτῶν, μὴ ὄντων μὲν ἡμῶν ἀντιπάλων ἐσβαντων αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν μετοίκων δεινὸν ἂν ἦν· νῦν δὲ τόδε τε ὑπάρχει καὶ ὅπερ κρᾶτιστον κυβερνήτας ἔχομεν πολίτας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὑπηρεσίαν πλείους καὶ ἀμείνους ἢ πᾶσα ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλάς. 2. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ κινδύνῳ οὐδεὶς ἂν δέξαιτο τῶν ξένων τὴν τε αὐτοῦ φεύγειν καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἡσσοнос ἅμα ἐλπίδος ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἕνεκα μεγάλου μισθοῦ δόσεως ἐκείνοις ξυναγωνίζεσθαι. 3. καὶ τὰ μὲν Πελοποννησίων ἔμοιγε τοιαῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια δοκεῖ εἶναι, τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα τούτων τε ὥνπερ ἐκείνοις ἐμεμψάμην ἀπηλλάχθαι καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου μεγάλα

7. τέχνης] “Is a question of art, or acquired skill, just like any thing else.” ὅταν τύχῃ, “at any chance time.” ἐκ παρέργου, “as a by-work or holiday-task:” cp. vi. 69. 3; vii. 27. 4. But in this phrase *πάρεργον* seems to denote, not, as immediately afterwards, something done in leisure hours, but the time itself in which it is done. So sometimes in Latin *operæ* seems to mean “time for work:” cp. Plaut. *Truc.* iv. 4. 30, *operæ ubi mihi erit ad te venero*. γίγνεσθαι is governed by *χρή* implied in ἐνδέχεται.

CH. CXLIII. 1. εἴ τε] Compare i. 121. 3. τῶν χρημάτων is partitive genitive: cp. vi. 70. 4, and Madv. *G. S.* 51 d. Δελφοῖς: “The absence of ἐν is excused by the immediate precedence of Ὀλυμπίασιν, for otherwise the licence admissible in the case of *Μαραθῶνι* does not extend to Δελφοῖς.” Poppo. Cp. i. 73. 4. μὴ ὄντων, “if we could not man the fleet with our own citizens and our metics, and find them their match.” As at iv. 90. 1, the μέτοικοι

(v. Smith, *Dict. Ant.*) are distinguished from the ξένοι.

τόδε] τὸ ἀντιπάλους ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν μετοίκων εἶναι αὐτοῖς. Sch.

2. ἐπὶ τῷ κινδύνῳ] “For pure love of the danger,” and so Poppo, “ut periculum adeant.” Others translate “over and above the danger,” but this would render μετὰ τῆς ἡσσοнос ἐλπίδος superfluous and unmeaning. δόσεως governs μεγάλου μισθοῦ, which in turn governs ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν—pay for a few days: cp. i. 48. 1. φεύγειν, because if these men, who were subject allies of Athens, joined the enemies of Athens, their native places would be too hot to hold them.

3. τοιαῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια] Cp. i. 22. 4; 140. 2. For μέμφεσθαι τινι, see Madv. *G. S.* 36 a, r. 1. ὥνπερ may be genitive of the charge or accusation (Madv. *G. S.* 61), but more probably it is put by attraction for ἅπερ. ἀπηλλάχθαι, see i. 122. 7. οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου, “which more than counterbalance the advantages they possess.”

ἔχειν. 4. ἦν τ' ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν πεζῇ ἴωσιν, ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνων πλευσούμεθα, καὶ οὐκέτι ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου ἔσται Πελοποννήσου μέρος τι τμηθῆναι καὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἅπασαν. 5. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ἔξουσιν ἄλλην ἀντιλαβεῖν ἀμαχεί, ἡμῖν δέ ἐστι γῆ πολλή καὶ ἐν νήσοις καὶ κατ' ἡπειρον. 6. μέγα γὰρ τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης κράτος. 7. σκέψασθε δέ· εἰ γὰρ ἡμεν νησιῶται, τίνες ἂν ἀληπτότεροι ἦσαν ; καὶ νῦν χρὴ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τούτου διανοηθέντας τὴν μὲν γῆν καὶ οἰκίας ἀφεῖναι, τῆς δὲ θαλάσσης καὶ πόλεως φυλακὴν ἔχειν, καὶ Πελοποννησίοις ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ὀργισθέντας πολλῶ πλείοσι μὴ διαμάχεσθαι· κρατήσαντές τε γὰρ αὐθις οὐκ ἐλάσσοσι μαχούμεθα καὶ ἦν σφαλῶμεν, τὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων ὅθεν ἰσχύομεν προσάπολλυται· οὐ γὰρ ἡσυχάσουσι μὴ ἱκανῶν ἡμῶν ὄντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεύειν· τὴν τε ὀλόφυρσιν μὴ οἰκιῶν καὶ γῆς ποιεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῶν σωμάτων· οὐ γὰρ τάδε τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἀλλ' οἱ ἄνδρες ταῦτα κτῶνται. 8. καὶ εἰ ὥμην πείσειν ὑμᾶς, αὐτοὺς ἂν ἐξελθόντας ἐκέλευον αὐτὰ δηῶσαι καὶ δεῖξαι Πελοποννησίοις ὅτι τούτων γε ἔνεκα οὐχ ὑπακούσεσθε. 144. 1. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔχω ἐς ἐλπίδα τοῦ περιέσεσθαι,

4. οὐκέτι ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου] “It will no longer be the same thing,” “they will soon begin to see that it is far worse:” cp. i. 34. 3. “The phrase is generally adverbial, here however it stands for an adjective.” Poppo. There is a similar adverbial predicate at ii. 3. 4, ὅπως . . . σφίσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου γίνωνται.

7. ὅτι ἐγγύτατα] “Feeling as nearly as possible as if you were islanders.” Arn. So in the *Frogs* (1463), when Dionysus asks how Athens is to be saved, Aeschylus answers, τὴν γῆν ὅταν νομίσωσι τὴν τῶν πολέμιων εἶναι σφετέραν, τὴν δὲ σφετέραν τῶν πολέμιων. Before οἰκίας, τὰς is to be supplied out of τὴν: cp. i. 54. 2, τὰ ναύαγια καὶ νεκρούς. ὀργισθέντας, “however angry you may be, do not fight:” μὴ does not apply to the participle. τὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων, “the contributions of our allies from which comes our

strength.” τὴν ὀλόφυρσιν, ἣν ποιήσεσθε δηλονότι, “if you lament, let it be not for houses and land, but for your bodies.” ποιεῖσθαι is governed by χρὴ, the intervening indicatives μαχούμεθα, προσάπολλυται, and ἡσυχάσουσι being parenthetical. As to τάδε and ταῦτα, cp. note on i. 132. 3.

CH. CXLIV. 1. ἐς ἐλπίδα] “Tending to produce a hope.” Cp. i. 56. 1, διάφορα ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν. ἅμα πολεμοῦντες, “in the midst of the war.” See *Madv. G. S.* 175 b. αὐθαιρέτους, “needless.” προστίθεσθαι is similarly used at i. 78. 1. The Scholiast remarks, αἰνίττεται Σικελίαν καὶ Ἰταλίαν ἧς ἐπεθύμουν κρατῆσαι. Pericles, however, does not name Sicily or Italy, nor is it likely that he anticipated any attempt to extend the Athenian empire so far to the westward. His advice, which was constantly repeated (see ii. 65.

ἦν ἐθέλητε ἀρχὴν τε μὴ ἐπικτᾶσθαι ἅμα πολεμοῦντες, καὶ κινδύνους αὐθαιρέτους μὴ προστίθεσθαι. μᾶλλον γὰρ πεφόβημαι τὰς οἰκείας ἡμῶν ἀμαρτίας ἢ τὰς τῶν ἐναντίων διανοίας. 2. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ ἅμα τοῖς ἔργοις δηλωθήσεται· νῦν δὲ τούτοις ἀποκρινάμενοι ἀποπέμψωμεν Μεγαρέας μὲν ὅτι ἐάσομεν ἀγορᾷ καὶ λιμέσι χρῆσθαι, ἦν καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ξενηλασίας μὴ ποιῶσι μήτε ἡμῶν μήτε τῶν ἡμετέρων ξυμμάχων· οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνο κωλύει ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς οὔτε τόδε· τὰς τε πόλεις ὅτι αὐτονόμους ἀφήσομεν, εἰ καὶ αὐτονόμους ἔχοντες ἐσπεισάμεθα καὶ ὅταν κἀκεῖνοι ταῖς αὐτῶν ἀποδῶσι πόλεσι μὴ σφίσι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιτηδείως αὐτονομεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ αὐτοῖς ἐκάστοις ὡς βούλονται· δίκας δὲ ὅτι ἐθέλομεν δοῦναι κατὰ τὰς ξυνηθήκας, πολέμου δὲ οὐκ ἄρξομεν, ἀρχομένους δὲ ἀμυνούμεθα. 3. ταῦτα γὰρ δίκαια καὶ πρέποντα ἅμα τῇδε τῇ πόλει ἀποκρίνασθαι. εἰδέναι δὲ χρὴ ὅτι ἀνάγκη πολεμεῖν. 4. ἦν δὲ ἐκούσιοι μᾶλλον δεχώμεθα, ἦσσαν ἐγκεισομένους τοὺς ἐναντίους ἔξομεν· ἔκ τε τῶν μεγίστων κινδύνων ὅτι καὶ πόλει καὶ ἰδιώτῃ

7), was quite general, and lays down a broad principle, which is applied by Nicias to the particular case of the Sicilian expedition, vi. 10. 5. Yet in the emphasis with which Thuc. twice mentions this warning of Pericles in his first two books, we may find a proof that he did not begin the composition of his history till after the calamity of Syracuse.

πεφόβημαι] I have come to be afraid of = I fear: see *Madv. G. S.* 112 b, r. 2.

2. ἅμα τοῖς ἔργοις] "When the war has begun." The war is called τὰ ἔργα, in order to bring in the perpetual antithesis to λόγῳ. And the promise of Pericles is redeemed at ii. 13; 60 sqq. ξενηλασίας: see Smith, *Dict. Ant.*

κωλύει] "Is a hindrance." Kr. But the passage which he quotes (*Arist. Birds* 463, δν διαμάπτειν οὐ κωλύει) seems rather to favour Hermann and Arnold, who make ἐκεῖνο and τόδε accusatives, and translate

"it hinders neither the one nor the other in the treaty."

ὅταν κἀκεῖνοι] "When they have restored to their own cities an independence not shaped by Lacedaemonian interests." For from i. 19 we learn that though the Spartans did not interfere directly in the domestic affairs of their allies, they took good care that each city should be governed by an oligarchy of their own friends.

ἀρχομένους] "Any one who is selfish enough to begin." For the difference between the active and middle, see notes on i. 6. 1; 16.

4. δεχώμεθα] Sc. τὸν πόλεμον. ἐγκεισομένους, "we shall find our enemies less impetuous." The tense of the participle is accommodated to the tense of the finite verb: cp. note on i. 18. 3. Or we may translate, "less likely to press us hard." For the mode of expression, cp. i. 120. 3, χαλεπωτέραν ἔξουσι τὴν κατακομιδὴν.

μέγιστα τιμαὶ περιγίγνονται. 5. οἱ γοῦν πατέρες ἡμῶν ὑποστάντες Μήδους καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοσῶνδε ὀρμώμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἐκλιπόντες γνώμη τε πλείονι ἢ τύχῃ καὶ τόλμῃ μείζονι ἢ δυνάμει τὸν τε βάρβαρον ἀπεώσαντο καὶ ἐς τὰδε προήγαγον αὐτά. 6. ὧν οὐ χρὴ λείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τε ἐχθροὺς παντὶ τρόπῳ ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις πειρᾶσθαι αὐτὰ μὴ ἐλάσσω παραδοῦναι.”

145. 1. Ὁ μὲν Περικλῆς τοιαῦτα εἶπεν. 2. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι νομίσαντες ἄριστα σφίσι παραινεῖν αὐτὸν ἐψηφίσαντο ἃ ἐκέλευε, καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀπεκρίναντο τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ, καθ’ ἑκαστά τε ὡς ἔφρασε καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν, οὐδὲν κελεύόμενοι ποιήσῃν, δίκη δὲ κατὰ τὰς ξυνθήκας ἐτοῖμοι εἶναι διαλύεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἐπὶ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ. 3. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ’ οἴκου καὶ οὐκέτι ὕστερον ἐπρεσβεύοντο.

146. Αἰτίαι δὲ αὗται καὶ διαφοραὶ ἐγένοντο ἀμφοτέροις πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου ἀρξάμεναι εὐθύς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ καὶ Κερκύρᾳ· ἐπεμίνυντο δὲ ὅμως ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ παρ’ ἀλλήλους ἐφοίτων, ἀκηρύκτως μὲν, ἀνυπόπτως δὲ οὔ. σπονδῶν γὰρ ξύγχυσις τὰ γιγνομενα ἦν καὶ πρόφασις τοῦ πολεμεῖν.

5. γοῦν] Cp. i. 2. 5. οὐκ ἀπὸ τοσῶνδε ὀρμώμενοι, “having fewer advantages to start with:” cp. i. 64. 3. αὐτά, “our empire.” There is no word in the sentence to which we can well make αὐτά refer: ὑπάρχοντα, though adopted by Krüger and Poppo, is scarcely adequate to the sense. But we have frequently seen this pronoun used where its antecedent is left quite indeterminate, and has to be inferred and pieced together out of the sentence: cp. i. 1. 3; 22. 4.

6. μὴ ἐλάσσω] Compare for the

sentiment, i. 71. 7.

CH. CXLV. 2.] καθ’ ἑκαστά is virtually a single word, co-ordinate with τὸ ξύμπαν. See note on i. 3. 2. κελεύόμενοι, “upon dictation.” ἐπὶ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ, cp. i. 27. 1.

CH. CXLVI. αὗται] See note on i. 50. 2. ἐπεμίνυντο: the active voice is used i. 2. 2. ὅμως, though these disputes had made war inevitable. ἐν αὐταῖς, while these mutual recriminations were going on. ἀκηρύκτως, ἄνευ κηρυκείου ὡς πρὸς φίλους δῆθεν. Sch. Cp. i. 53. 1; ii. 1.



ΕΥΓΓΡΑΦΗΣ Β.

ANALYSIS OF THE SECOND BOOK.

	CHAPS.
	i.—xlvi.
Summer.	<p>FIRST Year of the War (B.C. 431—430)</p> <p>Attempt of the Thebans upon Plataea: the Plataeans destroy or capture the whole of the force which had entered their town; and afterwards put their prisoners to death in cold blood. The Athenians imprison all the Boeotians in Attica and send a garrison to Plataea (ii.—vi.). The Athenians and Spartans make vigorous preparations for war (vii.). General stir and excitement throughout Hellas, but public sympathy for the most part goes with Sparta (viii.). List of the allies of either side (ix.). Archidamus collects an army at the Isthmus for the invasion of Attica (x.). His speech to the soldiers (xi.). He sends an envoy to Athens, still hoping that war may be avoided, but the Athenians will not allow him to enter their walls (xii.). Efforts of Pericles to invigorate the Athenians. He exhorts them to stand resolutely on the defensive, and points out the magnitude of their resources in money and men (xiii.). The Athenians from the country crowd into the city (xiv.), but with great reluctance, because in Attica the country demes had retained their ancient independence till a late period, and were not so entirely supplanted by the metropolis in the feelings of their inhabitants as had been the case elsewhere (xv. xvi.), and besides the accommodation within the walls was insufficient for the sudden influx of people. The Peloponnesians advance, after a fruitless attack on Oenoe (xviii.), through the Thriasian plain to Acharnae (xix.), hoping that the Acharnian hoplites will insist upon giving battle for the protection of their farms (xx.). The Athenians are eager for an engagement (xxi.), but Pericles curbs their impatience (xxii.). The Athenians despatch an expedition of 100 ships to ravage the coasts of Peloponnesus, and Archidamus</p>

Winter.

evacuates Attica (xxiii.). The Athenians take measures for the defence of their city by land and sea, and provide a reserve fund of money and ships (xxiv.). Their expedition attacks Methone, which is saved by Brasidas, and captures Pheia (xxv.). Another fleet of 30 ships is sent to Locris and Euboea (xxvi.). The Aeginetans are expelled from their island and allowed by the Spartans to settle in Thyrea (xxvii.). Eclipse of the sun (xxviii.). The Athenians conclude an alliance with Sitalces, king of the Odrysian Thracians, and make peace with Perdiccas, king of Macedonia. Their fleet captures Solium and Astacus, and persuades the island of Cephallenia to join their confederacy (xxx.). In the autumn Pericles invades and ravages the Megarid (xxxi.), and an Athenian garrison is posted in the island of Atalanta (xxxii.). A Corinthian fleet recaptures Astacus and makes a descent upon Cephallenia (xxxiii.). The Athenians celebrate the funeral of those of their citizens who had been slain during the past year (xxxiv.), and Pericles having been selected to deliver the customary harangue, dwells upon the glory and greatness of Athens, which well deserve the extremest sacrifices on the part of her children, and exhorts the living to emulate the example of the dead (xxxv.—xlvi.).

Summer.

Second Year of the War (B.C. 430—429) . . .

xlvi.—lxx.

Second invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesians under Archidamus. The plague breaks out in Athens. Its symptoms and ravages and influence upon religion and morality (xlvi.—liv.). While the invading army is still in their territory, the Athenians, as in the preceding year, fit out an expedition of 100 ships and ravage the east coast of the Peloponnese (lv.—lvi.). The Peloponnesians were afraid of the plague, and on this account retreated sooner than they otherwise would have done (lvii.). Expedition of Hagnon and Cleopompus to Potidaea. They carry the plague with them, and are obliged to return (lviii.). Discouragement of the Athenians. Their overtures are rejected by the Lacedaemonians. Pericles convenes a meeting of the people, and delivers a speech, in which he attempts to confirm their resolution and allay their anger against himself (lix.—lxiv.). He succeeds in encouraging, but not in pacifying them: he is fined, but regains his ascendancy. Shortly afterwards he dies, two years and six months from the outbreak of the war. His wisdom

and virtue, his personal authority and sway over the Athenian democracy. The incapacity and folly of his successors are mainly responsible for the disastrous termination of the war (lxv.). Fruitless expedition of the Lacedaemonians against Zacynthus (lxvi.). Aristeus and two Lacedaemonian ambassadors, on their way to the king of Persia, are seized by Sitalces and given up to the Athenians, by whom they are put to death (lxvii.). The Ambraciots attack the Amphilocheian Argos, but are repulsed (lxviii.). The Athenians post Phormion with a squadron of 20 galleys at Naupactus, and make an unfortunate descent upon Caria and Lycia (lxix.). Capitulation of Potidaea (lxx.).

Winter.

Third Year of the War (B.C. 429—428) . . .

Summer.

Instead of invading Attica this year the Peloponnesians advance to the siege of Plataea. The inhabitants of the town remonstrate, but in vain; they refuse to renounce their alliance with the Athenians, who promise them aid, and Archidamus commences operations. His mound and battering-rams fail; an attempt to set the town on fire miscarries; and the siege is turned into a blockade (lxxi.—lxxviii.). Defeat of an Athenian force by the Chalcidians and Bottiaeans (lxxix.). The Ambraciots and others aided by Cnemus, the Spartan admiral, invade Acarnania. They are repulsed from Stratus and fall back upon Oeniadae, where their forces break up and disperse (lxxx.—lxxxii.). Meanwhile the Corinthian fleet which should have co-operated with Cnemus is engaged and defeated by Phormion off the promontory of Rhium (lxxxiii.—lxxxiv.). The Spartans determine to retrieve this discomfiture (lxxxv.) and collect a fresh fleet of 75 sail, under the command of Cnemus and Brasidas (lxxxvi.). Exhortation of the Spartan commanders to their crews (lxxxvii.). Phormion also encourages his men (lxxxviii.—lxxxix.), and in the ensuing engagement, though his 20 ships are taken at great disadvantage, he inflicts so severe a check upon the enemy that they dare not renew the conflict (xc.—xciii.). Cnemus makes a sudden descent from Nisaea upon Salamis (xciii.). He had intended to go on and try to take the Peiraeus by surprise; but an alarm had been given, and the Athenians were on the alert (xciv.). Sitalces, king of the Thracians, attacks Perdiccas in Macedonia (here follow two digressions upon the kingdoms of the

lxxi.—ciii.

Winter.

Odrysiens and of Macedonia). With an army estimated at 150,000 men, he overflows the country; but the Athenians fail to support him, and he is obliged to retreat without having effected any thing of consequence (xcv.—ci.). Some operations of Phormion in Acarnania. Digression about the Echinades (cii.). Phormion returns to Athens (ciii.).

ΞΥΓΓΡΑΦΗΣ Β.

1. "Αρχεται δὲ ὁ πόλεμος ἐνθένδε ἤδη Ἀθηναίων καὶ Πελοποννησίων καὶ τῶν ἐκατέροις ξυμμάχων, ἐν ᾧ οὔτε ἐπεμύγνυντο ἔτι ἀκηρυκτὶ παρ' ἀλλήλους καταστάντες τε ξυνεχῶς ἐπολέμουν· γέγραπται δὲ ἐξῆς ὡς ἕκαστα ἐγίγνετο κατὰ θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα.

2. 1. Τέσσαρα μὲν γὰρ καὶ δέκα ἔτη ἐνέμειναν αἱ τριακοντούτεις σπονδαὶ αἱ ἐγένοντο μετὰ Εὐβοίας ἄλωσιν· τῷ δὲ πέμπτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει ἐπὶ Χρυσίδος ἐν Ἀργεὶ τότε πεντήκοντα δυοῖν δέοντα ἔτη ἱερωμένης καὶ Αἰνησίου ἐφόρου ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ Πυθοδώρου ἔτι δύο μῆνας ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοις, μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ποτιδαίᾳ μάχην μηνὶ ἕκτῳ καὶ ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ Θηβαίων ἄνδρες ὀλίγῳ πλείους τριακοσίων, ἡγούντο δὲ αὐτῶν Βοιωταρχοῦντες Πυθάγγελός τε ὁ Φυλείδου καὶ Διέμπορος ὁ Ὀνητορίδου, ἐσῆλθον περὶ πρῶτον ὕπνον ξὺν ὅπλοις εἰς Πλάταιαν τῆς Βοιωτίας οὔσαν Ἀθηναίων ξυμ-

CH. I. **καταστάντες**] Cp. i. 49. 3. **κατὰ θέρος**, according to summer and winter, the events of each season being treated as a distinct group. Summer began about the middle of Elaphebolion (March),—cp. iv. 118. 6 with iv. 117. 1,—and embraced spring (v. 40. 1) and autumn (ii. 31. 1). Maimacterion (November) was the first of the four winter months: see vi. 21. 2. It is not necessary to understand v. 20. 3 as meaning that the winter and summer lasted exactly six months each.

CH. II. 1. **γάρ**] "The war, I say, begins here *for*," μετὰ Εὐβοίας ἄλωσιν, cp. i. 12. 3; 115. 1. ἔτι δύο μῆνας ἄρχοντος, "having still

two months to be archon;" and, therefore, as the archons were elected in the commencement of Hecatombaeon (July) the attack was made toward the end of Munychion (April). But this seems rather too late to be called ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ, so Poppo would read *τρῆς*, and Grote (vi. 155) appears to agree with him; Krüger proposes *τέσσαρας*.

τριακοσίων] Hdt. says 400 (vii. 233). **Βοιωταρχοῦντες**, "as being, because they were Bocotarchs:" see Smith, *Dict. Ant.* **περὶ πρῶτον ὕπνον**, cp. vii. 43. 2, ἀπὸ πρῶτου ὕπνου.

μαχίδα. 2. ἐπηγάγοντο δὲ καὶ ἀνέωξαν τὰς πύλας Πλαταιῶν ἄνδρες Ναυκλείδης τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, βουλόμενοι ἰδίας ἔνεκα δυνάμεως ἄνδρας τε τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς σφίσι ὑπεναντίους διαφθεῖραι καὶ τὴν πόλιν Θηβαίοις προσποιῆσαι. 3. ἔπραξαν δὲ ταῦτα δι' Εὐρυμάχου τοῦ Λεοντιάδου ἀνδρὸς Θηβαίων δυνατωτάτου. 4. προῖδόντες γὰρ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ὅτι ἔσοιτο ὁ πόλεμος ἠβούλουντο τὴν Πλάταιαν ἀεὶ σφίσι διάφορον οὔσαν ἔτι ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ τοῦ πολέμου μή πω φανεροῦ καθεστῶτος προκαταλαβεῖν. 5. ἦ καὶ ῥᾶον ἔλαθον ἐσελθόντες, φυλακῆς οὐ προκαθεστηκυίας. 6. θέμενοι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν τὰ ὄπλα τοῖς μὲν ἐπαγομένοις οὐκ ἐπείθοντο ὥστ' εὐθύς ἔργου ἔχεσθαι καὶ ἰέναι ἐς τὰς οἰκίας τῶν ἐχθρῶν, γνώμην δὲ ἐποιοῦντο κηρύγμασί τε χρήσασθαι ἐπιτηδείοις καὶ ἐς ξύμβασιν μᾶλλον καὶ φιλίαν τὴν πόλιν ἀγαγεῖν, καὶ ἀνείπεν ὁ κήρυξ, εἴ τις βούλεται κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τῶν πάντων Βοιωτῶν ξυμμαχεῖν, τίθεσθαι παρ' αὐτοὺς τὰ ὄπλα, νομίζοντες σφίσι ῥαδίως τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ προσχωρήσειν τὴν πόλιν. 3. 1. οἱ δὲ Πλαταιῆς ὡς ᾗσθοντο ἔνδον τε ὄντας τοὺς

2. προσποιῆσαι] Cp. i. 55. 1. They wanted to force the town to join the Boeotian league, and so to get the government into the hands of their own party, that of the oligarchy.

4.] φανεροῦ is predicate—"before the war openly broke out." μῆπω, because this clause denotes not a fact but a part of their wish or intention, so that the negative is attracted, as it were, towards the infinitive: cp. i. 70. 3.

5. ἦ καί] Cp. i. 11. 3.

6. θέμενοι . . τὰ ὄπλα] Cp. Livy, xxxi. 42, *statutis signis armisque ante se positis*. After a march, or while listening to a speech from a general, or during the pause before a battle, the Greek hoplite was accustomed to divest himself of his heavy shield and spear, which were either piled in some convenient place or places (cp. vi. 58), or simply laid or rested on the ground

at his feet, ready to be caught up when the moment of action came. Before an engagement this was so regularly done that the phrase τίθεσθαι τὰ ὄπλα frequently seems to mean "to draw up in line:" cp. Hdt. i. 62, *ἀντία ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα*: so also v. 74. Elsewhere, as at Hdt. ix. 52, it means apparently "to halt" or "stand at ease" (see Bähr's notes). In the present passage the second of these meanings is the most suitable; a little lower down τίθεσθαι παρ' αὐτοὺς τὰ ὄπλα is "to come and take a place in their line." Cp. Thuc. iv. 44. 1; 68. 3; 93. 3; vii. 3. 1; viii. 25. 3; 93. 1; and Grote, vi. 155; vii. 574.

ἔργου ἔχεσθαι] See i. 49. 8. κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, "according to the ancient laws of all the Boeotians to join their alliance"—a euphemistic way of saying "to change their dependence upon Athens for dependence upon Thebes."

Θηβαίους καὶ ἑξαπιναίως κατειλημμένην τὴν πόλιν, καταδείσαντες καὶ νομίσαντες πολλῶ πλείους ἐσεληλυθέναι, οὐ γὰρ ἑώρων ἐν τῇ νυκτί, πρὸς ξύμβασιν ἐχώρησαν καὶ τοὺς λόγους δεξάμενοι ἡσύχαζον, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐς οὐδένα οὐδὲν ἐνεωτέριζον. 2. πράσσοντες δέ πως ταῦτα κατενόησαν οὐ πολλοὺς τοὺς Θηβαίους ὄντας καὶ ἐνόμισαν ἐπιθέμενοι ῥαδίως κρατῆσαι· τῇ γὰρ πλήθει τῶν Πλαταιῶν οὐ βουλομένῳ ἦν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀφίστασθαι. 3. ἐδόκει οὖν ἐπιχειρητέα εἶναι καὶ ξυνελέγοντο διορύσσοντες τοὺς κοινούς τοίχους παρ' ἀλλήλους, ὅπως μὴ διὰ τῶν ὁδῶν φανεροὶ ὦσιν ἰόντες, ἀμάξας τε ἄνευ τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἐς τὰς ὁδοὺς καθίστασαν, ἵν' ἀντὶ τείχους ᾗ, καὶ τᾶλλα ἐξήρτυον ᾗ ἕκαστον ἐφαίνετο πρὸς τὰ παρόντα ξύμφορον ἔσεσθαι. 4. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥς ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν ἐτοῖμα ἦν, φυλάξαντες ἔτι νύκτα καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ περίορθρον ἐχώρουν ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἐπ' αὐτούς, ὅπως μὴ κατὰ φῶς θαρσαλεωτέροις οὔσι προσφέρωνται καὶ σφίσιν ἐκ

CH. III. 1. ἐνεωτέριζον] Sc. οἱ Θηβαῖοι. "Especially when they saw that they offered no violence to any one." Cp. i. 132. 3.

2. πως] "As it fell out:" they made the discovery accidentally while thinking of other matters. κρατῆσαι: we might have looked for ἄν, but the aorist infinitive is similarly used of something future at i. 26. 5, χρήσασθαι: 81. 7, δουλεῦσαι: and elsewhere. οὐ βουλομένῳ ἦν: "for the majority of the Plataeans did not wish to revolt." Cp. ii. 60. 1; iv. 80. 2; vii. 35. 2; viii. 92. 6; also Madvig, *G. S.* 38 d, and note on i. 10. 7 above. The construction is imitated by Sallust, *Jug.* 100, militibus exaequatus cum imperatore labos volentibus esset; and by Tacitus, *Hist.* iii. 43, Maturo caeterisque remanere et in verba Vespasiani adigi volentibus fuit.

3. ἐπιχειρητέα] For the use of the plural, cp. i. 1. 3; 88. 1. τοὺς κοινούς τοίχους, "the party walls." ἵν' ἀντὶ τείχους ᾗ, "that it (this

line of carts) might serve as a wall" or barricade.

4. ὥς ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν] "When such preparations as circumstances admitted were complete." Cp. vi. 54. 3, ὥς ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ἀξιώσεως, "as well as his rank allowed him;" vi. 70. 4, ὥς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, and vii. 74. 1. ὥς introduces a limitation: cp. i. 1. 2; 10. 7.

ἔτι νύκτα] "Having watched for that time when it is still night, and the very point of dawn." νύξ ἔτι seems to be rather strangely used for "the end of the night," as χειμῶν ἤδη (i. 30. 4) is "the beginning of winter," and ἔαρ ἤδη (iv. 135) "the beginning of spring." Cp. i. 103. 3; 105. 4; 122. 4. προσφέρωνται, sc. οἱ Πλαταιῆς. γίνωνται, sc. οἱ Θηβαῖοι. For similar abrupt changes of subject cp. i. 51. 5; ii. 84. 2; iv. 47. 1; and elsewhere. ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου here differs little from ἴσοι: cp. i. 143. 3. φοβερώτεροι, passive, = more terrified: cp. iv. 128. 4, ἐν νυκτερινῇ καὶ φοβερᾷ ἀναχωρήσει.

τοῦ ἴσου γίνωνται, ἀλλ' ἐν νυκτὶ φοβερώτεροι ὄντες ἥσους ὥσι τῆς σφετέρας ἐμπειρίας τῆς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν. 5. προσέβαλόν τε εὐθὺς καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἦσαν κατὰ τάχος. 4. 1. οἱ δ' ὥς ἔγνωσαν ἠπατημένοι, ξυνεστρέφοντό τε ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰς προσβολὰς ἢ προσπίπτοιεν ἀπεωθοῦντο. 2. καὶ δὺς μὲν ἢ τρὶς ἀπεκρούσαντο, ἔπειτα πολλῶ θορύβῳ αὐτῶν τε προσβαλλόντων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἅμα ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν κραυγῇ τε καὶ ὀλολυγῇ χρωμένων, λίθοις τε καὶ κεράμῳ βαλλόντων, καὶ ὑετοῦ ἅμα διὰ νυκτὸς πολλοῦ ἐπιγενομένου, ἐφοβήθησαν καὶ τραπόμενοι ἔφυγον διὰ τῆς πόλεως, ἄπειροι μὲν ὄντες οἱ πλείους ἐν σκοτῷ καὶ πηλῷ τῶν διόδων ἢ χρὴ σωθῆναι, καὶ γὰρ τελευτῶντος τοῦ μηνὸς τὰ γιγνόμενα ἦν, ἐμπείρους δὲ ἔχοντες τοὺς διώκοντας τοῦ μὴ ἐκφεύγειν, ὥστε διεφθείροντο πολλοί. 3. τῶν δὲ Πλαταιῶν τις τὰς πύλας ἢ ἐσήλθον καὶ αἶπερ ἦσαν ἀνεωγμένοι μόναι, ἔκλησε στυρακίῳ ἀκοντίου ἀντὶ βαλάνου χρησάμενος ἐς τὸν μοχλόν, ὥστε μηδὲ ταύτῃ ἔτι ἔξοδον εἶναι. 4. διωκόμενοί τε κατὰ τὴν πόλιν οἱ μὲν τινες αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ

ἥσους] “May be put at a disadvantage by their (the Plataeans’) knowledge of the town.”

CH. IV. 1. ξυνεστρέφοντο] “Closed their ranks:” cp. iv. 68. 6; vii. 30. 2. ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, literally = among themselves. For the use of the preposition ἐν cp. iv. 25. 9, παρακελευόμενοι ἐν ἑαυτοῖς. ἀπεωθοῦντο is the imperfect of indefinite repetition joined as usual with the relative adverb and optative: see on i. 49. 3.

2. κεράμῳ] “The tiling.” Cp. ἑπαλξίς, ii. 13. 6; ἄμπελος and πλίνθος, iv. 90. 2; δᾶς, vii. 53. 3. ἐπιγίγνεσθαι is used like the Latin *supervenire* of sudden calamities. οἱ πλείους, cp. note on δεδιότες, i. 49. 5.

τελευτῶντος] τοῦ κατὰ σελήνην λέγει μηνός. Sch. This is to account for ἐν σκοτῷ—there was no moon: cp. on ii. 28.

ἐμπείρους] “While their pur-

suers knew every inch of the ground so that they could not escape.” Cp. notes on i. 4; 76. 2. Dobree wishes to read τὸ μὴ ἐκφεύγειν, but this is unnecessary. Krüger quotes Lys. 20. 36, παρ' ὑμῶν οὐδὲν εὐρησόμεθα τοῦ σωθῆναι, and Arnold translates, rather happily, “having for pursuers men well acquainted with the ways, which thing belonged to, or was connected with [resulted in] their not escaping.”

3. βαλάνου] στυράκιον λαβὼν τις, φησί, τῶν Πλαταιέων ἐν τῷ μοχλῷ τῆς θύρας ἐνέβαλεν, βάλανος δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ βαλλόμενον εἰς τὸν μοχλὸν σιδήριον, ὃ καλοῦμεν μάγγανον. ὅθεν καὶ ἡ κλεῖς καλεῖται βαλανάγρα παρὰ τὸ ἀγρεύειν τὴν βάλανον. Sch. See Smith, *Dict. Ant.* s. v. Porta. χρησάμενος ἐς: the use to which he put it was to thrust it *into* the bar, hence ἐς: cp. ii. 49. 5.

4. οἱ μὲν τινες] “Some, I do not know how many.” For τις

τείχος ἀναβάντες ἔρριψαν ἐς τὸ ἔξω σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ διεφθάρησαν οἱ πλείους, οἱ δὲ κατὰ πύλας ἐρήμους γυναικὸς δούσης πέλεκυν λαθόντες καὶ διακόψαντες τὸν μοχλὸν ἐξῆλθον οὐ πολλοί, αἴσθησις γὰρ ταχεῖα ἐπεγένετο, ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλη τῆς πόλεως σποράδην ἀπώλλυντο. 5. τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον καὶ ὅσον μάλιστα ἦν ξυνεστραμμένον, ἐσπίπτουσιν ἐς οἶκημα μέγα, ὃ ἦν τοῦ τείχους καὶ αἱ πλησίον θύραι ἀνεωγμέναι ἔτυχον αὐτοῦ, οἰόμενοι πύλας τὰς θύρας τοῦ οἰκήματος εἶναι καὶ ἀντικρυς δίοδον ἐς τὸ ἔξω. 6. ὁρῶντες δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Πλαταιῆς ἀπειλημμένους ἐβουλεύοντο εἴτε κατακαύσωσιν ὥσπερ ἔχουσιν ἐμπρήσαντες τὸ οἶκημα, εἴτε τι ἄλλο χρήσονται. 7. τέλος δὲ οὗτοί τε καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῶν Θηβαίων περιῆσαν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πλανώμενοι ξυνέβησαν τοῖς Πλαταιεῦσι παραδοῦναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ ὅπλα χρήσασθαι ὃ τι ἂν βούλωνται. 8. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ Πλαταίᾳ οὕτως ἐπεπράγεσαν.

5. 1. Οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι Θηβαῖοι οὕς ἔδει ἔτι τῆς νυκτὸς παραγενέσθαι πανστρατιᾷ, εἴ τι ἄρα μὴ προχωροίη τοῖς ἐσεληλυ-

with the article and μέν or δέ cp. i. 107. 6; ii. 90. 6; vi. 15. 1; with the article and a noun iv. 78. 5; vii. 2. 4; Soph. *O. R.* 107, τοὺς αὐτοέντας χειρὶ τιμωρεῖν τινάς: *O.C.* 288, ὅταν δ' ὁ κύριος παρῇ τις: *Ant.* 252, οὐργάτης τις: and elsewhere.

λαθόντες καὶ διακόψαντες] The insertion of καὶ shows that λαθόντες belongs to ἐξῆλθον alone. Cp. i. 61. 3, καὶ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Βέροϊαν καὶ κείθεν ἐπιστρέψαντες καὶ πειράσαντες πρῶτον τοῦ χωρίου καὶ οὐχ ἐλόντες ἐπορεύοντο, where as here the intermediate words between the first participle and the finite verb seem to be an afterthought. Cp. also note on i. 75. 2.

5. δ ἦν τοῦ τείχους] Cp. i. 134. 3, δ ἦν τοῦ ἱεροῦ. The city wall formed one side of the building. αἱ πλησίον θύραι, the doors of the building which were near them, i.e. the retreating Thebans. πύλαι τοῦ τείχους, θύραι τοῦ οἴκου. Sch. ἀντικρυς = "right through:" cp. vi.

49. 1. In the other passages where Thuc. uses this word it bears the sense of "openness:" cp. v. 30. 2; vi. 10. 3; viii. 92. 11; or, with substantives of "completeness" or "thoroughness," cp. i. 122. 5; viii. 64. 5.

6. κατακαύσωσιν] Deliberative subjunctive: cp. i. 107. 8, and *Madv. G. S.* 121. ὥσπερ ἔχουσι, cp. i. 134. 5. εἴτε τι ἄλλο χρήσονται, "or whether they shall do something else with them."

7. χρήσασθαι δ τι ἂν βούλωνται] They surrendered unconditionally, literally "that their captors shall deal with them as they please." For the infinitive cp. note on i. 44. 1, for the adverbial accusative on i. 3. 6.

CH. V. 1. εἴ τι ἄρα] "If after all any thing should go wrong," which they thought unlikely. ἅμα καθ' ὁδόν = ἅμα πορευομένοις, "in the midst of their march."

θοσι, τῆς ἀγγελίας ἅμα καθ' ὁδὸν αὐτοῖς ῥηθείσης περὶ τῶν γεγενημένων ἐπεβοήθουν. 2. ἀπέχει δὲ ἡ Πλάταια τῶν Θηβῶν σταδίους ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ γενόμενον τῆς νυκτὸς ἐποίησε βραδύτερον αὐτοὺς ἐλθεῖν· ὁ γὰρ Ἀσωπὸς ποταμὸς ἑρρὺή μέγας καὶ οὐ ῥαδίως διαβατὸς ἦν. 3. πορευόμενοί τε ἐν ὑετῷ καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν μόλις διαβάντες ὕστερον παρεγένοντο, ἥδη τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν μὲν διεφθαρμένων, τῶν δὲ ζώντων ἐχομένων. 4. ὥς δ' ἦσθοντο οἱ Θηβαῖοι τὸ γεγενημένον, ἐπεβούλευον τοῖς ἔξω τῆς πόλεως τῶν Πλαταιῶν· ἦσαν γὰρ καὶ ἄνθρωποι κατὰ τοὺς ἀγροὺς καὶ κατασκευή, οἷα ἀπροσδοκίτου κακοῦ ἐν εἰρήνῃ γενομένου· ἐβούλουντο γὰρ σφίσιν εἶ τινα λάβοιεν ὑπάρχειν ἀντὶ τῶν ἔνδον, ἦν ἄρα τύχῳσί τινες ἐζωγρημένοι. 5. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα διενοοῦντο· οἱ δὲ Πλαταιῆς ἔτι διαβουλευομένων αὐτῶν ὑποτοπήσαντες τοιοῦτόν τι ἔσεσθαι καὶ δείσαντες περὶ τοῖς ἔξω κήρυκα ἐξέπεμψαν παρὰ τοὺς Θηβαίους λέγοντες ὅτι οὔτε τὰ πεποιημένα ὁσίως δράσειαν ἐν σπονδαῖς σφῶν πειραθέντες καταλαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν, τά τε ἔξω ἔλεγον αὐτοῖς μὴ ἀδικεῖν. 6. εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔφασαν αὐτῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀποκτενεῖν οὓς ἔχουσι ζώντας· ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ πάλιν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀποδώσειν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἄνδρας. 7. Θηβαῖοι μὲν ταῦτα λέγουσι καὶ ἐπομόσαι φασὶν αὐτούς· Πλαταιῆς δ' οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσι τοὺς ἄνδρας εὐθὺς ὑποσχέσθαι ἀποδώσειν, ἀλλὰ

2. ἑρρὺή μέγας] “Was flowing in full torrent.”

3.] ζώντων ἐχομένων = ἐζωγρημένων. The participles are not co-ordinate, the first being a disguised secondary predicate (ἐχομαι ζῶν): cp. note on i. 75. 2.

4. κατασκευή] Cp. i. 10. 2. εἰ λάβοιεν . . . ἦν τύχῳσι in the direct oration would be εἶ τινα λάβοιμεν ὑπάρχοι ἂν ἡμῖν . . . ἦν τύχῳσι, so that we have here an instance of that mixed mode of the indirect oration noticed on i. 28. 2. The difference between the optative and subjunctive here is clear enough, “if we *could* catch any one,” they say, we *might* use him as a hostage

in case any of our men *are* alive in the enemy's hands.

5. ὅτι οὔτε] We have here an anacoluthon (cp. i. 57. 3) caused by the difficulty of passing in the oblique oration from a plain statement of fact to an imperative. Thus the sentence concludes with τά τε ἔξω ἔλεγον, as if it had begun with ὅτι οὐ, and ἔλεγον were to be connected with ἐξέπεμψαν.

6. εἰ δὲ μή] Cp. i. 28. 4. ἀναχωρησάντων . . . αὐτοῖς, cp. i. 114. 1. διαβεβηκότος . . . αὐτῷ.

7. εὐθὺς] The Plataeans did not deny that they had promised to give back the prisoners; all they could urge was that they had not pro-

λόγων πρῶτον γενομένων ἦν τι συμβαίνωσι, καὶ ἐπομόσαι οὐ φασιν. 8. ἐκ δ' οὖν τῆς γῆς ἀνεχώρησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι οὐδὲν ἀδικήσαντες· οἱ δὲ Πλαταιῆς ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἐκ τῆς χώρας κατὰ τάχος ἐσεκομίσαντο, ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς ἄνδρας εὐθύς. 9. ἦσαν δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν οἱ ληφθέντες, καὶ Εὐρύμαχος εἰς αὐτῶν ἦν, πρὸς ὃν ἔπραξαν οἱ προδιδόντες. 6. 1. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες ἔς τε τὰς Ἀθήνας ἄγγελον ἔπεμπον καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδωσαν τοῖς Θηβαίοις, τὰ τ' ἐν τῇ πόλει καθίσταντο πρὸς τὰ παρόντα ἢ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς. 2. τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις ἡγγέλθη εὐθύς τὰ περὶ τῶν Πλαταιῶν γεγενημένα, καὶ Βοιωτῶν τε παραχρῆμα ξυνέλαβον ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ καὶ ἐς τὴν Πλάταιαν ἔπέμψαν κήρυκα, κελεύοντες εἰπεῖν μηδὲν νεώτερον ποιεῖν περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὓς ἔχουσι Θηβαίων, πρὶν ἂν τι καὶ αὐτοὶ βουλευσῶσι περὶ αὐτῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἡγγέλθη αὐτοῖς ὅτι τεθνηκότες εἶεν. 3. ἅμα γὰρ τῇ ἐσόδῳ γιγνομένη τῶν Θηβαίων ὁ πρῶτος ἄγγελος ἐξήκει, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἄρτι νενικημένων τε καὶ ξυνειλημμένων· καὶ τῶν ὕστερον οὐδὲν ἥδεσαν. 4. οὕτω δὲ οὐκ εἰδότες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπέστελλον· ὁ δὲ κήρυξ ἀφικόμενος εὔρε τοὺς ἄνδρας διεφθαρμένους. 5. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι στρατεύσαντες ἐς Πλάταιαν σῖτόν τε ἐσήγαγον καὶ φρουροὺς ἐγκατέλιπον, τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων τοὺς ἀχρειοτάτους ξὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ἐξεκόμισαν.

7. 1. Γεγενημένου δὲ τοῦ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ἔργου καὶ λελυ-

mised at once, nor until they found that without such a promise the Thebans would not go away. And, they add, you may call us liars if you like, but we are not perjurers, — a nice distinction.

8. δ' οὖν] “However this may be,” whether they swore or not, the result was the same: cp. i. 3. 5. ἐσεκομίσαντο: for the use of the aorist cp. i. 31. 2; 50. 2. ἀπέκτειναν: Grote (vi. 161) points out the “glaring impolicy” of this act. The Theban prisoners would have been as valuable to the Plataeans as the Athenian prisoners were to

the Boeotians after Coronea, or the Spartan to the Athenians after Sphacteria.

CH. VI. 1. πρὸς τὰ παρόντα] “To suit the present emergency.”

2. Θηβαίων] Cp. Πελοποννησίων, i. 115. 1; Ἀθηναίων, ii. 67. 4.

5. ἀχρειοτάτους] Cp. i. 93 6; 105. 5.

CH. VII. 1. Πλαταιαῖς] Again at ii. 10. 1 Thuc. uses the plural form. In some other passages, as ii. 78. 5, we have a genitive Πλαταιῶν, which might denote either the town or its inhabitants.

μένων λαμπρῶς τῶν σπονδῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς πολεμήσοντας, παρεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι αὐτῶν, πρεσβείας τε μέλλοντες πέμπειν παρὰ βασιλέα καὶ ἄλλοσε ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, εἴ ποθέν τινα ὠφέλειαν ἥλπιζον ἐκάτεροι προσλήψεσθαι, πόλεις τε ξυμ-
μαχίδας ποιούμενοι ὅσαι ἦσαν ἐκτὸς τῆς ἐαυτῶν δυνάμεως.
2. καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν πρὸς ταῖς αὐτοῦ ὑπαρχούσαις ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας τοῖς τὰκείνων ἐλομένοις ναῦς ἐπετάχθησαν ποιεῖσθαι κατὰ μέγεθος τῶν πόλεων, ὡς ἐς τὸν πάντα ἀριθμὸν πεντακοσίων νεῶν ἐσομένων, καὶ ἀργύριον ῥητὸν

μέλλοντες] For the Lacedaemonian application to Persia cp. i. 82. 1; ii. 67. 1. μέλλοντες applies to both sides, nevertheless we need not suppose Thuc. to mean that Athens had as yet any intention of bidding for Persian aid; and so the Scholiast, after remarking περὶ ἀμφοτέρων λέγει, Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων δηλονότι, proceeds thus: οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς τοὺς Θρᾷκας, καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς πρώτης λέγει “καὶ μέρει τινὶ τῶν βαρβάρων.” ἐαυτῶν is somewhat strangely used, as there is no need to bring out the contrast between their own power and that of others, and we do not often find the primary employed instead of the secondary reflexive merely to denote the subject of the main verb.

2. καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις] A very difficult and most probably corrupt sentence. According to Arnold, Λακεδαιμονίοις is the dative of the agent after ἐπετάχθησαν, the nominative to which is to be supplied from τοῖς τὰκείνων ἐλομένοις, which is governed in its turn by ὑπαρχούσαις, while the words ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας explain αὐτοῦ. He translates, “in addition to the ships already on the spot in Italy and Sicily belonging to the allies of Lacedaemon, they were ordered to build more,” and there is no other way of translating the words as they

stand. But, not to dwell upon the extreme harshness of the process by which a subject is squeezed out of a dative forming part of the predicate of the sentence; it is clear that the Spartans and Corinthians expected their western allies to supplement, not to create, their fleet, and therefore αὐτοῦ must mean, as Krüger and Grote take it to mean, “in the Peloponnese.” In this case ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας must go with τοῖς τὰκείνων ἐλομένοις; = “their allies in Italy and Sicily,” and the trajection of the article is not insupportable. Lastly ποιεῖσθαι is clearly co-ordinate with ἐτοιμάζειν. We are therefore left to choose between Poppo’s emendation ἐπετάχθη (which has some MS. support), and Reiske’s conjecture οἱ . . . ἐλόμενοι, and the accusatives ἡσυχάζοντας, δεχομένους, turn the scale in favour of the former. Some MSS. however read Λακεδαιμόνιοι, and if we alter ἐπετάχθησαν into ἐπέταξαν this would give us a very passable construction. For τὰκείνων ἐλέσθαι, cp. iii. 63. 4.

ὡς . . . ἐσομένων] “The grand total being to consist of five hundred sail.” For ὡς, see note on i. 2. 6. ἐς = to form: cp. i. 14. 3. In τὰ τ’ ἄλλα ἡσυχάζοντας, τε marks an anacoluthon, for we should have expected it to be followed by another infinitive ἡσυχάζειν: cp. i. 57. 3. But if ἐπετάχθη be the right

ἐτοιμάζειν, τά τ' ἄλλα ἡσυχάζοντας καὶ Ἀθηναίους δεχομένους μιᾷ νηὶ ἕως ἂν ταῦτα παρασκευασθῇ. 3. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τὴν τε ὑπάρχουσαν ξυμμαχίαν ἐξήταζον καὶ ἐς τὰ περὶ Πελοπόννησον μᾶλλον χωρία ἐπρεσβεύοντο, Κέρκυραν καὶ Κεφαλληνίαν καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνας καὶ Ζάκυνθον, ὁρῶντες, εἰ σφίσι φίλια ταῦτα εἴη βεβαίως, πέριξ τὴν Πελοπόννησον καταπολεμήσουντες. 8. 1. ὀλίγον τε ἐπενόουν οὐδὲν ἀμφότεροι, ἀλλ' ἔρρωντο ἐς τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ ἀπεικότως· ἀρχόμενοι γὰρ πάντες ὀξύτερον ἀντιλαμβάνονται, τότε δὲ καὶ νεότης πολλὴ μὲν οὔσα ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ, πολλὴ δ' ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις, οὐκ ἀκουσίως ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας ἤπτετο τοῦ πολέμου, ἢ τε ἄλλη Ἑλλὰς πᾶσα μετέωρος ἦν ξυνιουσῶν τῶν πρώτων πόλεων. 2. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν λόγια ἐλέγετο, πολλὰ δὲ χρησμολόγοι ἦδον ἐν τε τοῖς μέλλουσι πολεμήσειν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν. 3. ἔτι δὲ Δῆλος ἐκινήθη ὀλίγον

reading there is no difficulty in the accusative. μιᾷ νηί: so that there might be no danger of a treacherous attack. Cp. iii. 71. 1; vi. 52. 1.

3. ἐξήταζον] “Looked up.” μᾶλλον: more than to Sicily or Magna Graecia. Κέρκυραν: it was necessary now to turn the ἐπιμαχία into a ξυμμαχία—see i. 44. 1. Κεφαλληνίαν: see ii. 30. 2. The Acarnanians and Zacynthians, like the Coryraeans, were already allies of Athens (cp. i. 47. 2; ii. 9. 5; 68. 8), so that in their case all the Athenians had to do was to refresh and draw closer an old friendship.

ὁρῶντες . . . καταπολεμήσουντες] “Seeing that they would be able to surround and beat down Peloponnesus.” See Madv. G. S. 178.

CH. VIII. 1. ἀντιλαμβάνονται] Sc. τῶν πραγμάτων, “attack matters.” And cp. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 17, acribus, ut ferme talia, initiis, incurioso fine.

2. λόγια] λόγια ἔστι τὰ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λεγόμενα καταλογάδην· χρησμοὶ δὲ οἷτινες ἐμμέτρως λέγονται θεοφορουμένων τῶν λεγόντων. Sch. According to others, λόγιον means any

ominous saying which a God or a man has let fall unasked, while χρησμός is a direct answer on the part of the God to the worshipper's question. ἦδον (cp. ii. 54. 2), of formal measured recitation. So *cano, carmen*, in Latin.

3. Δῆλος ἐκινήθη] If ὀλίγον πρὸ τούτων is to be pressed, this earthquake cannot have happened more than two or three years before the outbreak of the war. But Hdt. says (vi. 98), that just before the battle of Marathon, Δῆλος ἐκινήθη, ὥς ἔλεγον οἱ Δῆλιοι, καὶ πρῶτα καὶ ὕστατα μέχρι ἐμεῦ σεισθεῖσα. Several ways of getting out of this difficulty have been proposed. (1) Hdt. quotes a Delian report as his authority: that report may have been baseless. (2) Or Hdt. and Thuc. may each have been ignorant of the earthquake reported by the other. For Hdt. was now at Thurii, and Thuc. may not have heard the Delian report. (3) Or Thuc. may mean flatly to contradict Hdt. (4) Or ὀλίγον may be a slip, or τούτων may mean the whole history, and Thuc. may be referring to the earthquake men-

πρὸ τούτων πρότερον οὐπω σεισθεῖσα ἀφ' οὗ "Ἕλληνες μέμνηνται. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ ἐδόκει ἐπὶ τοῖς μέλλουσι γενέσθαι σημῆναι 4. εἴ τέ τι ἄλλο τοιουτότροπον ξυνέβη γενέσθαι, πάντα ἀνεζητεῖτο. 5. ἡ δὲ εὐνοια παρὰ πολὺ ἐποίει τῶν ἀνθρώπων μᾶλλον ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἄλλως τε καὶ προειπόντων ὅτι τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλευθεροῦσιν 6. ἔρρωτό τε πᾶς καὶ ἰδιώτης καὶ πόλις εἴ τι δύναιτο καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ ξυνεπιλαμβάνειν αὐτοῖς· ἐν τούτῳ τε κεκωλῦσθαι ἐδόκει ἐκάστῳ τὰ πράγματα ᾧ μὴ τις αὐτὸς παρέσται. 7. οὕτως [ἐν] ὀργῇ εἶχον οἱ πλείους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, οἱ μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπολυθῆναι βουλόμενοι, οἱ δὲ μὴ ἀρχθῶσι φοβούμενοι. 8. παρασκευῇ μὲν οὖν τοιαύτῃ καὶ γνώμῃ ὥρμηντο. 9. 1. πόλεις δὲ ἐκάτεροι τάσδ' ἔχοντες ξυμμάχους ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καθίσταντο. 2. Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν οἶδε ξύμμαχοι Πελοποννήσιοι μὲν οἱ ἐντὸς ἰσθμοῦ πάντες πλὴν Ἀργείων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν· τούτοις δ' ἐς ἀμφοτέρους φιλία ἦν· Πελληνῆς δὲ Ἀχαιῶν μόνοι ξυνεπολέμουν τὸ πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δὲ ὕστερον καὶ ἅπαντες· ἔξω δὲ Πελοποννήσου Μεγαρῆς, Φωκῆς,

tioned by Hdt. This last supposition (supported by Wesseling and Arnold) is the most probable. For Hdt. is very positive (καὶ πρῶτα καὶ ὕστατα). Again, if we compare his words, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν κού τέρας ἀνθρώποισι τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι κακῶν ἔφηνε ὁ θεός, with those of Thuc., ἐλέγετο δὲ . . . σημῆναι, it is by no means unlikely that the younger historian had this passage of the elder before his mind when he wrote. Again, Hdt. (by his mention of Artaxerxes) expressly includes the Peloponnesian War among the disasters portended by his earthquake. For an inaccuracy in the use of the word ὀλίγον, cp. i. 61. 5, and for discrepancies between Hdt. and Thuc., cp. i. 16; 20. 4; 126. 8; ii. 2. 1; 97. 7.

ἐπί] According to Poppo, ἐπί is used here instead of ἐς, the more usual preposition after σημαίνειν. But may not ἐπί signify "after," as at i. 65. 1? After what was then

future had really happened it seemed to have foreshadowed it.

5. ἐποίει . . . ἐς] As we say, "made for." "This phrase cannot be paralleled out of any of the classical authors, though it has been imitated by later writers." Kr. προειπόντων: the genitive absolute is a little awkward after the accusative Λακεδαιμονίους, but cp. i. 114. 1. ἐλευθεροῦσιν, cp. i. 69. 1.

6. ἐν τούτῳ τε] "Every man thought that any enterprise of his party, at which he could not be present, was sure to fail." The future and the perfect, because as soon as he knew that he could not bear a hand he felt that all hope was over, though the thing had not yet begun. See note on i. 28. 2. τις = ἕκαστος.

CH. IX. 2. Ἀχαιῶν] Cp. i. 115. 1. Φωκῆς, see i. 113. 5. Λοκροί: the Opuntian Locrians, see ii. 32. 1; not the Locri Ozolae, who were allies of Athens—see iii. 97. 2; 101. 1.

Λοκροί, Βοιωτοί, Ἀμπρακιῶται, Λευκάδιοι, Ἀνακτόριαι. 3. τούτων ναυτικὸν παρείχοντο Κορίνθιοι, Μεγαρήs, Σικυνῶνιοι, Πελληνήs, Ἡλείοι, Ἀμπρακιῶται, Λευκάδιοι, ἵππείας δὲ Βοιωτοί, Φωκῆs, Λοκροί· αἱ δ' ἄλλαι πόλεις πεζὸν παρείχον. 4. αὕτη Λακεδαιμονίων ξυμμαχία· 5. Ἀθηναίων δὲ Χῖοι, Λέσβιοι, Πλαταιῆs, Μεσσήνιοι οἱ ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ, Ἀκαρνάνων οἱ πλείους, Κερκυραῖοι, Ζακύνθιοι, καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις αἱ ὑποτελεῖς οὔσαι ἐν ἔθνεσι τοσοῖσδε, Καρία ἢ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ, Δωριῆs Καρσὶ πρόσοικοι, Ἰωνία, Ἑλλήσποντος, τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης, νῆσοι ὅσαι ἐντὸς Πελοποννήσου καὶ Κρήτης πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα, πᾶσαι αἱ ἄλλαι Κυκλάδες πλὴν Μήλου καὶ Θήρας. 6. τούτων ναυτικὸν παρείχοντο Χῖοι, Λέσβιοι, Κερκυραῖοι, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πεζὸν καὶ χρήματα. 7. ξυμμαχία μὲν αὕτη ἐκατέρων καὶ παρασκευὴ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἦν.

10. 1. Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μετὰ τὰ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς εὐθὺς περιήγγελλον κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον καὶ τὴν ἔξω ξυμμαχίαν στρατιὰν παρασκευάζεσθαι ταῖς πόλεσι τὰ τε ἐπιτήδεια οἷα εἰκὸς ἐπὶ ἔξοδον ἔκδημον ἔχειν ὥς ἐσβαλοῦντες ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν. 2. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκάστοις ἐτοῖμα γίγνοιτο κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τὸν εἰρημένον, ξυνήεσαν τὰ δύο μέρη ἀπὸ πόλεως ἐκάστης ἐς τὸν ἰσθμόν. 3. καὶ ἐπειδὴ πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα ξυνειλεγμένον ἦν, Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὅσπερ ἠγείτο τῆs ἐξόδου ταύτης, ξυγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν πόλεων πασῶν καὶ τοὺς μάλιστα ἐν τέλει καὶ ἀξιολογωτάτους παρῆναι τοιάδε ἔλεξεν.

11. 1. “Ἄνδρες Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, καὶ οἱ

5. Καρία] Agreeing strangely enough not with ἔθνεσι but with πόλεις. τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης: cp. i. 56. 2. Μήλου καὶ Θήρας: these were Lacedaemonian colonies.

CH. X. 1. περιήγγελλον] Cp. i. 116. 1.

2. γίγνοιτο] For the optative, see i. 49. 3: as each state finished its preparations, some sooner some later, the contingents kept streaming in. τὰ δυο μέρη: “Apparently

two-thirds of a certain assumed rating, for which the city was held liable in the books of the confederacy, so that the Boeotians and others who furnished cavalry were not constrained to send two-thirds of their entire force of hoplites.” Grote. Cp. i. 74. 1.

CH. XI. 1.] Never, says Archidamus, have the Peloponnesians taken the field in such imposing force; but then we have never had

πατέρες ἡμῶν πολλὰς στρατείας καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ ἔξω ἐποίησαντο, καὶ αὐτῶν ἡμῶν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι οὐκ ἄπειροι πολέμων εἰσὶν. ὅμως δὲ τῇσδε οὐπω μείζονα παρασκευὴν ἔχοντες ἐξήλθομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πόλιν δυνατωτάτην νῦν ἐρχόμεθα, καὶ αὐτοὶ πλείστοι καὶ ἄριστοι στρατεύοντες. 2. δίκαιον οὖν ἡμᾶς μήτε τῶν πατέρων χεῖρους φαίνεσθαι μήτε ἡμῶν αὐτῶν τῆς δόξης ἐνδεεστέρους. 3. ἡ γὰρ Ἑλλὰς πᾶσα τῇδε τῇ ὁρμῇ ἐπῆρται καὶ προσέχει τὴν γνώμην, εὖνοιαν ἔχουσα διὰ τὸ Ἀθηναίων ἔχθος πρᾶξαι ἡμᾶς ἃ ἐπινοοῦμεν. 4. οὐκ οὐν χρή, εἴ τῳ καὶ δοκοῦμεν πλήθει ἐπιέναι καὶ ἀσφάλεια πολλὴ εἶναι μὴ ἂν ἐλθεῖν τοὺς ἐναντίους ἡμῖν διὰ μάχης, τούτου ἕνεκα ἀμελέστερόν τι παρεσκευασμένους χωρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεως ἐκάστης ἡγεμόνα καὶ στρατιώτην τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν αἰεὶ προσδέχεσθαι ἐς κίνδυνόν τινα ἥξειν. 5. ἄδηλα γὰρ τὰ τῶν πολέμων καὶ ἐξ ὀλίγου τὰ πολλὰ καὶ δι' ὀργῆς αἱ ἐπιχειρήσεις γίνονται· πολλάκις τε τὸ ἔλασσον πλῆθος δεδιὸς ἄμεινον ἡμύνατο τοὺς πλέονας διὰ τὸ καταφρονοῦντας ἀπαρασκευάτους γενέσθαι. 6. χρή δὲ αἰεὶ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ τῇ μὲν γνώμῃ θαρσαλέους στρατεύειν, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ δεδιότας παρα-

so powerful a foe. Let us acquit ourselves worthily, for the sympathy of all Hellas is with us. But let no one be betrayed into a rash confidence. By caution and wariness alone can men be safe in time of war. The Athenians are certain to come out and fight us. Therefore be vigilant and obedient.

3. εὖνοιαν ἔχουσα] These words denote a wish, and therefore govern the infinitive πρᾶξαι. Krüger compares Plato, *Rep.* 608 A, εὖνοι ἐσόμεθα φανῆναι αὐτὴν ὡς βελτίστην, and similar constructions are found at iii. 83. 3, καταφρονοῦντες καὶ προαισθέσθαι, and v. 40. 3, ἐν φρονήματι ὄντες ἡγήσεσθαι.

4.] καὶ belongs to πλήθει ἐπιέναι, which is co-ordinate with καὶ ἀσφάλεια πολλὴ εἶναι, though before this last infinitive we must supply δοκεῖ out of δοκοῦμεν. With ἀσφάλεια μὴ ἂν ἐλθεῖν, cp. i. 16, κωλύματα μὴ

αὐξηθῆναι, and note on i. 44. 1. διὰ μάχης ἐλθεῖν τινί = to come to blows with any one: cp. i. 40. 4, Κερκυραίοις οὐδὲ δι' ἀνακωχῆς πώποτε ἐγένεσθε. The following καὶ belongs to ἡγεμόνα. "But it behoves both the commander and the soldiers of each state in their several places always to be expecting to come into some great danger."

5. τὰ τῶν πολέμων] "The course a war may take:" cp. i. 141. 2. ἐξ ὀλίγου καὶ δι' ὀργῆς, "at short notice and in a passion:" cp. ἐκ πολυού, i. 68. 3. ἄμεινον, sc. ἢ οἱ πλέονες τὸ ἔλασσον πλῆθος. Certainly the comparative might have been omitted, but so might μάλλον in many passages. "Oftentimes the smaller force, if armed with caution, has victoriously repelled the larger."

6. γνώμῃ] Cp. note on i. 122. 4. δεδιότας: Kr. compares Hdt. vii.

σκευάζεσθαι. οὕτω γὰρ πρὸς τε τὸ ἐπιέναι τοῖς ἐναντίοις εὐψυχότατοι ἂν εἶεν, πρὸς τε τὸ ἐπιχειρεῖσθαι ἀσφαλέστατοι. 7. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐδ' ἐπὶ ἀδύνατον ἀμύνεσθαι οὕτω πόλιν ἐρχόμεθα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἄριστα παρσκευασμένην, ὥστε χρὴ καὶ πάννυ ἐλπίζειν διὰ μάχης ἵεναι αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ καὶ νῦν ὥρμηται ἐν ᾧ οὐπω πάρεσμεν, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἰν τῇ γῇ ὁρῶσιν ἡμᾶς δηοῦντάς τε καὶ τὰ κείνων φθείροντας. 8. πᾶσι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὅμμασι καὶ ἐν τῷ παραντίκα ὁρᾶν πάσχοντάς τι ἄηθες ὀργὴν προσπίπτει· καὶ οἱ λογισμῷ ἐλάχιστα χρώμενοι θυμῷ πλείστα ἐς ἔργον καθίστανται. 9. Ἀθηναίους δὲ καὶ πλεον τι τῶν ἄλλων εἰκὸς τοῦτο δρᾶσαι, οἱ ἄρχειν τε τῶν ἄλλων ἀξιοῦσι καὶ ἐπιόντες τὴν τῶν πέλας δηοῦν μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ὁρᾶν. 10. ὥς οὖν ἐπὶ τοσαύτην πόλιν στρατεύοντες καὶ μεγίστην δόξαν οἰσόμενοι τοῖς τε προγόνοις καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω ἐκ τῶν ἀποβαινόντων, ἔπεσθε ὅπη ἂν τις ἡγήται κόσμον καὶ φυλακὴν περὶ παντὸς ποιούμενοι καὶ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ὀξέως δεχόμενοι· κάλλιστον γὰρ τόδε καὶ ἀσφαλέστατον πολλοὺς ὄντας ἐνὶ κόσμῳ χρωμένους φαίνεσθαι.”

49, ἀνὴρ οὕτω ἂν εἴη ἄριστος, εἰ βούλευόμενος μὲν ἀρρωδέοι, πᾶν ἐπιλεγόμενος πείσεσθαι χρῆμα, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ θρασὺς εἴη. πρὸς τὸ ἐπιχειρεῖσθαι, “against being attacked:” cp. προβαλλόμενοι, i. 73. 2.

7. ἀδύνατον . . . οὕτω] “Not so powerless,” as they would have us believe who tell us that the Athenians will never dare to meet us in the field. εἰ μὴ καὶ νῦν, “if they have not even now,” and ἀλλά is “at any rate.”

8. πᾶσι γάρ] Ὁρῶ πάσχων is “I see myself suffering.” Cp. above, 4. 1, ὥς ἔγνωσαν ἡπατημένοι, also i. 120. 6 and Madv. G. S. 178. Hence ὁρᾶν πάσχοντας, which is, somewhat unusually, governed by πᾶσι ὀργὴν προσπίπτει, = πάντες ὀργίζονται. Linwood compares i. 25. 4, προέχειν ἐπαιρόμενοι, and we may add the passages quoted on § 3 above. “All men are filled with rage when

with their own eyes, and in the immediate reality, they see themselves suffering some unusual disaster.” With ἐν τοῖς ὅμμασι cp. the common phrase, ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρᾶν, and Soph. O. T. 821, ἐν χερσὶν χραίνειν, where ἐν is used of the means or instrument, a sense very familiar to this preposition in the New Testament. Krüger takes ἐν τῷ παραντίκα ὁρᾶν together, but this leaves no good construction for ἐν τοῖς ὅμμασι.

9. τοῦτο δρᾶσαι] Cp. i. 5. 2. ὁρᾶν, sc. δηομένην.

10. δόξαν . . . ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω] “Repute in both ways:” δόξα is a vox media; for ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω, cp. i. 83. 3. “Knowing that for our ancestors and for ourselves we shall reap the greatest glory or the deepest infamy from the result.” τὰ παραγγελλόμενα, cp. i. 121. 2.

12. 1. Τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ διαλύσας τὸν ξύλλογον ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος Μελήσιππον πρῶτον ἀποστέλλει εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας τοῖν Διακρίτου, ἄνδρα Σπαρτιάτην, εἴ τι ἄρα μᾶλλον ἐνδοίειν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὀρώντες ἤδη σφᾶς ἐν ὁδῷ ὄντας. 2. οἱ δὲ οὐ προσεδέξαντο αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὸ κοινόν· ἦν γὰρ Περικλέους γνώμη πρότερον νενικηκυῖα κήρυκα καὶ πρεσβείαν μὴ προσδέχεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίων ἐξεστρατευμένων· ὑποπέμπουσιν οὖν αὐτὸν πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι καὶ ἐκέλευον ἐκτὸς ὄρων εἶναι αὐθημερόν, τό τε λοιπὸν ἀναχωρήσαντας ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν, ἦν τι βούλονται, πρεσβεύεσθαι. 3. ξυμπέμπουσί τε τῷ Μελησίππῳ ἀγωγούς, ὅπως μηδενὶ ξυγγένηται. 4. ὁ δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀρίοις ἐγένετο καὶ ἔμελλε διαλύσεσθαι, τοσόνδε εἰπὼν ἐπορεύετο ὅτι· Ἦδε ἡ ἡμέρα τοῖς Ἑλλησι μεγάλων κακῶν ἄρξει. 5. ὥς δὲ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἔγνω ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος ὅτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐδέν πω ἐνδώσουσιν, οὕτω δὲ ἄρας τῷ στρατῷ προὔχώρει εἰς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν. 6. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ μέρος μὲν τὸ σφέτερον καὶ τοὺς ἵππείας παρείχοντο Πελοποννησίοις ξυστρατεύειν, τοῖς δὲ λειπομένοις εἰς Πλάταιαν ἐλθόντες τὴν γῆν ἐδήουν.

13. 1. Ἔτι δὲ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ξυλληγομένων τε εἰς τὸν ἰσθμὸν καὶ ἐν ὁδῷ ὄντων, πρὶν ἐσβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου στρατηγὸς ὢν Ἀθηναίων δέκατος αὐτὸς ὥς ἔγνω τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἐσομένην, ὑποτοπήσας, ὅτι

CH. XII. 1. εἴ τι ἄρα] "To see whether the Athenians were any more inclined to give way."

2. τὸ κοινόν] The public assembly: cp. i. 90. 6. ἦν νενικηκυῖα: not simply "had prevailed," but "had been passed, and was in force." ἐκτὸς ὄρων: beyond bounds, not *their* bounds. So wars are said to arise *περὶ γῆς ὄρων*. In both cases we should insert the possessive in English, the phrases not being so familiar to us as they were to a Greek. See note on i. 54. 2. It is curious to observe how many such phrases relate to a state of hostilities.

τό τε λοιπόν] "And that for the

future they should retire to their own territory before they sent an embassy." The real imperative is ἀναχωρήσαντας.

3. μηδενί] They were afraid of his intriguing with the aristocratic or Laconizing party.

4. διαλύσεσθαι] "To part from his confederates." ἄρξει, "will be the commencement." For the construction with genitive and dative, cp. ii. 53. 1.

5.] οὕτω δὴ = "tunc demum." οὕτω repeats and gathers up the sense of the preceding clause, and δὴ is "at length."

CH. XIII. 1. δέκατος αὐτός] Cp. i. 116. 1, and see Smith, *Dict. Ant.*

Ἀρχίδαμος αὐτῷ ξένος ὢν ἐτύγχανε, μὴ πολλάκις ἢ αὐτὸς ἰδία βουλόμενος χαρίζεσθαι τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτοῦ παραλίπη καὶ μὴ δηώσῃ, ἢ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων κελευσάντων ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τῇ αὐτοῦ γένηται τοῦτο, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄγῃ ἐλαύνειν προεῖπον ἔνεκα ἐκείνου, προηγόρευε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτε Ἀρχίδαμος μὲν οἱ ξένος εἶη, οὐ μέντοι ἐπὶ κακῷ γε τῆς πόλεως γένοιτο, τοὺς δ' ἀγροὺς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ οἰκίας ἦν ἄρα μὴ δηώσωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ἀφίησιν αὐτὰ δημόσια εἶναι καὶ μηδεμίαν οἱ ὑποψίαν κατὰ ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι. 2. παρήνει δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἅπερ καὶ πρότερον, παρασκευάζεσθαι τε ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐσκομίζεσθαι, ἔς τε μάχην μὴ ἐπεξιέναι, ἀλλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθοντας φυλάσσειν, καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἥπερ ἰσχύουσιν ἐξαρτύεσθαι, τά τε τῶν ξυμμάχων διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν, λέγων τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τούτων εἶναι τῶν χρημάτων τῆς

s. v. Strategus. *πολλάκις* = as often happens, and so comes to be used after *εἰ*, *ἐάν*, and *μή* in the sense of “perchance:” cp. Plato, *Rep.* 424 B and Stallbaum’s note. *ὑποτοπήσας*, from its affinity in signification to verbs of fearing, is followed by *μή*, but before *δηώσῃ*, instead of the usual *οὐ* (see Madv. *G. S.* 124 a), we have a second *μή*: cp. note on i. 118. 2. This sparing a particular estate from devastation seems to have been a common, though surely a very shallow artifice for bringing discredit upon a popular leader. Poppo refers to Livy, xxii. 23, where the lands of Fabius are left untouched by Hannibal, and Tac. *Hist.* v. 23, where ‘nota arte ducum,’ those of Civilis are passed over by Cerialis.

ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τῇ αὐτοῦ] “In order to make him suspected.” ὥσπερ denotes coincidence or similarity, here in the intention or spirit: cp. note on i. 136. 7, and for καί, cp. note on i. 3. 2. αὐτοῦ, for which Poppo reads αὐτοῦ, and Krüger ἑαυτοῦ, may possibly be reflexive: cp. iv. 28. 2; 98. 4, 5. But perhaps we

had better regard it as *said* by Thuc., not as *thought* by Pericles. For the juxtaposition of αὐτοῦ and ἐκείνου, cp. i. 132. 3.

οὐ . . . γένοιτο] “But yet had not become his friend in order that the state might suffer harm thereby.” For οὐ μέντοι . . . γε, cp. i. 3. 2. οἰκίας: for the absence of the article, cp. i. 143. 7. ἦν μὴ δηώσωσιν . . . ἀφίησιν: the mixed form of the ‘oratio obliqua,’ in which the persons alone are changed, the moods and tenses remaining as in the ‘oratio directa:’ see note on i. 28. 2. γίγνεσθαι: the sentence, having begun with προηγόρευεν ὅτι, slides off here into the infinitive, which we may suppose to be governed by an implied ἐκέλευε.

2. τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν] Cp. i. 64. 1. ἥπερ, cp. i. 142. 3. διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν, “to keep a tight hold upon,” ἵνα μὴ ἀποστῶσι, says the Sch. In what follows, τούτων is governed by χρημάτων, which is governed by προσόδου, which is governed by ἀπό. τὰ δὲ πολλὰ . . . κρατεῖσθαι, “and that most successes in war are gained.”

προσόδου, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ τοῦ πολέμου γνώμη καὶ χρημάτων περιουσία κρατεῖσθαι. 3. θαρσεῖν τε ἐκέλευε προσιόντων μὲν ἑξακοσίων ταλάντων ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ φόρου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ξυμμάχων τῇ πόλει ἄνευ τῆς ἄλλης προσόδου, ὑπάρχοντων δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἔτι τότε ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου ἑξακισχιλίων ταλάντων· τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα τριακοσίων ἀποδέοντα μύρια ἐγένετο, ἀφ' ὧν ἔς τε τὰ προπύλαια τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τᾶλλα οἰκοδομήματα καὶ ἐς Ποτίδαιαν ἀπανηλώθη· χωρὶς δὲ χρυσίου ἀσήμου καὶ ἀργυρίου ἐν τε ἀναθήμασιν ἰδίοις καὶ δημοσίοις καὶ ὅσα ἱερὰ σκεύη περί τε τὰς πόμπας καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ σκῦλα Μηδικὰ καὶ εἴ τι τοιουτότροπον, οὐκ ἐλάσσονος [ἦν] ἢ πεντακοσίων ταλάντων. 4. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν προσετίθει χρήματα οὐκ ὀλίγα, οἷς χρή-

3. ἑξακοσίων ταλάντων] The Attic talent was worth about 243 $\frac{1}{2}$ 15s. At i. 96. 3 we have seen that the tribute of the allies was originally assessed by Aristides at 460 talents. The increase of 140 talents is not to be accounted for by supposing that the assessment of particular cities had been raised in the interval. For many of the allies had agreed to pay a sum of money instead of supplying ships for the service of the confederacy (i. 99. 3), and new members, Aegina, for instance (i. 108. 3), had been added. See Grote, v. 411. ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, cp. i. 12. 2. φόρου, either "of tribute," or "as tribute."

τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα] γάρ refers to ἔτι τότε. "For the amount, when at the highest, reached 9700 talents." προπύλαια: see Smith, *Dict. Ant.*

Ποτίδαιαν] For the costliness of this siege, cp. ii. 79. 2; iii. 17. 4. ἀπανηλώθη is used here without a subject, unless we suppose ἀφ' ὧν to serve as such: cp. note on i. 3. 2.

χωρὶς is an adverb, = besides, and with χρυσίου, ὑπάρχοντος must be supplied. καὶ ὅσα: the construction is καὶ (ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς σκεύεσι) ὅσα ἱερὰ σκεύη. εἶναι περί is—"to be used in." At καὶ σκῦλα, if ἦν

be genuine (all the MSS. appear to have it), the construction suddenly changes from the genitive absolute to the nominative and finite verb. There is a second irregularity in ἦν, for we should have expected if not ὄντος then the infinitive εἶναι, dependent on a verb of saying implied in ἐκέλευε. But it is difficult to say exactly what amount of grammatical anomaly will warrant us in affirming that any given form of expression could not have been used by Thuc. The Scholiast explains σκῦλα Μηδικὰ by τὸν ἀργυρόποδα θρόνον (of Xerxes) καὶ τὸν ἀκινάκην τὸν χρυσοῦν (of Mardonius). If ἦν be retained, ἐλάσσονος is the genitive of price—"were not worth less;" if ἦν be struck out, it agrees with the gen. abs. χρυσίου, and πεντακοσίων ταλάντων is the genitive of price.

4. τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν] For the use of ἐκ cp. τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν in § 2. The meaning of ἱερῶν has been disputed. Bloomfield, stumbling at the use of ἄλλων, when no temple had yet been mentioned, translated it "sacred things," and Krüger appears inclined to agree with him. "But," says Arnold, "it does not appear that ἱερόν used

σεσθαι αὐτούς, καὶ ἦν πάννυ ἐξείργωνται πάντων, καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς θεοῦ τοῖς περικειμένοις χρυσίοις· ἀπέβαινε δ' ἔχον τὸ ἄγαλμα τεσσαράκοντα τάλαντα σταθμὸν χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου καὶ περιαιρετὸν εἶναι ἅπαν. 5. χρησαμένους τε ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ ἔφη χρῆναι μὴ ἐλάσσω ἀντικαταστήσαι πάλιν. 6. χρήμασι μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐθάρσυνεν αὐτούς, ὀπλίτας δὲ τρισχιλίους καὶ μυρίους εἶναι ἄνευ τῶν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑπαλξιν ἑξακισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων. 7. τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἐφύλασσον τὸ πρῶτον ὅποτε οἱ πολέμιοι ἐσβάλοιεν, ἀπὸ τε τῶν πρεσβυτάτων καὶ τῶν νεωτάτων, καὶ μετοίκων ὅσοι ὀπλῖται ἦσαν. 8. τοῦ τε γὰρ Φαληρικοῦ τεύχους στάδιοι ἦσαν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα πρὸς τὸν κύκλον τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κύκλου

as a substantive can signify any thing else but 'temple;' and though this is not quite accurate (see, amongst others, Hdt. iv. 33), such is beyond doubt the most common meaning of the word. The "other temples" are those not on the Acropolis. οὐκ ὀλίγα, cp. note on ἐρήμους, i. 49. 5. χρήσεσθαι: for the infinitive in a relative clause see Madv. *G. S.* 169 a, and below, ii. 102. 7.

ἦν πάννυ ἐξείργωνται] "If they should be utterly cut off from all means of getting money," e. g. by the loss of their allies. καί before ἦν, says Krüger, connects οἷς and χρυσίοις, and the second καί = even. αὐτῆς τῆς θεοῦ· τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς (Sch.). τὸ ἄγαλμα is the famous chryselephantine statue, the work of Pheidias: see his life in Smith, *Dict. Biog.*, also cp. Grote, vi. 139.

6. χρήμασι] "In respect of money," literally, "with money." εἶναι, sc. ἔφη implied in ἐθάρσυνεν. τῶν παρ' ἑπαλξιν, "those who manned the battlements:" the youngest and oldest of the soldiery would discharge this duty, which did not require any particular activity or skill. Cp. note on i. 105. 5, and for ἑπαλξιν, ii. 4. 2.

7. ἐσβάλοιεν] See note on i. 49. 3. μετοίκων: at i. 143. 1 we saw

that the resident aliens might be called upon to serve on board the fleet. See Smith, *Dict. Ant.* s. v.

8. πρὸς τὸν κύκλον] "To the point where it joined the ring wall of the city," i. e. of Athens itself distinguished from the ports of Piræeus and Phalerum. After the building of the two long walls in or about 456 B.C. (i. 108. 2), one of which is here called τὸ ἔξωθεν (the outer or northern) and the other τὸ Φαληρικὸν τεῖχος, it would appear that a third was added by the advice of Pericles, which ran between the other two, and so was known as τὸ διὰ μέσου (Plato, *Corg.* 455 E), or τὸ νότιον τεῖχος. But, says Arnold, the walls connecting Athens with the sea are usually spoken of as only two; and Colonel Leake, though he traced the foundations of two, failed to discover any vestiges of a third. The solution of the difficulty is given by Grote, who says that the Phaleric wall was never renewed, after all three had been partially destroyed at the disastrous close of the Peloponnesian War; and it appears to have passed out of the recollection of Aeschines, who speaks of two walls only as they existed in his time (vol. v. 454, note). Perhaps, adds Arnold, the materials of the Phaleric wall may

τὸ φυλασσόμενον τρεῖς καὶ τεσσαράκοντα· ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ ὃ καὶ ἀφύλακτον ἦν, τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε μακροῦ καὶ τοῦ Φαληρικοῦ. 9. τὰ δὲ μακρὰ τείχη πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων, ὧν τὸ ἔξωθεν ἐτηρεῖτο· καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ξὺν Μουνυχίᾳ ἐξήκοντα μὲν σταδίων ὁ ἅπας περίβολος, τὸ δὲ ἐν φυλακῇ ὃν ἡμισυ τούτου. 10. ἰππέας δ' ἀπέφαινε διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους ξὺν ἵπποτοξόταις, ἑξακοσίους δὲ καὶ χιλίους τοξότας, καὶ τριήρεις τὰς πλωίμους τριακοσίας. 11. ταῦτα γὰρ ὑπῆρχεν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἕκαστα τούτων ὅτε ἡ ἐσβολὴ τὸ πρῶτον ἔμελλε Πελοποννησίων ἐσεσθαι καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καθίσταντο. 12. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ ἄλλα οἷάπερ εἰώθει Περικλῆς ἐς ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ περιέσεσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ. 14. 1. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκούσαντες ἀνεπείθοντό τε καὶ ἐσεκομίζοντο ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν ἥ κατ' οἶκον ἐχρῶντο, καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν οἰκιῶν καθαιρούντες τὴν ξύλωσιν· πρόβατα δὲ καὶ ὑποζύγια ἐς τὴν Εὐβοίαν διεπέμφαντο καὶ ἐς τὰς νήσους τὰς ἐπικειμένας. 2. χαλεπῶς δὲ αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ εἰσθῆναι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς διαιτᾶσθαι ἢ ἀνάστασις ἐγίγνετο. 15. 1. ξυνεβεβήκει δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου ἐτέρων μᾶλλον Ἀθηναίοις τοῦτο. 2. ἐπὶ γὰρ Κέκροπος καὶ τῶν πρώτων

have been used by Conon in the reconstruction of the other two, so that no remains of it can now be found.

τὸ μεταξύ] *τιν' ἔστι σιγάδιοι δεκτεπτά.* Sch. So that the whole circumference of Athens was sixty stades.

10. διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους] "Aristophanes, *Knights*, 225, makes them only 1000, but probably he does not include the ἵπποτόξοται." Kr.

CH. XIV. 1. παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας] Cp. i. 89. 4. τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευήν, "their furniture as well." ἄλλην is not so much in agreement as in apposition to κατασκευήν, that is to say it does not distinguish between different portions of the κατασκευή, but marks off the κατα-

σκευή itself as a whole from the objects before spoken of. Cp. ii. 62. 2, οὔτε βασιλεὺς οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἔθνος: ii. 97. 8, ἐς τὴν ἄλλην εὐβουλίαν. So often in Plato—cp. *Rep.* 404 B, ὑδάτων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σίτων, "of water and food as well;" 618 B, κατὰ κάλλη καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἰσχύν, "for beauty and strength too." But, perhaps, it is better to make ἄλλην refer to ξύλωσιν—"not only the ordinary furniture but the very woodwork of their houses." Krüger adopts the first explanation.

2. χαλεπῶς] Cp. i. 2. 2, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπανίσταντο. ἐγίγνετο, see note on i. 13. 8.

CH. XV. 1.] ἐτέρων = ἢ ἐτέροις: cp. i. 85. 2. Kr. τοῦτο, τὸ ἐν ἀγροῖς διαίταν ἔχειν. Sch.

Βασιλέων ἢ Ἀττικὴν εἰς Θησέα αἰεὶ κατὰ πόλεις ᾠκεῖτο πρυτανεία τε ἔχουσα καὶ ἄρχοντας, καὶ ὅποτε μὴ τι δείσειαν, οὐ ξυνήεσαν βουλευσόμενοι ὡς τὸν βασιλέα, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἕκαστοι ἐπολιτεύοντο καὶ ἐβουλεύοντο· καὶ τινες καὶ ἐπολέμησάν ποτε αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ Ἑλευσίνιοι μετ' Εὐμόλπου πρὸς Ἑρεχθέα. 3. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Θησεὺς ἐβασίλευσε, γενόμενος μετὰ τοῦ ξυνετοῦ καὶ δυνατὸς τά τε ἄλλα διεκόσμησε τὴν χώραν καὶ καταλύσας τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τά τε βουλευτήρια καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς εἰς τὴν νῦν πόλιν οὖσαν ἐν βουλευτήριον ἀποδείξας καὶ πρυτανεῖον ξυνώκισε πάντας, καὶ νεμομένους τὰ αὐτῶν ἐκάστους ἅπερ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἡνάγκασε μιᾷ πόλει ταύτη χρῆσθαι, ἣ ἀπάντων ἤδη ξυντελούντων εἰς αὐτὴν μεγάλη γενομένη παρεδόθη ὑπὸ Θησεῶς τοῖς ἔπειτα· καὶ ξυνοίκια ἐξ ἐκείνου Ἀθηναῖοι ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῇ θεῷ ἑορτὴν δημοτελῆ ποιοῦσι. 4. τὸ δὲ πρὸ τούτου ἢ ἀκρόπολις ἢ νῦν οὔσα πόλις ἦν καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον.

2. κατὰ πόλεις ᾠκεῖτο] “The country was inhabited by a number of independent civil societies,” (Arn.); literally, “was inhabited by way of cities:” cp. i. 5. 1, κατὰ κώμας οἰκουμέναις. These cities were twelve in number according to Strabo: see Grote, *H. G.* iii. 68. The three marks of political autonomy are the πρυτανεῖον (see Smith, *Dict. Ant.*), the βουλὴ, and ἄρχοντες. “The circumstance of their uniting,” says Arnold, “and having a common chief only in seasons of danger is one which existed every where in a similar state of society—in Etruria, in Gaul, in Britain, and amongst our Saxon ancestors in their original country.”

3. ἐβασίλευσε] “Became king:” cp. i. 3. 2. μετὰ τοῦ ξυνετοῦ, “together with his wisdom,” “not only wise but powerful as well.” ξυνώκισε: this verb is used in a peculiar political sense of bringing under a central administration towns which had previously enjoyed a separate and independent government. The change was

effected by depriving each town of the three marks of autonomy just noticed. Cp. iii. 2. 3. μιᾷ πόλει ταύτῃ, “to use this as the one city.” For, according to Aristotle, ἡ πόλις πάσης ἔχει πέρας τῆς αὐταρκείας, “provides full and complete satisfaction of all social wants” (*Pol.* i. 2. 8). When therefore it lost its πρυτανεῖον it ceased to be a πόλις. Cp. notes on i. 50. 2; 58. 2.

ξυντελούντων] ξυντελεῖν εἰς Ἀθήνας, “to pay tax or tribute along with others to Athens,” is the sign of a town whose corporate existence is merged in that of Athens, which no longer retains the right of managing its own foreign policy. Cp. iv. 76. 3. The corresponding phrase for independence is αὐτοτελής, v. 18. 2.

ξυνοίκια] Plutarch calls this festival μετοικία, and says that it was still observed in his time on the sixteenth day of the month Hecatombaeon. τῇ θεῷ, Athena.

4. τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν] “And the ground beneath it, especially that to the south.” μάλιστα because there

5. τεκμήριον δέ· τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ ἔξω πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἵδρυται, τό τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου καὶ τὸ Πύθιον καὶ τὸ τῆς Γῆς καὶ τὸ ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσου, ὧ τὰ ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια τῇ δωδεκάτῃ ποιεῖται ἐν μηνὶ Ἀνθεστηριῶνι, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων Ἴωνες ἔτι καὶ νῦν νομίζουνσιν. 6. ἵδρυται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἱερὰ ταύτῃ ἀρχαῖα. 7. καὶ τῇ κρήνῃ τῇ νῦν μὲν τῶν τυράννων οὕτω σκευασάντων Ἐννεακρούνῳ καλουμένη, τὸ δὲ πάλαι φανερῶν τῶν πηγῶν οὐσῶν Καλλιρρόῃ ὠνομασμένη, ἐκείνῃ τε ἐγγὺς οὔσῃ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐχρῶντο, καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου πρό τε γαμικῶν καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν νομίζεται τῷ ὕδατι χρῆσθαι. 8. καλεῖται δὲ διὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ταύτῃ κατοίκησιν καὶ ἡ ἀκρόπολις μέχρι

were some few buildings on other sides. For ὑπό with accusative signifying *rest under*, cp. Hom. *Od.* xv. 349, ἥ που ἔτι ζώουσιν ὑπ' αὐγᾶς ἡελίοιο: Xen. *Anab.* vii. 4. 5, αἱ ὑπὸ τῷ ὕρῳ κῶμαι.

5. τεκμήριον δέ] Cp. note on i. 8. 2. καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν, “belong to other deities also” beside Athena. Had the original city been larger these temples would have been scattered over a wider area. Διός: this temple was commenced by the Pisistratidae; the cella was built by Antiochus Epiphanes about B.C. 174; and the work was finally completed by the emperor Hadrian. ἐν Λίμναις: Λίμναις τόπος ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τῶν Ἀθηναίων. Sch. Διονύσια: see Smith, *Dict. Ant.* νομίζουνσιν κατὰ νόμον ποιοῦσι. Sch. At Athens the Anthesteria lasted three days, the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth of the month. Thuc. apparently means that the feast was originally confined to one of these days—the second, known as χόες—and that the Ionians still followed the ancient practice.

7. οὕτω σκευασάντων] “Since the tyrants (Pisistratus and his sons) furnished it with its nine pipes or conduits:” οὕτω refers to the name Ἐννεακρούνῳ. “Callirrhoe,” says

Arnold, “was the only source of drinkable water in the city; for the water of the other springs, although fitted for domestic purposes, was too saline to be used for drinking.” ἐκείνῃ repeats τῇ κρήνῃ—ταύτῃ would be more usual. τε is rather a harsh trajection; it should either have a τότε before it, or follow ἐχρῶντο. Poppo would allow the words to be genuine if we could suppose that Thuc. meant to have spoken of other fountains in the succeeding clause, so that the trajection might have been accounted for by an anacoluthon. As it is he gives them up, and proposes to insert τότε after ἐκείνῃ. Bekker would read ἐκεῖνοι. Darpe, however, defends the text, and points out that if τῷ ὕδατι (which we may suppose to be a Thucydidean afterthought) were struck out, there would be nothing so very irregular in the passage.

τὰ πλείστου ἄξια] “On the most solemn occasions:” for the construction cp. i. 3. 6. πρὸ γαμικῶν: in water from this spring virgins bathed before marriage, and those who died unmarried were washed before burial.

8.] καὶ is perhaps to be joined with μέχρι τοῦδε: cp. Soph. *O. C.*

τοῦδε ἔτι ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων Πόλις. 16. τῇ τε οὖν ἐπὶ πολὺ κατὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτονόμῳ οἰκήσει μετεῖχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἐπειδὴ ξυνωκίσθησαν, διὰ τὸ ἔθος ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ὅμως οἱ πλείους τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ τῶν ὕστερον μέχρι τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου πανοικησία γενόμενοί τε καὶ οἰκήσαντες οὐ ῥαδίως τὰς μεταναστάσεις ἐποικῦντο, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἄρτι ἀνειληφότες τὰς κατασκευὰς μετὰ τὰ Μηδικά, ἐβαρύνοντο δὲ καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον οἰκίας τε καταλιπόντες καὶ ἱερὰ ἅ διὰ παντὸς ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον πολιτείας πάτρια, δίαιτάν τε μέλλοντες μεταβάλλειν καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πόλιν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπολείπων ἕκαστος. 17. 1. ἐπειδὴ τε ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ὀλίγοις μὲν τισιν ὑπῆρχον οἰκήσεις καὶ παρὰ φίλων τινὰς ἢ οἰκείων καταφυγή, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τά τε ἐρῆμα τῆς πόλεως ὥκησαν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ ἡρώα πάντα πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο βεβαίως κληστὸν

184, ὅ τι καὶ πόλις τέτροφεν ἄφιλον ἀποστυγεῖν, where καί goes with ἄφιλον. Otherwise the sense will be “not only the whole of Athens, but ‘the Acropolis also is called the city.” “Compare for an example of this practice v. 23. 5; 47 ad fin.” Arn.

CH. XVI. 1. τῇ . . . οἰκήσει] See note on i. 3. 5. οὖν takes up the thread of the narrative from the end of ch. 14. τε is again out of place: it answers to καὶ ἐπειδὴ, and with ἐπὶ πολὺ, which belongs in sense not to οἰκήσει but to the verb, should follow μετεῖχον. And finally this verb, if the text be sound, governs a dative after the analogy of κοινωνεῖν, as if it meant, not “to have a share of,” but “to be partners in respect of a thing.” Yet as we want the idea not of partnership but of persistence, Dobree’s conjecture of ἐπεῖχον deserves consideration. Translate, “however, the Athenians for a long time participated in this independent country life.” ὅμως, in spite of the centralization of the government. πανοικησία belongs only to οἰκη-

σαντες.

ἄρτι ἀνειληφότες] “Since they had but recently reformed their establishments:” cp. i. 10. 2. ἱερά, “temples which had always been regarded as the sanctuaries of their clan in consequence of their ancient independent state-life.” Such was the peculiarly local character of the ancient religions that particular deities were worshipped only in particular spots, so that the Athenians who were obliged to abandon their village shrines would feel themselves cut off from the protection of the gods to whom they were consecrated.

οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ] Cp. iii. 39. 2; 58. 6; 85. 2; iv. 14. 3; v. 87. Also Livy, ii. 29, Lictore nihil aliud quam prehendere prohibito; ii. 32, Ventrem, in medio quietum nihil aliud quam datis voluptatibus frui; ix. 17, Nihil aliud quam bene ausus vana contemnere. In the present passage we might supply δρῶν, but though the phrase may have originated in some such ellipse, it has become quite adverbial and means “simply,” “absolutely.”

ἦν. τό τε Πελασγικὸν καλούμενον τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ὃ καὶ ἐπάρατόν τε ἦν μὴ οἰκεῖν καί τι καὶ Πυθικοῦ μαντείου ἀκροτελεύτιον τοιόνδε διεκώλυε, λέγον ὥς

τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἀργὸν ἄμεινον,

ὅμως ὑπὸ τῆς παραχρῆμα ἀνάγκης ἐξωκίθη. 2. καί μοι δοκεῖ τὸ μαντεῖον τοῦναντίον ξυμβῆναι ἢ προσεδέχοντο· οὐ γὰρ διὰ τὴν παράνομον ἐνοίκησιν αἱ ξυμφοραὶ γενέσθαι τῇ πόλει, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἢ ἀνάγκη τῆς οἰκήσεως, ὃν οὐκ ὀνομάζον τὸ μαντεῖον προήδει μὴ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ποτε αὐτὸ κατοικισθησόμενον. 3. κατεσκευάσαντο δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πύργοις τῶν τειχῶν πολλοὶ καὶ ὥς ἑκαστός που ἐδύνατο· οὐ γὰρ ἐχώρησε ξυνελθόντας αὐτοὺς ἡ πύλις, ἀλλ' ὕστερον δὴ τά τε μακρὰ τείχη ὥκησαν κατανειμάμενοι καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς τὰ πολλά. 4. ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἤπτοντο, ξυμμάχους τε ἀγείροντες καὶ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ ἑκατὸν νεῶν ἐπίπλουν ἐξαρτύοντες. 5. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τούτῳ παρασκευῆς ἦσαν.

18. 1. Ὁ δὲ στρατὸς τῶν Πελοποννησίων προῖων ἀφίκετο τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐς Οἰνόην πρῶτον, ἥπερ ἔμμελλον ἐσβαλεῖν.

CH. XVII. 1. τὸ . . Πελασγικόν] A plot of ground on the N. W. side of the Acropolis, enclosed between the hill and the Pelasgic wall. This last, probably the wall of the old πόλις of Athens, was said, like most other old buildings in Greece, to be the work of the Pelasgi (see Hdt. v. 64; vi. 137, and Bähr's notes). And it was accursed, either because it was regarded as polluted by the residence of that mysterious people, or from a political motive, a free space on each side of the ramparts being very advantageous in case of a siege. We not uncommonly find that what originated in mere state expediency is afterwards consecrated by religion, till at length its real origin is lost sight of. μὴ οἰκεῖν, because the notion of prohibition is included in ἐπάρατον.

καί τι καί, "and partly also." τι is adverbial accusative.

2. τοῦναντίον] "Its fulfilment exactly reversed their expectations." Cp. iii. 22. 6, προσέβαλον τῷ τείχει ἐκ τοῦμπαλιν ἢ οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτῶν ὑπερέβαινον, and Madv. G. S. 91, r. 1. γενέσθαι, sc. δοκοῦσι. For μὴ see note on i. 76. 1.

3. κατεσκευάσαντο] "Settled:" the exact opposite of ἀνασκευάζεσθαι, i. 18. 3. Cp. Arist. *Knights* 792, οἰκοῦντ' ἐν ταῖς πιθάκναισι καὶ γυπαρίοις καὶ πυργιδίοις: and ch. 52 below.

4. τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον] "All that was necessary for carrying on the war." ἐπίπλουν τῇ Πελ., cp. i. 73. 1, ἐς ἀντιλογίαν τοῖς ξυμμάχοις.

CH. XVIII. 1. τῆς Ἀττ. ἐς Οἰνόην] Cp. i. 13. 2 for the order of the words, and for the geography,

2. καὶ ὥς ἐκαθέζοντο, προσβολὰς παρεσκευάζοντο τῷ τείχει ποιησόμενοι μηχαναῖς τε καὶ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ· ἡ γὰρ Οἰνότης οὐσα ἐν μεθορίοις τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ Βοιωτίας ἐτετείχιστο καὶ αὐτῷ φρουρίῳ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐχρῶντο ὅποτε πόλεμος καταλάβοι. 3. τὰς τε οὖν προσβολὰς εὐτρεπίζοντο καὶ ἄλλως ἐνδιέτριψαν χρόνον περὶ αὐτήν. 4. αἰτίαν τε οὐκ ἐλαχίστην Ἀρχίδαμος ἔλαβεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, δοκῶν καὶ ἐν τῇ ξυναγωγῇ τοῦ πολέμου μαλακὸς εἶναι καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπιτήδειος, οὐ παραινῶν προθύμως πολεμεῖν· ἐπειδὴ τε ξυνελέγετο ὁ στρατὸς, ἢ τε ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ ἐπιμονὴ γενομένη καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην πορείαν ἢ σχολαιότης διέβαλεν αὐτόν, μάλιστα δὲ ἢ ἐν τῇ Οἰνότη ἐπίσχεσις. 5. οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐσεκομίζοντο ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ καὶ ἐδόκουν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐπελθόντες ἂν διὰ τάχους πάντα ἔτι ἔξω καταλαβεῖν, εἰ μὴ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου μέλλησιν. 6. ἐν τοιαύτῃ μὲν ὀργῇ ὁ στρατὸς τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον ἐν τῇ καθέδρᾳ εἶχεν. 7. ὁ δὲ προσδεχόμενος ὥς λέγεται τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τῆς γῆς ἔτι ἀκεραίου οὔσης ἐνδῶ-

Hdt. v. 74, οἱ Βοιωτοὶ ἀπὸ συνθηματός Οἰνότην αἰρέουσι καὶ Ὑσιὰς, δῆμους τοὺς ἐσχάτους τῆς Ἀττικῆς. Grote says (vi. 172, note) that Oenoe "was near Eleutheræ, and on one of the roads from Attica into Boeotia. Archidamus marched probably from the Isthmus over Geraneia, and fell into this road in order to receive the junction of the Boeotian contingent after it had crossed Cithæron."

2. παρεσκευάζοντο . . ποιησόμενοι] "Prepared to make." After παρασκευάζεσθαι the future participle is rarely used without ὥς: cp. however ii. 91. 2; vi. 54. 4; vii. 17. 3, and Madv. G. S. 175 d, r. αὐτῷ φρουρίῳ, "used it as a garrison post." The pronoun agrees not with Οἰνότη, but with φρουρίον.

3. τε οὖν] See above, 16. 1. ἄλλως, "in some other operations."

4. ἀπ' αὐτοῦ] Sc. τοῦ ἐνδιατρίψαι. ἐν τῇ ξυναγωγῇ: "while the war was a-gathering." Dale. ξυναγωγή embraces all the preliminary mea-

sures from the first congress at Sparta. εἶναι = "to have been." For the imperfect may be used instead of the aorist, yet so as to direct attention to the duration of the state of things spoken of: cp. i. 9. 2, ὅσων ἦρχε Εὐρυσθεύς, and note on i. 9. 5. Krüger quotes from Xenophon, Ξενοφώντος κατηγορήσαντινες φάσκοντες παύεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

5. ἂν . . καταλαβεῖν] "Thought that they might have found every thing outside if they had advanced quickly,"—and then by a Thucydidean afterthought, ἐπελθόντες διὰ τάχους is repeated in εἰ μὴ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου μέλλησιν, "if it had not been for his procrastination."

6. ἐν . . ὀργῇ . . εἶχεν] Cp. i. 55. 1; ii. 8. 7. καθέδρα, "during that wearisome delay." Cp. v. 7. 2, τῶν γὰρ στρατιωτῶν ἀχθομένων τῇ ἐδρᾷ. And observe that of these five words, ἐπιμονή, σχολαιότης, ἐπίσχεσις, μέλλησις, καθέδρα, no two mean the same thing.

σειν τι καὶ κατοκνήσειν περιδεῖν αὐτὴν τμηθεῖσαν, ἀνεῖχεν.
 19. 1. ἐπειδὴ μέντοι προσβαλόντες τῇ Οἰνότη καὶ πᾶσαν
 ἰδέαν πειράσαντες οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἐλεῖν, οἳ τε Ἀθηναῖοι οὐδὲν
 ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο, οὕτω δὲ ὁρμήσαντες ἀπ' αὐτῆς μετὰ τὰ ἐν
 Πλαταίᾳ τῶν ἐσελθόντων Θηβαίων γενόμενα ἡμέρα ὀγδοη-
 κοστῇ μάλιστα, τοῦ θέρους καὶ τοῦ σίτου ἀκμάζοντος, ἐσέβα-
 λον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν· ἡγεῖτο δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ζευξιδάμου
 Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς. 2. καὶ καθεζόμενοι ἔτεμνον πρῶ-
 τον μὲν Ἐλευσίνα καὶ τὸ Θριάσιον πεδῖον, καὶ τροπὴν τινα
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἱππέων περὶ τοὺς Ῥεῖτους καλουμένους
 ἐποιήσαντο. ἔπειτα προὔχωρουν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸ Αἰγά-
 λεων ὄρος διὰ Κρωπείας ἕως ἀφίκοντο ἐς Ἀχαρνάς, χῶρον
 μέγιστον τῆς Ἀττικῆς τῶν δήμων καλουμένων. 3. καὶ καθε-
 ζόμενοι ἐς αὐτὸ στρατόπεδόν τε ἐποιήσαντο χρόνον τε πολὺν
 ἐμμεῖναντες ἔτεμνον. 20. 1. γνώμη δὲ τοιαῦδε λέγεται τὸν
 Ἀρχίδαμον περὶ τε τὰς Ἀχαρνὰς ὥς ἐς μάχην ταξάμενον
 μέναι καὶ ἐς τὸ πεδῖον ἐκείνη τῇ ἐσβολῇ οὐ καταβῆναι.
 2. τοὺς γὰρ Ἀθηναίους ἠλπιζεν ἀκμάζοντάς τε νεότητι
 πολλῇ καὶ παρεσκευασμένους ἐς πόλεμον ὥς οὐπω πρότερον
 ἴσως ἂν ἐπεξελθεῖν καὶ τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἂν περιδεῖν τμηθῆναι.

7. περιδεῖν . . τμηθεῖσαν.] Cp. note on i. 35. 4. ἀνεῖχεν, "de-
 layed."

CH. XIX. 1. ἰδέαν] The con-
 struction is πᾶσαν ἰδέαν (τοῦ προσ-
 βάλλειν) πειράσαντες (αὐτῆς), "after
 they had attempted the place in
 every possible way." Cp. i. 109.
 1, and, for the accusative, στρα-
 τεῖαν ξυνῆλθον, i. 3. 6. οὕτω δὲ:
 "upon this, I say:" cp. i. 131. 1.
 τῶν ἐσελθόντων Θηβαίων is proba-
 bly an afterthought, and γενόμενα is
 a predicate (see i. 100. 3). "After
 the miscarriage of the Theban in-
 vaders in Plataea," literally; "after
 the occurrence of the disaster in
 Plataea, I mean the disaster to the
 Thebans who had entered the town."

τοῦ θέρους] "When the summer
 was at its height." The phrase ad-
 mits of some looseness in the appli-
 cation: Krüger says it was May,

Grote that it was the middle of
 June, and Arnold nearly agrees
 with Grote. See on ii. 2. 1.

2. Ῥεῖτους] These were two
 small salt lakes between the sacred
 road and the sea, about a third of
 the distance from Thria to Athens.
 Ἀχαρνάς: "He was here about
 seven miles from Athens, on a de-
 clivity sloping down into the plain
 which stretches westerly and north-
 westerly from Athens, and visible
 from the city walls." Grote, vi. 177.

CH. XX. 1. ὥς ἐς μάχην] Sc.
 ὥς ἂν τάξαιντο οἱ ἐς μάχην ταξάμε-
 νοι. Cp. i. 62. 5; 126. 5. ἐκείνη
 τῇ ἐσβολῇ: temporal dative: cp.
 μάχῃ, iii. 54. 4; γαλήνῃ, vi. 26. 7;
 τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς, Dem. *de Cor.* 265.
 So in Latin, ludis, "at the games."
 See Madv. *G. S.* 45 a.

2. τμηθῆναι] See i. 35. 4; ii.
 18. 7.

3. ἐπειδὴ οὖν αὐτῷ ἐς Ἐλευσίνα καὶ τὸ Θριάσιον πεδῖον οὐκ ἀπήντησαν, πείραν ἐποιεῖτο περὶ τὰς Ἀχαρνὰς καθήμενος εἰ ἐπεξίασιν· ἅμα μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ ὁ χῶρος ἐπιτήδειος ἐφαίνετο ἐνστρατοπεδεῦσαι, ἅμα δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀχαρνῆς μέγα μέρος ὄντες τῆς πόλεως, τρισχίλιοι γὰρ ὀπλίται ἐγένοντο, οὐ περιόψεσθαι ἐδόκουν τὰ σφέτερα διαφθαρέντα, ἀλλ' ὀρμήσειν καὶ τοὺς πάντας ἐς μάχην. 4. εἴ τε καὶ μὴ ἐπεξέλθοιεν ἐκείνη τῇ ἐσβολῇ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀδεέστερον ἤδη ἐς τὸ ὕστερον τὸ πεδῖον τεμεῖν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν χωρήσεσθαι· τοὺς γὰρ Ἀχαρνέας ἐστερημένους τῶν σφετέρων οὐχ ὁμοίως προθύμους ἔσεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων κινδυνεύειν, στάσιν δὲ ἐνέσεσθαι τῇ γνώμῃ. 5. τοιαύτη μὲν διανοία ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος περὶ τὰς Ἀχαρνὰς ἦν.

21. 1. Ἀθηναῖοι δέ, μέχρι μὲν οὐ περὶ Ἐλευσίνα καὶ τὸ Θριάσιον πεδῖον ὁ στρατὸς ἦν, καὶ τινα ἐλπίδα εἶχον ἐς τὸ ἐγγυτέρω αὐτοὺς μὴ προῖέναι, μεμνημένοι καὶ Πλειστοάνακτα τὸν Πausanίου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέα ὅτε ἐσβαλὼν τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐς Ἐλευσίνα καὶ Θρίῳζε στρατῷ Πελοποννησίων πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου τέσσαρσι καὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν ἀνεχώρησε πάλιν ἐς τὸ πλεῖον οὐκέτι προελθών· διὸ δὴ καὶ ἡ φυγὴ αὐτῷ ἐγένετο ἐκ Σπάρτης δόξαντι χρήμασι πεισθῆναι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ Ἀχαρνὰς εἶδον τὸν στρατὸν ἐξήκοντα

3. ἐνστρατοπεδεῦσαι] In Herodotus (ix. 2) we have χῶρος ἐπιτηδεώτερος ἐνστρατοπεδεῦεσθαι: cp. notes on i. 138. 3; ii. 44. 2. καὶ τοὺς πάντας: would not only clamour for a battle themselves, but would inflame the whole town as well: see note on i. 3. 2.

4. τεμεῖν] Supply ἐδόκει from ἐδόκουν. Ἀχαρνέας: "he thought that the Acharnians when they had lost their own property would not be so ready to risk their lives for other people's land, and that so there would be a division in the Athenian counsels." But he was deceived: cp. Arist. *Ach.* 183, ὦ μιᾶρώτατε, σπονδὰς φέρεις, τῶν ἀμπέλων τετμημένων;

CH. XXI. 1. καὶ τινα ἐλπίδα]

"Had also a vague hope." The army stayed at Eleusis, and the Athenians hoped. μέχρι οὐ is grafted on to the first clause, but the καὶ is still allowed to remain: see note on i. 3. 2. μεμνημένοι Πλειστοάνακτα ὅτε, "remembering the time when Pleistoanax retreated:" μέμνημαι ὅτε (*ἤμος, ἡνίκα*) is not uncommon. Jelf (804. 8) quotes Hom. *Il.* xiv. 71; xv. 18, and other passages. But according to Krüger, it is rare in this construction to find the subject of the dependent clause made the object of the principal verb by that sort of anticipation which is so familiar in the phrase οἶδά σε ὅτι. For the fact, cp. i. 114. 4; v. 16.

πεισθῆναι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν] Cp. i. 35. 3, πεισθέντων ὑμῶν ἃ δεόμεθα:

σταδίους τῆς πόλεως ἀπέχοντα, οὐκέτι ἀνασχετὸν ἵπαιοντο, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς ὡς εἰκὸς γῆς τεμνομένης ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ, ὃ οὐπω ἐωράκεσαν οἱ γε νεώτεροι, οὐδ' οἱ πρεσβύτεροι πλὴν τὰ Μηδικά, δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο καὶ ἐδόκει τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ μάλιστα τῇ νεότητι ἐπεξιέναι καὶ μὴ περιορᾶν. 2. κατὰ ξυστάσεις τε γιγνόμενοι ἐν πολλῇ ἔριδι ἦσαν, οἱ μὲν κελεύοντες ἐξιέναι, οἱ δέ τινες οὐκ ἐῶντες. 3. χρησμολόγοι τε ἦδον χρησμοὺς παντοίους, ὧν ἀκροᾶσθαι ὡς ἕκαστος ὥργητο. 4. οἱ τε Ἀχαρνῆς οἴομενοι παρὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν εἶναι Ἀθηναίων, ὡς αὐτῶν ἡ γῆ ἐτέμνετο, ἐνήγον τὴν ἔξοδον μάλιστα. 5. παντί τε τρόπῳ ἀνηρέθιστο ἡ πόλις καὶ τὸν Περικλέα ἐν ὀργῇ εἶχον, καὶ ὧν παρήνεσε πρότερον ἐμέμνηντο οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἐκάκιζον ὅτι στρατηγὸς ὢν οὐκ ἐπεξάγοι, αἰτιὸν τε σφίσιν ἐνόμιζον πάντων ὧν ἔπασχον. 22. 1. Περικλῆς δὲ ὁρῶν μὲν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸ παρὸν χαλεπαίνοντας καὶ οὐ τὰ ἄριστα φρονούντας, πιστεύων δὲ ὀρθῶς γιννώσκειν περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐπεξιέναι, ἐκκλησίαν τε οὐκ ἐποίει αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ξύλλογον οὐδένα, τοῦ μὴ ὀργῇ τι μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ ξυνελθόντας ἐξαμαρτεῖν, τὴν τε πόλιν ἐφύλασσε καὶ δι' ἡσυχίας

i. 126. 11, οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιτραυμένοι τὴν φυλακὴν: ii. 68. 5, ἡλληνίσθησαν τὴν νῦν γλώσσαν. *Madv. G. S.* 26. 6. For γῆς without the possessive article, cp. ii. 54. 1; 74. 1. τὰ Μηδικά is governed by ἐωράκεσαν—"nor had the elders seen any thing of the kind except the Persian War:" the war is put for the devastation it brought.

2. κατὰ ξυστάσεις] "They clustered together in many a group and angrily debated the question." ξύστασις, like ξύλλογος, iii. 27. 2 (see also ii. 88. 2), is a knot or casual gathering in the streets or houses, distinguished from a legitimate public meeting.

3. ἦδον] See ii. 8. 2. ὥρνητο: the construction according to Arnold is, ὧν ἀκροᾶσθαι (ὥρνητο) ὡς ἕκαστος ὥρνητο. But this repetition of the verb is unnecessary; ὡς ἕκαστος is virtually a single word, signifying

"each for himself," "each according to his personal inclinations:" cp. i. 3. 2; 107. 7.

4. παρὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς] "Belonged to themselves:" cp. i. 33. 1.

CH. XXII. 1. πρὸς τὸ παρόν] "At their present sufferings;" literally, "looking at," or "with reference to:" cp. ii. 3. 3; 59. 4. οὐκ ἐποίει: imperfect, because he kept proroguing the assembly as often as the day on which it should have been held came round. Probably this was a stretch of power: see Smith, *Dict. Ant.* s. v. Ecclesia. For τι μᾶλλον Classen compares iv. 21. 3; vii. 57. 1, and ἐξαμαρτεῖν has no object. "In order that they might not meet with more passion than judgment, and take some rash step." See Grote's remarks (vi. 180). δι' ἡσυχίας εἶχεν: "kept it quiet:" cp. i. 17. 1.

μάλιστα ὅσον ἐδύνατο εἶχεν. 2. ἱππέας μέντοι ἐξέπεμπεν αἰεὶ τοῦ μὴ προδρόμους ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐσπίπτοντας ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς τοὺς ἐγγὺς τῆς πόλεως κακουργεῖν· καὶ ἱππομαχία τις ἐνεγένετο βραχεῖα ἐν Φρυγίοις τῶν τε Ἀθηναίων τέλει ἐνὶ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ Θεσσαλοῖς μετ' αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς Βοιωτῶν ἱππέας, ἐν ᾗ οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔσχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Θεσσαλοί, μέχρι οὗ προσβοηθησάντων τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τροπὴ ἐγένετο αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέθανον τῶν Θεσσαλῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων οὐ πολλοί· ἀνείλυντο μέντοι αὐτοὺς αὐθιμερὸν ἀσπόνδους. 3. καὶ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι τροπαῖον τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔστησαν. 4. ἡ δὲ βοήθεια αὕτη τῶν Θεσσαλῶν κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν ξυμμαχικὸν ἐγένετο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις· καὶ ἀφίκοντο παρ' αὐτοὺς Λαρισαῖοι, Φαρσάλιοι, [Παράσιοι,] Κρανώνιοι, Πυράσιοι, Γυρτώνιοι, Φεραῖοι. 5. ἡγούντο δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκ μὲν Λαρίσης Πολυμήδης καὶ Ἀριστόνους, ἀπὸ τῆς στάσεως ἑκάτερος, ἐκ δὲ Φαρσάλου Μένων· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ πόλεις ἄρχοντες.

23. 1. Οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐπεξήρσαν αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς μάχην, ἄραντες ἐκ τῶν Ἀχαρνῶν ἐδήουν τῶν δήμων τινὰς ἄλλους τῶν μεταξὺ Πάρνηθος καὶ Βριλήσσου ὄρους. 2. ὄντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέστειλαν τὰς ἑκατὸν ναῦς περὶ Πελοπόννησον ὥσπερ παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ χιλίους ὀπλίτας ἐπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τοξότας τετρακοσίους· ἐστρατήγει δὲ Καρκίνος τε ὁ Ξενοτίμου καὶ Πρωτέας ὁ Ἐπικλέους καὶ Σωκράτης ὁ Ἀντιγένους. 3. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄραντες τῇ παρασκευῇ ταύτῃ περιέπλεον, οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι χρό-

2. προδρόμους] "Flying parties." ἀσπόνδους, cp. i. 63. 3.

4. ξυμμαχικόν] At i. 102. 5 mention is made of an alliance between the Athenians and Thessalians. But this would scarcely be called παλαιόν. The two nations had been on friendly terms for a long time back: cp. Hdt. v. 63. τὸ ξυμμαχικόν (cp. i. 107. 9) bears apparently about the same relation to ξυμμαχία that τὰ τοῦ πολέμου bears to πόλεμος. Παράσιοι· Παρράσιοι Ἀρκάδες, Παράσιοι Θεσσαλοί. Sch. But according

to Poppo, "Thessaliae Parasios Scholiastes sibi ipse excogitavit. Hoc nomen, ex diversa scriptura propinqui Πυράσιοι ortum, delendum videtur."

5. ἀπὸ τῆς στάσεως] "Each from his faction:" the oligarchs and the democrats formed separate companies under different leaders.

CH. XXIII. 2. τὰς ἑκατὸν ναῦς] Mentioned at ii. 17. 4. ὥσπερ παρεσκευάζοντο: "which they were preparing," as we said above.

3. περιέπλεον] Sc. τὴν Πελοπόν-

νον ἐμμεΐναντες ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὅσου εἶχον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀνεχώρησαν διὰ Βοιωτῶν οὐχ ἥπερ ἐσέβαλον· παριόντες δὲ Ὀρωπὸν τὴν γῆν τὴν Πειραικὴν καλουμένην, ἣν νέμονται Ὀρώπιοι Ἀθηναίων ὑπήκοοι, ἐδήωσαν. 4. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ ἐς Πελοπόννησον διελύθησαν κατὰ πόλεις ἕκαστοι.

24. 1. Ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι φυλακὰς κατεστήσαντο κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, ὥσπερ δὴ ἐμελλον διὰ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου φυλάξειν· καὶ χίλια τάλαντα ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει χρημάτων ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἐξαίρετα ποιησαμένοις χωρὶς θέσθαι καὶ μὴ ἀναλοῦν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πολεμεῖν· ἣν δέ τις εἶπῃ ἢ ἐπιψηφίσῃ κινεῖν τὰ χρήματα ταῦτα ἐς ἄλλο τι, ἣν μὴ οἱ πολέμιοι νηίτη

νησον. ὅσου, "for which," governed by τὰ ἐπιτήδεια: cp. τριῶν ἡμερῶν σιτία, i. 48. 1. Πειραικὴν, says Arnold, is probably a word of the same origin as the name of the port of Athens, Πειραιεύς, and is connected with the expression ἡ πέραν γῆ, which is applied to this same district of Oropus, iii. 91. 3. These terms have reference to the opposite coast of Euboea in the one case, and to that of Peloponnesus, or perhaps merely of Salamis, in the other. Poppo reads Γραικὴν, and this emendation, founded on a passage of Stephanus Byzantinus (which however does not appear to be conclusive), is adopted by Grote, vi. p. 182. Graea was an Attic deme, between Tanagra and Oropus, and it is perhaps odd that an Attic deme should be occupied by Athenian subjects. Besides, καλούμενος (cp. ii. 17. 2; iv. 8. 6; 76. 3; vii. 53. 2; 57. 8; 80. 4) could hardly be added to a colourless proper name.

CH. XXIV. 1. ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων] "From, by means of, the rest of the money," mentioned above, ii. 13. 3. ἣν δέ τις εἶπῃ: "if any citizen should move, or any magistrate should put the question, to touch this reserve fund for any other purpose." ἐπιψηφίζειν was the duty of the presiding officer, at Sparta one

of the Ephors (i. 87. 1), at Athens of the ἐπιστάτης (called simply πρύτανις, vi. 14). See Smith, *Dict. Ant.* s. v. Ecclesia. This penalty was repealed, and the reserve fund broken in upon, in B.C. 412, when news came of the revolt of Chios, just after the great disaster in Sicily, see viii. 15. 1. Grote (vi. 187 sqq.) explains and defends this resolution, which Mitford had quoted as a proof of the "indelible barbarism" of democratic governments. But so long as the people remained of the same mind no one *could* persuade them to spend the money. And if the people had changed their mind they would not want persuasion.

ἐς ἄλλο τι, ἣν μὴ] Here, as often, we see the tendency of the Greek mind to patch together fragments of two different phrases. We should expect either ἐς ἄλλο τι ἢ ἐάν, ὅρ ἣν μὴ without ἐς ἄλλο τι. Cp. note on τοῦ μὴ πλέον ἔχειν ἀπετράπετο, i. 76. 2. ἐπέθεντο: the middle is unusual. Generally we find ζημίαν ἐπιτιθέναι. The active means simply "to impose a penalty," and people seldom regard themselves as likely to fall under their own rule. But in the present case the Athenians were fixing a punishment which was to deter themselves or any member of their body from a certain act.

στρατῶ ἐπιπλέωσι τῇ πόλει καὶ δέη ἀμύνασθαι. θάνατον ζημίαν ἐπέθεντο. 2. τριήρεις τε μετ' αὐτῶν ἑκατὸν ἐξαιρέτους ἐποίησαντο, κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον τὰς βελτίστας, καὶ τριηράρχους αὐταῖς, ὧν μὴ χρῆσθαι μηδεμιᾷ ἐς ἄλλο τι ἢ μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κινδύνου, ἦν δέη.

25. 1. Οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς ἑκατὸν ναυσὶ περὶ Πελοπόννησον Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Κερκυραῖοι μετ' αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα ναυσὶ προσβεβηθηκότες καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν ἐκεῖ ξυμμάχων ἄλλα τε ἐκάκουν περιπλέοντες καὶ ἐς Μεθώνην τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἀποβάντες τῷ τείχει προσέβαλον ὄντι ἀσθενεῖ καὶ ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐνόντων. 2. ἔτυχε δὲ περὶ τοὺς χώρους τούτους Βρασίδας ὁ Τέλλιδος ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιάτης φρουρὰν ἔχων, καὶ αἰσθόμενος ἐβόηθει τοῖς ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ μετὰ ὀπλιτῶν ἑκατόν. 3. διαδραμὼν δὲ τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατόπεδον ἐσκεδασμένον κατὰ τὴν χώραν καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τετραμμένον ἐσπίπτει ἐς τὴν Μεθώνην καὶ ὀλίγους τινὰς ἐν τῇ ἐσδρομῇ ἀπολέσας τῶν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν τε πόλιν περιεποίησε καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ τολμήματος πρῶτος τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπηνέβη ἐν Σπάρτῃ. 4. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἄραντες παρέπλεον, καὶ σχόντες τῆς Ἡλείας ἐς Φειὰν ἐδήουν τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας καὶ προσβοηθήσαντας τῶν ἐκ τῆς κοίλης Ἡλίδος

2. κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτόν] Every year they selected a hundred of the best triremes they had, and laid them up in dock, not in addition to the hundred selected the year before, but instead of them. Krüger challenges τὸν before ἕκαστον, but why? cp. iii. 50. 3; vi. 63. 2, which are quite parallel to the present passage. However, he thinks that μετ' αὐτῶν and κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον are spurious. Indeed there is a strange variation in the MSS., one of which, instead of these last words, reads μετὰ τῶν ναυτῶν. τριηράρχους: see Smith, *Dict. Ant.* χρῆσθαι, sc. ἔδοξεν. ὧν here so clearly means καὶ τούτων that the passage is hardly parallel to i. 91. 5.

CH. XXV. 1. Κερκυραῖοι] The ἐπιμαχία (i. 44. 1) seems to have

become a ξυμμαχία: see ii. 7. 3. ἐκεῖ, in Acarnania, Zacynthus, and Naupactus. ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐνόντων· λείπει πολλῶν. Sch. But Poppo takes ἄνθρωποι to mean soldiers.

3. διαδραμὼν] He broke through the Athenian lines with ease—firstly, because their forces were scattered over the ground before the town, and could not concentrate themselves in time to resist him; secondly, because their attention was fixed on the town, and they were not expecting, or prepared for, an enemy in the rear. τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον, sc. ἐπαινεθέντων, Poppo. But Krüger, “of those engaged in this war.” ἐπηνέβη: “a word implying some public tribute of praise, though we do not know by whom it was conferred.” Arn.

τριακοσίους λογάδας καὶ τῶν αὐτόθεν ἐκ τῆς περιοικίδος Ἑλείων μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν. 5. ἀνέμου δὲ κατιόντος μεγάλου χειμαζόμενοι ἐν ἀλιμένῳ χωρίῳ, οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἐπέβησαν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ περιέπλεον τὸν Ἰχθύν καλούμενον τὴν ἄκραν ἐς τὸν ἐν τῇ Φειᾷ λιμένα· οἱ δὲ Μεσσήνιοι ἐν τούτῳ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς οἱ οὐ δυνάμενοι ἐπιβῆναι κατὰ γῆν χωρήσαντες τὴν Φειὰν αἰρούσι. 6. καὶ ὕστερον αἱ τε νῆες περιπλεύσασαι ἀναλαμβάνουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐξανάγονται ἐκλιπόντες Φειάν, καὶ τῶν Ἑλείων ἡ πολλὴ ἤδη στρατιὰ προσεβεβοηθήκει. 7. παραπλεύσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ ἄλλα χωρία ἐδήουν.

26. 1. Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦτον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τριάκοντα ναῦς ἐξέπεμψαν περὶ τὴν Λοκρίδα καὶ Εὐβοίας ἅμα φυλακὴν· ἐστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Κλεόπομπος ὁ Κλεινίου. 2. καὶ ἀποβάσεις ποιησάμενος τῆς τε παραθαλασσίας ἔστιν ἃ ἐδήωσε καὶ Θρόνιον εἶλεν, ὁμήρους τε ἔλαβεν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐν Ἀλόπῃ τοὺς βοηθήσαντας Λοκρῶν μάχῃ ἐκράτησεν.

27. 1. Ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ Αἰγινήτας τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει τούτῳ ἐξ Αἰγίνης Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτοὺς τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐπικαλέσαντες οὐχ ἥκιστα τοῦ πολέμου σφίσιν αἰτίους εἶναι· καὶ τὴν Αἶγιναν ἀσφαλέστερον ἐφαίνετο, τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ ἐπικειμένην, αὐτῶν πέμψαντας ἐποίκους ἔχειν. 2. καὶ ἐξέπεμψαν ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ ἐς αὐτὴν τοὺς οἰκήτορας. 3. ἐκπεσοῦσι δὲ τοῖς Αἰγινήταις οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔδοσαν Θυρέαν

4. ἐκ τῆς κοίλης Ἑλίδος] “From the Vale of Elis,” Elis Proper, distinguished from Pisatis and Triphylia. “This as the richest part of the whole territory was naturally occupied by the conquering Aetolians, when they came in with the Dorians at what is called the Return of the Heracleidae. The neighbourhood of Pheia, on the other hand, was inhabited by the descendants of the older people who were conquered by the Aetolians, and now formed, as in so many Peloponnesian states, the subordinate class called περίοικοι.” Arn.

5. ἐν ἀλιμένῳ χωρίῳ] See note on πόλεσιν ἀτειχίστοις, i. 5. 1.

CH. XXVI. 1. φυλακὴν] “To guard Euboea as well.” καὶ couples φυλακὴν not with ναῦς but with περὶ τὴν Λοκρίδα, which is virtually an appositive accusative.

CH. XXVII. 1. παῖδας] See note on i. 89. 4, and cp. i. 103. 3. σφίσιν, sc. τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. They charged the Aeginetans with having done more than other states to bring the war upon them: cp. i. 66. 2. ἐποίκους, colonists as immigrants; ἀποίκους, as emigrants. See Smith, *Dict. Ant.* s. v. Colonia.

2. τοὺς οἰκήτορας] “The settlers” whom they had determined to send.

οἰκεῖν καὶ τὴν γῆν νέμεσθαι, κατὰ τε τὸ Ἀθηναίων διάφορον καὶ ὅτι σφῶν εὐεργέται ἦσαν ὑπὸ τὸν σεισμόν καὶ τῶν Εἰλώτων τὴν ἐπανάστασιν. 4. ἡ δὲ Θυρεάτις γῆ μεθορία τῆς Ἀργείας καὶ Λακωνικῆς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καθήκουσα. 5. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα ᾤκησαν, οἱ δ' ἐσπάρησαν κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα.

28. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους νουμηνία κατὰ σελήνην, ὥσπερ καὶ μόνον δοκεῖ εἶναι γίγνεσθαι δυνατόν, ὁ ἥλιος ἐξέλιπε μετὰ μεσημβρίαν καὶ πάλιν ἀνεπληρώθη, γενόμενος μηνοειδῆς καὶ ἀστέρων τινῶν ἐκφανέντων.

29. 1. Καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει Νυμφόδωρον τὸν Πύθεω ἄνδρα Ἀβδηρίτην, οὗ εἶχε τὴν ἀδελφὴν Σιτάλκης, δυνάμενον παρ' αὐτῷ μέγα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πρότερον πολέμιον νομίζοντες πρόξενον ἐποίησαντο καὶ μετεπέμψαντο, βουλόμενοι Σιτάλκην σφίσι τὸν Τήρεω Θρακῶν βασιλέα ξύμμαχον γενέσθαι. 2. ὁ δὲ Τήρης οὗτος ὁ τοῦ Σιτάλκου πατὴρ πρῶτος Ὀδρυσαῖς τὴν μεγάλην βασιλείαν ἐπὶ πλείον τῆς ἄλλης Θράκης ἐποίησε· πολὺ γὰρ μέρος καὶ αὐτόνομόν ἐστι Θρακῶν. 3. Τηρεῖ δὲ τῷ Πρόκνην τὴν Πανδίου ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶνσχόντι γυναιῖκα προσήκει ὁ Τήρης οὗτος οὐδέν, οὐδὲ τῆς αὐτῆς Θράκης ἐγένοντο, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν Δαυλίᾳ τῆς Φωκίδος νῦν καλουμένης γῆς ὁ Τηρεὺς ᾔκει τότε ὑπὸ Θρακῶν οἰκουμένης,

3. κατὰ . . . διάφορον] “On account of their dispute with the Athenians.” For the objective genitive, cp. iii. 54. 1; iv. 79. 2; and i. 103. 3; and for κατὰ in this sense, i. 9. 2. τὸν σεισμόν, i. 101. For the fate of Thyrea, cp. iv. 57.

CH. XXVIII. νουμηνία κατὰ σελήνην] The civil and lunar months did not coincide. Clinton gives the 3rd of August as the date of this eclipse.

CH. XXIX. 1. Πύθεω] ὁ Πύθης, τοῦ Πύθεω, Ἰωνικῶς. Sch. So Τήρεω. παρ' αὐτῷ: cp. i. 138. 2. πρόξενον: see Smith, *Dict. Ant.* s. v. Hospitium. Abdera was one of the subject allies of Athens, and πολέμιος means that Nymphodorus headed the party opposed to Athe-

nian predominance.

2. ἐπὶ πλείον] Göller translates, “over a larger portion of the rest of Thrace,” and then γάρ means, “but not over the whole, for.” But at i. 9. 3; 71. 4, ἐπὶ πλεόν is followed by a genitive, not of partition but of comparison, and we might render “made it more powerful than the rest of Thrace.” So Krüger (?) and Classen. Arnold, who is misunderstood by Krüger, suggests another translation—“on a larger scale than the rest of Thrace.” In either case, γάρ explains τῆς ἄλλης.

3. ὁ μὲν . . . ὁ Τηρεὺς] “The one, namely Tereus.” ἐν ἀηδόνοσ μνήμη, “in mentioning the nightingale.”

καὶ τὸ ἔργον τὸ περὶ τὸν Ἴτυν αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ ἔπρῳξαν· πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐν ἀηδόνοσ μνήμη Δαυλιάς ἢ ὄρνις ἐπωνόμασται. 4. εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ τὸ κῆδος Πανδίονα ξυνάψασθαι τῆς θυγατρὸς διὰ τοσούτου ἵπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ἐς Ὀδρύσας ὁδοῦ. 5. Τήρης δὲ οὔτε τὸ αὐτὸ ὄνομα ἔχων, βασιλεὺς τε πρῶτος ἐν κράτει Ὀδρυσῶν ἐγένετο. 6. οὐ δὲ ὄντα τὸν Σιτάλκην οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ξύμμαχον ἐποίησαντο, βουλόμενοι σφίσι τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία καὶ Περδίκκαν ξυνεξελεῖν αὐτόν. 7. ἐλθὼν τε ἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ὁ Νυμφόδωρος τὴν τε τοῦ Σιτάλκου ξυμμαχίαν ἐποίησε καὶ Σάδοκον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀθηναῖον, τὸν τε ἐπὶ Θράκης πόλεμον ὑπεδέχετο καταλύσειν· πεισεῖν γὰρ Σιτάλκην πέμψειν στρατιὰν Θρακίαν Ἀθηναίοις ἱππέων τε καὶ πελταστῶν. 8. ξυνεβίβασε δὲ καὶ τὸν Περδίκκαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Θέρμην αὐτῷ ἐπεισεν ἀποδοῦναι· ξυνεστράτευσέ τ' εὐθύς Περδίκκας ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας μετ' Ἀθηναίων καὶ Φορμίωνος. 9. οὕτω μὲν Σιτάλκης τε ὁ Τήρεω Θρακῶν βασιλεὺς ξύμμαχος ἐγένετο Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Περδίκκας ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς.

30. 1. Οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς ἑκατὸν ναυσὶν Ἀθηναῖοι ἔτι ὄντες περὶ Πελοπόννησον Σόλλιον τε Κορινθίων πόλισμα αἰροῦσι καὶ παραδιδόασι Παλαιρεῦσιν Ἀκαρνάνων μόνοις τὴν γῆν καὶ πόλιν νέμεσθαι καὶ Ἀστακόν, ἥς Εὐάρχος ἐτυράννει, λαβόντες κατὰ κράτος καὶ ἐξελάσαντες αὐτὸν τὸ χωρίον ἐς

4. διὰ τοσούτου] "At this short distance:" cp. ii. 89. 13; 97. 2; iii. 51. 2. Pandion, like a prudent man, would find a husband for his daughter somewhere near home, that he and his son-in-law might be able to support one another. Cp. note on i. 4.

5. ἔχων] Observe the abrupt change from participle to finite verb, as at i. 57. 3. ἐν κράτει, ἐν δυνάμει. Sch. For κράτος is force in operation, δύναμις is power or dormant force. "Whereas Teres not only bore a different name, but was the first powerful king of the Odrysians,"

so that before his time Pandion would have found no eligible *parti* in Northern Thrace. ἐν κράτει is virtually an adjective. Cp. i. 143. 3, 4; ii. 3. 4.

6. οὐ δὲ ὄντα] "It was this man's son then, the Sitalces above mentioned." Cp. note on i. 1. 1. ἐπὶ Θράκης: cp. note on i. 56. 2.

7.] τοῦ Σιτάλκου = πρὸς τὸν Σιτάλκην: cp. note on i. 129. 2. Ἀθηναῖον: cp. Arist. *Ach.* 145. πέμψειν: for the future, cp. i. 27. 3.

8. Θέρμην] See i. 61. 2. Φορμίωνος: i. 64. 3.

τὴν ξυμμαχίαν προσεποιήσαντο. 2. ἐπὶ τε Κεφαλληνίαν τὴν νῆσον πλεύσαντες προσηγάγοντο ἄνευ μάχης. 3. κεῖται δὲ ἡ Κεφαλληνία κατὰ Ἀκαρνανίαν καὶ Λευκάδα τετράπολις οὖσα, Παλῆς, Κράνιοι, Σαμαῖοι, Προναῖοι. 4. ὕστερον δ' οὐ πολλῶ ἀνεχώρησαν αἱ νῆες εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας.

31. 1. Περὶ δὲ το φθινόπωρον τοῦ θέρους τούτου Ἀθηναῖοι πανδημεῖ, αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι, ἐσέβαλον εἰς τὴν Μεγαρίδα Περικλέους τοῦ Ξανθίππου στρατηγούντος. 2. καὶ οἱ περὶ Πελοπόννησον Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν ταῖς ἑκατὸν ναυσίν, ἔτυχον γὰρ ἤδη ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ὄντες ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνακομιζόμενοι, ὥς ἦσθοντο τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πανστρατιᾷ ἐν Μεγάροις ὄντας, ἐπλευσαν παρ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ξυνεμίχθησαν. 3. στρατόπεδόν τε μέγιστον δὴ τοῦτο ἀθρόον Ἀθηναίων ἐγένετο, ἀκμαζούσης ἔτι τῆς πόλεως καὶ οὐπω νενοσηκυίας. μυρίων γὰρ ὀπλιτῶν οὐκ ἐλάσσους ἦσαν αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, χωρὶς δὲ αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐν Ποτιδαίᾳ τρισχίλιοι ἦσαν, μέτοικοι δὲ ξυνεσέβαλον οὐκ ἐλάσσους τρισχιλίων ὀπλιτῶν, χωρὶς δὲ ὁ ἄλλος ὄμιλος ψιλῶν οὐκ ὀλίγος. 4. δηώσαντες δὲ τὰ πολλὰ τῆς γῆς ἀνεχώρησαν. 5. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι ὕστερον ἐν τῷ

CH. XXXI. 1. τὸ φθινόπωρον] See ii. 1. "In the same way Thuc. includes τὸ μετόπωρον in the summer, viii. 108. 2." Poppo. The end of September appears to be meant.

2. ἐν ταῖς ἐκ. ναυσίν] For the non-repetition of the article with this adjectival phrase cp. i. 140. 5, τὴν μεγάλην στρατείαν . . . εἰς Αἴγυπτον: iv. 74. 1, τῶν πραγμάτων πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ἐν Μεγάροις: the name of the city embraces the surrounding district. Poppo compares ἐν Ποτιδαίᾳ, above, 2. 1, and just below.

3. στρατόπεδόν τε] "And this when united was by far the largest force of Athenians" that was brought together during the war. τρισχίλιοι: the first expedition to Potidaea consisted of 1000 hoplites (i. 57. 4), these were followed by 2000 under Callias (i. 61. 1), and

1600 under Phormion (i. 64. 3), making in all 4600. So that 1600 must have been recalled, cp. iii. 17. 4. The 3000 who were engaged in the siege of Potidaea and the 10,000 who invaded the Megarid made up the 13,000 hoplites of which the Athenian force consisted (ii. 13. 6). μέτοικοι: they did not go on foreign service (see above, 13. 7), except on occasions of emergency, and then usually they helped to man the fleet: cp. i. 143. 1; iii. 16. 1. But see iv. 90. 1.

5. ἐγένοντο] "A decree was proposed in the Athenian Ecclesia by Charinus, though perhaps not carried, to the effect that the Strategi every year should swear, as a portion of their oath of office, that they would twice invade and ravage the Megarid." Grote, vi. 185. For the distress caused by these incursions, see Arist. *Ach.* 750 sqq.; *Peace*

πολέμῳ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἐσβολαὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐς τὴν Μεγαρίδα καὶ ἱππέων καὶ πανστρατιᾶ, μέχρι οὗ Νίσαια ἐάλω ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων.

32. 1. Ἐτειχίσθη δὲ καὶ Ἀταλάντη ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων φρούριον τοῦ θέρους τούτου τελευτῶντος ἢ ἐπὶ Λοκροῖς τοῖς Ὀπουντίοις νῆσος ἐρήμη πρότερον οὔσα, τοῦ μὴ ληστὰς ἐκπλέοντας ἐξ Ὀποῦντος καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Λοκρίδος κακουργεῖν τὴν Εὐβοίαν. 2. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ θέρει τούτῳ μετὰ τὴν Πελοποννησίων ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀναχώρησιν ἐγένετο.

33. 1. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος Εὐαρχος ὁ Ἀκαρνὰν βουλόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀστακὸν κατελθεῖν πείθει Κορινθίους τεσσαράκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ πεντακοσίοις καὶ χιλίοις ὀπλίταις ἑαυτὸν κατάγειν πλεύσαντας, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικούρους τινὰς προσεμισθώσατο· ἦρχον δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς Εὐφαιμίδας τε ὁ Ἀριστωνύμου καὶ Τιμόξενος ὁ Τιμοκράτους καὶ Εὐμαχος ὁ Χρύσιδος. 2. καὶ πλεύσαντες κατήγαγον καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἀκαρνανίας τῆς περὶ θάλασσαν ἔστιν ἃ χωρία βουλόμενοι προσποιήσασθαι καὶ πειραθέντες, ὥς οὐκ ἠδύναντο, ἀπέπλεον ἐπ' οἴκου. 3. σχόντες δ' ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ ἐς Κεφαλληνίαν καὶ ἀπόβασιν ποιησάμενοι ἐς τὴν Κρανίων γῆν, ἀπατηθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐξ ὁμολογίας τινὸς ἄνδρας τε ἀποβάλλουσι σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιθεμένων ἀπροσδοκήτοις τῶν Κρανίων, καὶ βιαίτερον ἀναγαγόμενοι ἐκομίσθησαν ἐπ' οἴκου.

34. 1. Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χειμῶνι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ χρώμενοι δημοσίᾳ ταφὰς ἐποίησαντο τῶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ

482. Νίσαια ἐάλω, in B.C. 424. See iv. 69.

CH. XXXII. 1. φρούριον] "As a garrison post." ἐπὶ Λοκροῖς: "on the coast of Locri, or as we should more naturally say, off the coast." Arn. Cp. ἐπικειμένην, ii. 27. 1. τοῦ μὴ, cp. i. 4.

CH. XXXIII. 2.] ἔστιν ἃ is virtually an adjective, cp. i. 6. 6.

3. ἐξ ὁμολογίας τινός] "Having been thrown off their guard by a (pretended) capitulation." For ἐξ denoting a cause, cp. i. 2. 4; 75. 1. ἄνδρας, "some few men." ἀπροσ-

δοκήτοις is here active: cp. ii. 93. 4; iv. 72. 2, and ἀδεέστερον, i. 36. 1. βιαίτερον, "in great haste and confusion." Cp. iv. 31. 2, βιαιοτέρα ἀναχώρησις, and v. 73. 4, ἀχώρησις οὐ βίαιος. βίαιον is here used of that which is done βία—under pressure of a victorious and pursuing enemy.

CH. XXXIV. 1. ἐποίησαντο] According to Krüger ταφὰς ποιεῖσθαι is said of those who celebrate or join in a funeral, ταφὰς ποιεῖν (Plato, *Menex.* 1) of those who arrange it.

πολέμῳ πρῶτον ἀποθανόντων τρόπῳ τοιῶδε. 2. τὰ μὲν ὅστ' ἀποτίθενται τῶν ἀπογενομένων πρότριτα σκηνὴν ποιήσαντες, καὶ ἐπιφέρει τῷ αὐτοῦ ἕκαστος ἣν τι βούληται. 3. ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἡ ἐκφορὰ ἦ, λάρνακας κυπαρισσῖνας ἄγουσιν ἅμαξαι φυλῆς ἐκάστης μίαν· ἐνέστι δὲ τὰ ὅστ' ἡς ἕκαστος ἦν φυλῆς. 4. μία δὲ κλίνη κενὴ φέρεται ἐστρωμένη τῶν ἀφανῶν, οἳ ἂν μὴ εὐρεθῶσιν ἐς ἀναίρεσιν. 5. ξυνεκφέρει δὲ ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων, καὶ γυναῖκες πάρεσιν αἱ προσήκουσαι ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον ὀλοφυρόμεναι. 6. τιθέασιν οὖν ἐς τὸ δημόσιον σῆμα, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ καλλίστου προαστείου τῆς πόλεως, καὶ αἰεὶ ἐν αὐτῷ θάπτουσι τοὺς ἐκ τῶν

2. **προτίθενται**] “They lay in state.” ἀπογενομένων, a euphemism for “dead;” the verb properly signifies “to fall off”—cp. ii. 98. 5, where it is opposed to προσεγίγνετο, but still refers especially to diminution by death. At ii. 51. 7; v. 74. 3, it is used as in the present passage. Cp. Hdt. v. 4, κατὰ δὲ τὸν γινόμενον καὶ τὸν ἀπογινόμενον, “him who is entering life and him who is quitting it.” σκηνὴν ποιήσαντες: “in a booth constructed for the purpose.” ἐπιφέρει: “brings him presents,” of flowers, spices, and fruit, or any thing they thought the dead man would like: cp. iii. 48. 4. Clothes had to be burnt before they could be used in the other world: Hdt. v. 92, and Verg. *Aen.* vi. 220 sqq.

3. **ἐκφορὰ**] So the verb ἐκφέρειν, Latin *efferre*, is regularly used of carrying out for interment: cp. *Acts* v. 9. κυπαρισσῖνας, διὰ τὸ ἄσηπτον εἶναι. Sch. In what follows the construction is ἐνέστι δὲ τὰ ὅστ' (ἐκάστου τῇ λάρνακι τῆς) φυλῆς ἡς ἕκαστος ἦν, but the ellipse is exceedingly harsh.

4. **ἐστρωμένη**] Besides the coffins a couch or bier covered with a folded shroud was borne in the procession in memory of those who had been drowned at sea, or whose corpses could not be found on the

field of battle. Krüger quotes Eur. *Hel.* 1241, “Ἑλλησὶν ἐστὶ νόμος, ὃς ἂν πόντῳ θάνῃ, κενοῖσι θάπτειν ἐν πέπλων ὑφάσμασιν, and Hdt. vi. 58, ὃς δ' ἂν ἐν πολέμῳ τῶν βασιλέων ἀποθάνῃ, τούτῳ δὲ εἰδῶλον σκεύασαντες ἐν κλίνῃ εὖ ἐστρωμένη ἐκφέρουσι. A grave was set apart for the missing, and upon it planks were laid: cp. Marc. *Life of Thuc.* 31, ἱκρίον γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου κεῖσθαι, τοῦ κενοτάφίου δὲ τοῦτο γινώρισμα εἶναι ἐπιχώριον. τῶν ἀφανῶν is governed by κλίνη. ἐς ἀναίρεσιν depends on the idea of “seeking for a purpose” implied in εὐρεθῶσιν.

6. **προαστείου**] The outer Ceramicus. “The προαστεῖον of a Greek city was not what we call a suburb, but rather an open space like the parks in London, partly planted with trees, and containing public walks, colonnades, temples, and the houses of some of the principal citizens.” Arn. τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων: “those who are brought home dead from the wars:” cp. ii. 35. 1; iii. 70. 1, and τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον, above, 25. 3 οἱ ἐν Μαραθῶνι or οἱ Μαραθῶνι is the current phrase for those who fought and fell at Marathon; for πλήν, cp. Madv. *G.S.* 187, r. 2. αὐτοῦ καί: the conjunction is inserted because αὐτοῦ is nearly equivalent to διαπρεπῆ: cp. on i. 3. 2. αὐτοῦ is “on the field.”

πολέμων πλήν γε τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι· ἐκείνων δὲ διαπρεπῆ τὴν ἀρετὴν κρίναντες αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐποίησαν. 7. ἐπειδὴ δὲ κρύψωσι γῇ, ἀνὴρ ἡρημένος ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ὃς ἂν γνώμη τε δοκῇ (μὴ ἀξύνετος εἶναι) καὶ ἀξιῶσει προήκη, λέγει ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπαινοῦν τὸν πρέποντα· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀπέρχονται. 8. ὧδε μὲν θάπτουσι καὶ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου, ὅποτε ξυμβαίῃ αὐτοῖς, ἐχρῶντο τῷ νόμῳ. 9. ἐπὶ δ' οὖν τοῖς πρώτοις τοῖσδε Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου ἡρέθη λέγειν. 10. καὶ ἐπειδὴ καιρὸς ἐλάμβανε, προελθὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ σήματος ἐπὶ βῆμα ὑψηλὸν πεποιημένον, ὅπως ἀκούοιτο ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον τοῦ ὀμίλου, ἔλεγε τοιάδε.

35. 1. “Οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε εἰρηκότων ἤδη ἐπαι-

7. ἐπ' αὐτοῖς] “Over them:” cp. Hdt. vii. 225, ὁ λίθινος λέων ἐστήκε ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ.

8. ξυμβαίῃ] “As often as they had occasion:” cp. i. 49. 3.

9. δ' οὖν] “However,” “to close this digression:” cp. note on i. 3. 5.

10. καιρὸς ἐλάμβανε] “When the proper time came:” cp. ii. 18. 2, ὅποτε πόλεμος καταλάβοι, and for the imperfect see note on i. 13. 8. ὑψηλὸν is predicative: τὸ βῆμα ὑψηλὸν ἐπεποίητο,—cp. vii. 4. 3, ἐποικοδομήσαντες ὑψηλότερον: vii. 29. 3, τοῦ δὲ βραχέος ὠκοδομημένου.” Kr. ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον: the tribune had been built high in order that his voice might reach as far over the crowd as possible. For ὡς with the superlative cp. i. 63. 1.

CH. XXXV. 1.] Grote thinks (vi. 192) that in the following twelve chapters we possess “under the language and arrangement of the historian the substance and thoughts of the illustrious statesman.” But this is very doubtful. The style is so peculiarly his own that Thuc. cannot be reporting the words of Pericles. Even the ideas must have been completely fused before they would run into so novel a mould, and we cannot tell how much they may have gained or lost in the pro-

cess. Pericles had been chosen before this to deliver the funeral oration over those who fell in the siege of Samos, and the words quoted by Aristotle, *Rhet.* i. 7, τὴν νεότητα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀνηρῆσθαι ὥσπερ τὸ ἔαρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ εἰ ἐξαιρεθείη, may have been spoken on that occasion. But the ξύμπασα γνώμη (i. 22. 1) of these λόγοι ἐπιτάφιοι had been reduced to a systematic plan, so that there was the less inducement for Thuc. to tax his memory, and the composition of them was an habitual amusement of rhetoricians. Socrates in the *Menexenus* is inconsistent—he sneers at the present speech, first as the work of the pupil of Antiphon (236 A), then as dictated by Aspasia to Pericles (ib. B). Or does he mean that Pericles did not deliver what we read in Thuc.? The glowing panegyric upon Athens seems to be aimed rather at the student of history than at the audience of mourners; it introduces us with fitting dignity to the historian's native city, so great, so brave, and so unfortunate; and forms a kind of companion to the picture of Sparta, given by Archidamus (i. 83 sqq.). “I come,” says Pericles, “to praise the dead, for so the law wills it. For my own part I should have preferred to solemnize their obsequies in silence,

νοῦσι τὸν προσθέντα τῷ νόμῳ τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ὥς καλὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων θαπτομένοις ἀγορεύεσθαι αὐτόν. 2. ἔμοι δ' ἀρκοῦν ἂν ἐδόκει εἶναι ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργῳ γενομένων ἔργῳ καὶ δηλοῦσθαι τὰς τιμὰς, οἷα καὶ νῦν περὶ τὸν τάφον τόνδε δημοσία παρασκευασθέντα ὁρᾶτε, καὶ μὴ ἐν ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ πολλῶν ἀρετὰς κινδυνεύεσθαι εὖ τε καὶ χεῖρον εἰπόντι πιστευθῆναι. 3. χαλεπὸν γὰρ τὸ μετρίως εἰπεῖν ἐν ᾧ μόλις καὶ ἡ δόκησις τῆς ἀληθείας βεβαιοῦται. 4. ὃ τε γὰρ ξυνειδὼς καὶ εὖνους ἀκροατῆς τάχ' ἂν τι ἐνδεεστερώς πρὸς ἃ βούλεται τε καὶ ἐπίσταται νομίσειε δηλοῦσθαι, ὃ τε ἄπειρος ἔστιν ἃ καὶ πλεονάζεσθαι, διὰ φθόνον εἴ τι ὑπὲρ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ἀκούοι. 5. μέχρι γὰρ τοῦδε ἀνεκτοὶ οἱ ἑπαῖνοί εἰσι περὶ ἐτέρων λεγόμενοι, ἐς ὅσον ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος οἴηται ἱκανὸς εἶναι δρᾶσαι τι ὧν ἤκουσε· τῷ δὲ ὑπερβάλλοντι αὐτῶν

for between love and envy it is hard to strike the mean."

τὸν προσθέντα] Not that the institution of the λόγος ἐπιτάφιος was of later date than the law itself—it was added because it was enacted in the last clause of the bill. According to the Scholiast, Solon is meant; according to others, some unknown lawgiver at the time of the Persian War. ὥς καλόν, sc. ὅν, "as thinking it right that it should be pronounced:" cp. i. 2. 6.

2. ἔργῳ καί] καί, as above, 34. 6. The dead were men of action, not of words; their honours also should be as solid as their deeds. οἷα, sc. ἔργα, and the following καί is "indeed." Out of ἀρκοῦν we must supply καλόν with καὶ μή. It is wrong, he says, that the achievements of many should be exposed to shipwreck in one man, and take their chance of being believed or disbelieved as he has spoken well or ill. πιστευθῆναι is added epexegetically to explain in what sense it could be said ἀρετὰς κινδυνεύεσθαι. εἰπόντι might be an instrumental dative—cp. the passages quoted on i. 20. 1; but it is better to regard it as agreeing with ἀνδρί. But accord-

ing to the Scholiast, πιστευθῆναι is subject to κινδυνεύεσθαι: his words are ἀντὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐν κινδύνῳ γενέσθαι τὸ πιστευθῆναι. For τε καὶ Krüger compares ii. 39. 4; iii. 42. 4; v. 111. 6; vi. 11. 1.

3. μετρίως] Neither too much nor too little. ἡ δόκησις τῆς ἀληθείας: περιφραστικῶς ἢ ἀλήθεια. Sch. It is hard to make men believe the truth, because friends exaggerate and strangers depreciate the merit of those who are the theme of my panegyric; partiality draws me in one direction and envy in another, and between them it is not easy to keep the just mean. καί, because there are two things which are hard: cp. i. 3. 2.

4. πρὸς ᾧ] "Looking at," or "judging by the standard of his wishes and knowledge, he may think that some point or another is not set forth as clearly as it deserves." καὶ πλεονάζεσθαι, that they are assumed without sufficient grounds—that in them the speaker is overstepping the bounds of truth: οὐχ ὅπως ἐνδεεστερώς λεχθῆναι ἀλλὰ καὶ πλεονάζεσθαι νομίσειεν ἂν.

5. τι] "A good part." τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι = τῷ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἑαυτῶν

φθονοῦντες ἤδη καὶ ἀπιστοῦσιν. 6. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῖς πάλαι οὕτως ἐδοκιμάσθη ταῦτα καλῶς ἔχειν, χρὴ καὶ ἐμὲ ἐπόμενον τῷ νόμῳ πειράσθαι ὑμῶν τῆς ἐκάστου βουλήσεώς τε καὶ δόξης τυχεῖν ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον. 36. 1. ἄρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων πρῶτον· δίκαιον γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ πρέπον δὲ ἅμα ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην τῆς μνήμης δίδοσθαι. 2. τὴν γὰρ χώραν αἰεὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ οἰκοῦντες διαδοχῇ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων μέχρι τοῦδε ἐλευθέραν δι' ἀρετὴν παρέδοσαν. 3. καὶ ἐκεῖνοί τε ἄξιοι ἐπαίνου καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν· κτησάμενοι γὰρ πρὸς οἷς ἐδέξαντο ὅσῃν ἔχομεν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἀπόνως ἡμῖν τοῖς νῦν προσκατέλιπον. 4. τὰ δὲ πλείω αὐτῆς αὐτοὶ ἡμεῖς

φύσιν. αὐτῶν: τῶν ἐπαίνων δηλονότι. Sch. "As soon as it rises above their own capacity their jealousy takes fire and they begin to disbelieve." καί: they are not only envious but incredulous. Cp. i. 3. 2.

6. ἐδοκιμάσθη] "Tried and approved." τυχεῖν: "to hit or give adequate expression to." βουλήσεώς τε καὶ δόξης: βουλήσεως μὲν πρὸς τὸ εὖνοια, δόξης δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἄπειρος. Sch. ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον: τὸ ἐπὶ πλείστον καλῶς· οὐ γὰρ δυνατόν πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ἀρέσκοντα λέγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέσως πως, ἵνα μήτε φθόνον μήτε ψεῦδος δόξη λέγειν. Sch.

CH. XXXVI. 1.] "Our ancestors have a right to share in my panegyric, for to them we owe our freedom, and they laid the foundations of that glorious empire which those now living have completed. But you know the history of our wars as well as I do: let me rather speak of our national character and institutions, the root of our material prosperity. For the glory of Athens will enhance the glory of these who shed their blood in her cause."

καὶ πρέπον δέ] "Yes, and it suits well such a theme as mine." Cp. i. 132. 2, καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως.

2. οἱ αὐτοί] Cp. i. 2. 5. Socrates in the *Menexenus*, enlarges on this point with dull prolixity (237 B sqq.,

245 D). (διαδοχῇ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων, "from father to son."

3. ἐκεῖνοί] "Our more remote ancestors." πρὸς οἷς ἐδέξαντο: "in addition to what they inherited," that is, to Attica itself. ἀπόνως influences κτησάμενοι and προσκατέλιπον alike. Pericles knew very well that it requires as much labour to maintain and transmit, as to acquire an empire.

4. τὰ δὲ πλείω αὐτῆς] These words do not seem to fit in very easily with ὅσῃν ἔχομεν ἀρχήν. We may, however, translate "but the chief part of the resources of the empire so acquired, we here, who are still but little past the meridian of life, developed by our own exertions." Though they had not enlarged the boundaries of Athenian dominion, they had won back Samos and Boeotia, and re-organized and consolidated the confederacy. See i. 19. 2. μάλιστα is "about" or "nearly:" cp. i. 13. 3. ἡ καθεστηκυῖα ἡλικία is the pause between the flow and the ebb of life, the time when the powers have reached their ripe maturity and not yet begun to decay. Pericles himself must have been more than sixty at this time, if it be true that his political career extended over forty years. αὐταρκεστάτην is a tertiary predicate: cp. ὑψηλόν, ii. 34. 10. "We have

οἶδε οἱ νῦν ἔτι ὄντες ^{ἀντι} μάλιστα ἐν τῇ καθεστηκυίᾳ ἡλικίᾳ ἐπηυξήσαμεν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν τοῖς πᾶσι παρεσκευάσαμεν καὶ ἐς πόλεμον καὶ ἐς εἰρήνην αὐταρκεστάτην. 5. ὦν ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν κατὰ πολέμους ἔργα, οἷς ἕκαστα ἐκτῆθη, ἢ εἴ τι αὐτοὶ ἢ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν βάρβαρον ἢ Ἑλληνα πόλεμον ἐπιόντα προθύμως ἡμυνάμεθα, μακρηγορεῖν ἐν εἰδόσιν οὐ βουλόμενος εἰσώ· ἀπὸ δὲ οἷας τε ἐπιτηδεύσεως ἤλθομεν ἐπ' αὐτὰ καὶ μεθ' οἷας πολιτείας καὶ τρόπων ἐξ οἷων μεγάλα ἐγένετο, ταῦτα δηλώσας πρῶτον εἴμι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν τῶνδε ἔπαινον, νομίζων ἐπὶ τε ^{ἐν τῇ πόλει} τῷ παρόντι οὐκ ἂν ἀπρεπῇ λεχθῆναι αὐτὰ καὶ τὸν πάντα ὁμίλον καὶ ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων ξύμφορον εἶναι αὐτῶν ἐπακοῦσαι. 37. 1. χρώμεθα γὰρ πολιτείᾳ οὐ ζηλούσῃ τοὺς τῶν πέλας νόμους, παράδειγμα δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ ὄντες τινὶ ἢ μιμούμενοι ἑτέρους. 2. καὶ ὄνομα μὲν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους ἀλλ' ἐς πλείονας οἰκεῖν δημοκρατία κέκληται· μέτεστι δὲ

equipped the city at all points, so that she is completely self-sufficient."

5.] ὦν = ἡμῶν τῶνδε καὶ τῶν πατέρων. ἢ εἴ τι = ἢ οἷς. War is here personified (cp. i. 122. 2) and said ἐπιέναι, to march against Athens. Ἑλληνα, as a masculine adjective, is poetical, though Ἑλλάς, joined to a feminine substantive, is found in Attic prose. μακρηγορεῖν: a wise forbearance. The *Menexenus* is diffuse and tiresome on this topic also (239 B sqq.), and probably Pericles was so too, but, as Krüger remarks, Thuc. had already exhausted the subject: see i. 73; 74; 89 sqq. ἀπό, in consequence of, by the aid of. ἐπιτήδευσις appears to mean here not application or devotion to any end, but rather the whole system or plan of life, of which πολιτεία and τρόποι are the two great branches and manifestations. ἐπ' αὐτά: "to this height of power," and αὐτά, "our state," is the subject to μεγάλα ἐγένετο. For ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ, cp. i. 89. 1. οὐκ ἂν: cp. i. 139. 1. ἀπρεπῇ is a secondary predicate, οὐκ ἂν ἀπρεπῇ λεχθῆναι: cp. i. 85. 5. ξύμ-

φορον is neuter.

CH. XXXVII. 1.] "Our constitution is home grown. It is a democracy; that is, it exists not for the Few, but for the Many; its laws are just and equal, its honours are impartially distributed. We know no tyranny, even of a majority; no persecution, though it take no harsher form than a sneer or a frown. Yet our liberty is not licence, for no state is more observant of law and duty."

οὐ ζηλούσῃ] οὐ μιμουμένη. Sch. τοὺς τῶν πέλας: αἰνίττεται τοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, οὓς Λυκούργος ἔγραψε μιμησάμενος τοὺς Κρητῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτίων νόμους. Sch.

2. ἐς .. οἰκεῖν] "To govern with reference to," "in the interests of." The Scholiast adds ἐπειδὴ φαῖλον δοκεῖ ἡ δημοκρατία, καὶ ὁρᾷ τοὺς Λάκωνας σεμνυνομένους ἐπὶ τῇ ἀριστοκρατίᾳ, ἐπάγει λέγων ὅτι τῷ μὲν ὀνόματι δημοκρατία, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ ἀριστοκρατία ἐστὶν ἡμῶν ἢ πολιτεία. Democracy had an evil sound in the ears of Greek philosophers: to Plato it meant anarchy (cp. *Rep.* 557 B sqq., esp. 561 E, ἀναρχίαν δὲ ἐλευθερίαν); to Aristotle it meant class

κατὰ μὲν τοὺς νομοὺς πρὸς τὰ ἴδια διάφορα πᾶσι τὸ ἴσον, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀξίωσιν, ὥς ἕκαστος ἔν τῳ εὐδοκιμεῖ, οὐκ ἀπὸ μέρους τὸ πλεῖον ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ἢ ἀπὸ ἀρετῆς προτιμᾶται, οὐδ' αὖ κατὰ πενίαν, ἔχων δέ τι ἀγαθὸν δρᾶσαι τὴν πόλιν, ἀξιώματος ἀφανεία κεκώλυται.) 3. ἐλευθέρως δὲ τὰ τε πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν πολιτεύομεν καὶ ἐς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὑποψίαν, οὐ δι' ὀργῆς τὸν πέλας, εἰ καθ' ἡδονὴν τι δρᾷ, ἔχοντες οὐδὲ ἀζημίους μὲν λυπηρὰς δὲ τῇ ὄψει

government by the poor (*Pol.* iii. 7. 5). Hence in the *Menexenus* (238 D), Plato says of the Athenian polity (which it is there his business to bemoan) καλεῖ δὲ ὁ μὲν αὐτὴν δημοκρατίαν, ὁ δὲ ἄλλος, ὁ ἂν χαίρῃ· ἔστι δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μετ' εὐδοξίας πλῆθους ἀριστοκρατία. Thuc. himself was not quite thoroughgoing in his admiration of Athenian institutions (cp. ii. 65. 10; viii. 97. 2). But the blemishes which he saw are mostly those inseparable from a slave-holding and exclusive oligarchy, as all these ancient republics were. The Greek idea of freedom was very narrow and selfish, and though democracy did much for them, it was always hampered and finally destroyed by national prejudice and private lusts.

τὸ ἴσον] The first great boast of Democracy is *ισονομία*. There is no privileged class; all men are equal in the eye of the law as regards their private disputes; there are no game laws and no monopolies. Thuc. is here speaking of the διορθωτικὸν δίκαιον (see Arist. *Ethics* v. 4); he passes on to the διανεμητικόν. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀξίωσιν: "as regards social or political distinction." ὥς ἕκαστος ἔν τῳ εὐδοκιμεῖ should be followed by οὕτως ἐς τὰ κοινὰ προτιμᾶται, but the necessity of introducing the opposition between merit and influence has somewhat impaired the regularity of the sentence. οὐκ ἀπὸ μέρους: men are advanced to high position in the state on the ground of dis-

tinguished ability, and not from party considerations. For τὸ πλεῖον, cp. i. 9. 3. Plato, on the other hand, complains that a democracy lavishes honour and power on a man εἰς τὸ μόνον εὖνους εἶναι τῷ πλήθει. κατὰ πενίαν is regarded as equivalent to πένης· μὲν ὦν, hence it is succeeded by ἔχων δέ. The second claim then which Thuc. makes for Democracy is that it offers the most open field to talents of every kind. "One of the most admired passages," says Goldwin Smith, "in the speeches of Mr. Lowe warned us against being drawn into that arid waste of democracy in which every molehill is a mountain. In his judgment apparently historic eminence is to be found, not in Athens or the Italian republics, but in Boeotia and the feudal monarchies."

3. ἐλευθέρως] The third great fruit of Democracy is perfect toleration. "Freedom is the spirit of our public life, and as to any mutual jealousy of each other's pursuits and habits, we are not angry with our neighbour for pleasing himself" (Arn.), "nor do we visit him with annoyances which offend his eye though they do not touch his pocket." We do not look sourly at a man whose pleasures, habits, dress are different from our own. But this was not quite true: cp. vi. 15. 4; 28. 2. It was however true enough to hit the Spartans, who, as the Scholiast says, were σκυθρωποί, censorious and puritanical.

ἀχθηδόνας προστιθέμενοι. 4. ἀνεπαχθῶς δὲ τὰ ἴδια προσ-
ομιλοῦντες τὰ δημόσια διὰ δέος μάλιστα οὐ παρανομοῦμεν,
τῶν τε αἰεὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντων ἀκροάσει καὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ
μάλιστα αὐτῶν ὅσοι τε ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῶν ἀδικουμένων κεῖνται
καὶ ὅσοι ἄγραφοι ὄντες αἰσχύνην ὁμολογουμένην φέρουσι.

38. I. καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν πόνων πλείστας ἀναπαύλας τῇ
γνώμῃ ἐπορισάμεθα, ἀγῶσι μὲν γε καὶ θυσίαις διετησίοις
νομίζοντες, ἰδίαις δὲ κατασκευαῖς εὐπρεπέσιν, ὧν καθ' ἡμέραν

4. οὐ παρανομοῦμεν] The fourth fruit of Democracy—its reverence for Law: cp. De Tocqueville, *Democ. in America*, i. 289. δέος, the safeguard of Law, is much the same as αἰσχύνη or αἰδώς, i. 84. 5, or as the δικαιοσύνη of Plato's *Rep.* 433 B sqq. Compare Soph. *Aj.* 1073, οὐ γάρ ποτ' οὐτ' ἂν ἐν πόλει νόμοι καλῶς φέροντ' ἂν, ἔνθα μὴ καθεστήκη δέος, οὐτ' ἂν στρατός γε σωφρόνως ἄρχοιτ' ἔτι μηδὲν φόβου πρόβλημα μηδ' αἰδοῦς ἔχων. Modern thinkers distinguish betwixt three kinds of law,—the law of God, the law of public opinion, and positive law (see Austin on *Jurisprudence*, vol. i. ad init.). The Greek νόμος embraced all these, but the first two made up the ἄγραφος νόμος, and the *vox populi*, being included under one name with the *vox Dei*, came to be regarded as the same thing: see Soph. *Ant.* 454, quoted and explained by Arist. *Rhet.* i. 14. But even Aristotle mixes up the written and unwritten, the divine and the human law; hence he says (*Eth.* v. i. 13) οἱ δὲ νόμοι ἀγορεύουσι περὶ πάντων, and again (v. ii. 1), ἀ δὲ μὴ κελεύει ὁ νόμος ἀπαγορεύει. Hence there is the more excuse for Cleon, when he transfers to a psephism of the Athenian assembly the immutability of the law of God (iii. 37. 3).

CH. XXXVIII. I.] “Again, nowhere is life so gay and happy as at Athens. We are not ground down and brutalized by constant toil, or

dispirited by the ugly monotony of our surroundings. We dwell in ease and plenty: every land pours its wealth into our harbours.”

καὶ μὴν] “And further.” τῇ γνώμῃ· τῇ ψυχῇ (for our spirits) ἢ τῇ συνέσει (by our inventiveness). Sch. In μέν γε, μέν answers to the following δέ, and γε means “that is to say.” διετησίοις, δι' ὅλου τοῦ ἔτους, Sch.; but according to another authority, it means δι' ἔτους, οἷον καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος. νομίζοντες: cp. i. 77. 8. Fifthly, says Pericles, Democracy elevates our poor, and gives them a taste for intellectual pleasure. “The celebration of festivals produced in the early time of the Athenian republic a profuseness of expenditure in no way inferior to that of the courts of luxurious princes. But (1) this prodigality was dignified by its religious character; (2) *all* the citizens shared in its fruits; (3) the public games and contests had a powerful influence in forming the national mind, and awakening and improving the tastes of the people.” Böckh. The mischief was not that the Athenians spent the money (see Mill, *Pol. Econ.* i. 3. 6), but that the allies provided it. A more questionable kind of unproductive expenditure were the διαδόσεις or διανομαί (see *Dict. Ant.* for θεωρικά, διωβελία, τριώβολον), but these were due not so much to democracy as to slavery, which had brought mechanical industry into disrepute.

ἡ τέρψις τὸ λυπηρὸν ἐκπλήσσει. 2. ἐπεισέρχεται δὲ διὰ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως ἐκ πάσης γῆς τὰ πάντα, καὶ ξυμβαίνει ἡμῖν μηδὲν οἰκειότερα τῇ ἀπολαύσει τὰ αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὰ γιγνόμενα καρποῦσθαι ἢ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων. 39. 1. διαφέρομεν δὲ καὶ ταῖς τῶν πολεμικῶν μελέταις τῶν ἐναντίων τοῖσδε. 2. τὴν τε γὰρ πόλιν κοινὴν παρέχομεν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε ξενηλασίαις ἀπείργομέν τινα ἢ μαθήματος ἢ θεάματος, ὃ μὴ κρυφθὲν ἂν τις τῶν πολέμιων ἰδὼν ὠφεληθείη, πιστεύοντες οὐ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς τὸ πλεόν καὶ ἀπάταις ἢ τῷ ἀφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ ἔργα εὐψύχῳ· καὶ ἐν ταῖς παιδείαις οἱ μὲν ἐπιπόνῳ ἀσκήσει εὐθύς νέοι ὄντες τὸ ἀνδρεῖον μετέρχονται, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀνειμένως διαιτώμενοι οὐδὲν ἡσσον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰσοπαλεῖς κινδύνους χωροῦμεν. 3. τεκμήριον δέ· οὔτε γὰρ

καθ' ἡμέραν ἡ τέρψις = ἡ καθ' ἡμέραν τέρψις: cp. ii. 31. 2. τὸ λυπηρὸν is ennui.

2. ἐπεισέρχεται] “Flow in (εἰς) to us (ἐπὶ).” Freedom is the parent of Free Trade. The only burdens upon commerce at Athens were the πεντηκοστή, an *ad valorem* duty of two per cent. upon all exports and imports, including corn, and the ἐλλιμένιον, or harbour duty, which seems to be also called ἑκατοστή. οἰκειότερα: the enjoyment of foreign luxuries is as familiar to us, excites in us as little sense of obligation or dependence, as that of our own home-grown commodities.

CH. XXXIX. 1.] “And yet we are no nation of shopkeepers. We do not learn our bravery from the drill-sergeant, and try to keep the secret of its manufacture by a jealous reserve. Our courage is natural and spontaneous, yet the Lacedaemonians themselves dare not meet us single-handed.”

2. ξενηλασίαις] Cp. i. 144. 2. ὃ μὴ κρυφθέν: “which, if it were not concealed, an enemy might see and profit by.” ταῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ ἀπάταις: “in juggling precautions,” τὸ πλεόν: see i. 9. 3. οἱ μὲν: the Spartans. μετέρχονται:

they have to go in quest of that martial spirit which nature has denied them. ἀνειμένως: cp. i. 6. 3. But there it is used of luxury, here of freedom from the trammels of barrack routine. ἰσοπαλῆς appears in the present passage to have dropped completely the idea of hostility, which belongs to its second factor. Cp. note on i. 11. 3. “Free as our life is we do not shrink from any danger which a Spartan dare encounter.”

3. τεκμήριον δέ] Cp. i. 8. 2. οὔτε . . . τε: cp. i. 17. 2; 73. 1. The following words are a little awkward but quite intelligible: Λακεδαιμόνιοι being used with καθ' ἑκάστους for the Lacedaemonians and their allies, with μετὰ πάντων for the Lacedaemonians alone. αὐτοί: by ourselves, alone. περὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἀμυνομένους: cp. II. xii. 243, εἰς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης. The accusative is governed by κρατοῦμεν: cp. i. 108. 4, and just below. This and the preceding section comprise the weak point in the case of Pericles. We may admire the adroitness with which he turns the invasion and devastation of Attica into an occasion of self-complacency, and avoids

Λακεδαιμόνιοι καθ' ἐκάστους, μετὰ πάντων δ' ἐς τὴν γῆν ἡμῶν στρατεύουσι, τὴν τε τῶν πέλας αὐτοὶ ἐπελθόντες οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ τοὺς περὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἀμυνομένους μαχόμενοι τὰ πλείω κρατοῦμεν. 4. ἀθρόα τε τῇ δυνάμει ἡμῶν οὐδεὶς πω πόλεμιος ἐνέτυχε διὰ τὴν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τε ἅμα ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπίπεμψιν· ἦν δέ που μορίῳ τινὶ προσμίξωσι, κρατήσαντές τε τινὰς ἡμῶν πάντας αὐχοῦσιν ἀπεῶσθαι, καὶ νικηθέντες ὑφ' ἀπάντων ἡσσήσθαι. 5. καίτοι εἰ ῥαθυμία μᾶλλον ἢ πόνων μελέτῃ καὶ μὴ μετὰ νόμων τὸ πλείον ἢ τρόπων ἀνδρείας ἐθέλοισιν κινδυνεύειν, περιγίγνεται ἡμῖν τοῖς τε μέλλουσιν ἀλγεινοῖς μὴ προκάμνειν, καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ ἐλθοῦσι μὴ ἀτολμοτέρους τῶν ἀεὶ μοχθούντων φαίνεσθαι, 40. I. καὶ

the distinction between undisciplined courage and military efficiency.

4.] ἀθρόα is predicative—"the full weight of our power no enemy has ever yet felt." τὴν . . . ἐπίπεμψιν: cp. τὴν . . . ὑποψίαν, ii. 37. 3, and note on i. 3. 5. Similar abstract verbal nouns are ἐπικράτησιν, i. 41. 2; διάλυσιν, i. 137. 7 (where see note); περιτείχισιν, iii. 95. 2; ἀπόδοσιν, v. 35. 2; ἄπωσιν, vii. 34. 6. The liberal use of such nouns is quoted by ancient grammarians as one of the characteristics of the σεμνὴ λέξις or σεμνότης of Thuc. τε . . . καὶ = sive . . . sive: cp. ii. 35. 2.

5.] καίτοι, "and yet," recurs to the opposition between the Athenian and Lacedaemonian systems given in the second section (καὶ ἐν ταῖς . . . χωροῦμεν), and introduces a conclusion quite different from that drawn by the Lacedaemonians. ῥαθυμία is the equivalent of ἀνειμένως δαισιγόμενοι, as πόνων μελέτῃ is of ἐπιπόνῳ ἀσκήσει. νόμων as well as τρόπων is governed by ἀνδρείας—"with a bravery flowing from our own nature, not imposed by law." Cp. Arist. *Ethics* iii. 8. 1, δοκοῦσι γὰρ ὑπομένειν τοὺς κινδύνους οἱ πο-

λίται διὰ τὰ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἐπιτίμια καὶ ὀνειδή καὶ διὰ τὰς τιμὰς. ἐθέλοισιν: "si rectè scriptum est de quo ambigi potest nihil nisi modestius dicendi genus est pro indic. ἐθέλοισιν." Poppo. The optative is as old as the time of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (περὶ Θουκ. ἰδιωμ. 12. 1), but Krüger ventures to substitute the indicative. For the optative in protasis and the indicative in apodosis cp. i. 120. 5. περιγίγνεται ἡμῖν: "there is this balance in our favour." The ἰσοπαλεῖς κίνδυνοι cancel one another, and there is a surplus on the Athenian side of the account: "we gain the advantage of escaping toil and hardship by anticipation, though we are equally daring when the trial comes."

CH. XL. I.] "Nowhere is human nature so elastic and complete; nowhere are the most opposite graces of character so harmoniously blended as here. Our art is not too dainty or fastidious for common objects or daily use; our philosophy does not enervate us; the freedom of our debates does not impair the vigour of our executive; the love of political discussion does not unfit our citizens for the duties of private

ἐν τε τούτοις τὴν πόλιν ἀξίαν εἶναι θαυμάζεσθαι καὶ ἔτι ἐν ἄλλοις. 2. φιλοκαλοῦμεν γὰρ μετ' εὐτελείας καὶ φιλοσοφοῦμεν ἄνευ μαλακίας· πλούτῳ τε ἔργου μᾶλλον καιρῷ ἢ λόγου κόμπῳ χρώμεθα, καὶ τὸ πένεσθαι οὐχ ὁμολογεῖν τινὶ αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ μὴ διαφεύγειν ἔργῳ αἷσχιον. 3. ἐνι τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἰκείων ἅμα καὶ πολιτικῶν ἐπιμέλεια, καὶ ἑτέροις πρὸς ἔργα τετραμμένοις τὰ πολιτικὰ μὴ ἐνδεῶς γινῶναι· μόνοι γὰρ τὸν τε μηδὲν τῶνδε μετέχοντα οὐκ ἀπράγμονα ἀλλ' ἀχρεῖον νομίζομεν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦτοι κρίνομέν γε ἢ ἐνθυ-

life. We set no barrier between rich and poor or ruler and subject; every one may pass almost at will from the one class into the other. And as no state is a more dangerous enemy, so none is a better friend. For our aid is given with a frank and generous hand, and not doled out by the niggard measure of calculating selfishness."

εἶναι] Sc. περιγίγνεται. The seventh and eighth merits which Pericles ascribes to Democracy are the free and full development of the human mind in all its capacities and powers (see Mill *on Liberty*, ch. iii.), and a larger and more generous foreign policy than can be pursued by oligarchies or tyrannies.

2. φιλοκαλοῦμεν] "We love art in cheap simplicity, we love knowledge and are not effeminate." εὐτελείας: only vulgar minds delight in costliness of material for its own sake; the true artist aims at exciting a purer satisfaction by beautiful ideas, graceful forms, and due subordination of parts, which may be attained in an earthenware jug. Pericles is not thinking here of the chryselephantine statue or Propylaea, but of the *ιδίαι κατασκευαὶ εὐπρεπεῖς*. φιλοσοφοῦμεν is here used in a wide sense embracing all intellectual pursuits which muscular ignorance suspects of making men womanish and unpractical. πλούτῳ τε: "we regard our wealth rather as a means to

solid results than as matter for boastful talk." A simple sentiment is obscured by our author's love of antithesis: these words merely amplify μετ' εὐτελείας, and λόγος means any kind of coarse ostentation of which the rich man brags and his friends gossip. καιρῷ is difficult, but the editors mostly agree in interpreting it "an opportunity or furtherance:" cp. i. 36. 1, and Pindar, *Ol.* ii. 99, ὁ μὲν πλοῦτος ἀρεταῖς δεδαιδαλμένος φέρει τῶν τε καὶ τῶν καιρόν. Arnold aptly compares the λόγου κόμπος of Thuc. with the βαναυσία and ἀπειροκαλία of Aristotle, *Ethics* iv. 2. 4 (but see the whole chapter).

αἷσχιον] The comparative — although it is no disgrace at all to confess poverty: cp. note on μᾶλλον, i. 3. 2.

3.] τοῖς αὐτοῖς refers to those who happen to be in office; ἑτέροις, to the rest of the citizens. We have no professional place-hunters, no men who live by and for the public pay; our men of business are our statesmen, and no one is so absorbed in his private affairs as not to be well acquainted with the political questions of the day. ἀπράγμονα: the πολυπράγμων is a fussy meddlesome person; the ἀπράγμων, a quiet inoffensive one, who to his friends is a decent conservative, to his enemies a dull plodder. The Athenians generally were reproached with πολυπραγμοσύνη: see i. 70. 10.

μούμεθα ὀρθῶς τὰ πράγματα, οὐ τοὺς λόγους τοῖς ἔργοις βλάβην ἡγούμενοι, ἀλλὰ μὴ προδιδαχθῆναι μᾶλλον λόγῳ πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ ᾧ δεῖ ἔργῳ ἐλθεῖν. 4. διαφερόντως γὰρ δὴ καὶ τόδε ἔχομεν ὥστε τολμᾶν τε οἱ αὐτοὶ μάλιστα καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐπιχειρήσομεν ἐκλογίζεσθαι· ὃ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνον φέρει. 5. κράτιστοι δ' ἂν τὴν ψυχὴν δικαίως κριθεῖεν οἱ τὰ τε δεινὰ καὶ ἡδέα σαφέστατα γινώσκοντες καὶ διὰ ταῦτα μὴ ἀποτρεπόμενοι ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων. 6. καὶ τὰ ἐς ἀρετὴν ἡναντιώμεθα τοῖς πολλοῖς· οὐ γὰρ πάσχοντες εὖ ἀλλὰ δρῶντες κτώμεθα τοὺς φίλους.

ἦτοι . . . γέ ἢ] For the particles cp. vi. 34. 2; 38. 2; 40. 1. ἦτοι . . . γέ introduce a supposition which is more certain, or an alternative which is more desirable than that preceded by ἢ alone. “We can criticise at any rate if we cannot originate.” τοὺς λόγους: a hit at the Spartans, and an apology for the debates in the Athenian ecclesia. It is a common reproach against popular or representative assemblies that they are places of talk and not of action: see Mill on *Repr. Gov.* ch. v. ad fin. For πρότερον ἢ with infinitive cp. i. 69. 9.

4. οἱ αὐτοί] Nominative in apposition to ἡμεῖς, the subject of τολμᾶν: cp. note on i. 12. 1. ὥστε introduces a consecutive where we might have expected a substantival clause: see note on i. 28. 6. Krüger compares vii. 14. 3. Our courage, says Pericles, is sobered but not sicklied with the pale cast of thought. ὃ τοῖς ἄλλοις: a curious apocoluthon. Thuc. apparently reluctant at first to say ὅ (sc. τὸ ἐκλογίζεσθαι) τοῖς ἄλλοις ὄκνον φέρει. But he had scarcely begun when he was carried by his craving for antithesis to insert the words ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, and then, as it seemed uncertain to what the relative referred, λογισμὸς was added. Cp. the very similar passage at iii. 12. 1, and, for the straggling continuation of thought and expression, v. 95; vii.

44. 3. In all these places the sentence is like an old house with a new wing built on to it.

5. τὰ τε δεινὰ καὶ ἡδέα] For the non-repetition of the article cp. note on i. 6. 1. Those, he says, who have calculated beforehand the pleasure and pain which will follow any given course of action, and laid their plans accordingly, are not likely to be deterred from carrying out their resolutions; and this is the highest kind of bravery. Cp. the definition of ἀνδρεία, Plato, *Rep.* 430 B—δεινὰ τὰ πολέμια, ἡδέα τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης. Sch.

6. τὰ ἐς ἀρετὴν] “As regards generosity.” τὰ is accusative of limitation or extent: see Madv. *G. S.* 31 c. ἀρετὴν λέγει νῦν τὴν φιλίαν (Arist. *Ethics* viii.) καὶ εὐεργεσίαν (Sch.): cp. i. 69. 1; ii. 51. 7; iv. 19. 2. The name of virtue is here restricted to the most popular and showy kind of virtue, as in English we speak of “goodness” when we only mean “beneficence.” Aristotle (*Rhet.* i. 9) after saying ἀνάγκη δὲ μεγίστας εἶναι ἀρετὰς τὰς τοῖς ἄλλοις χρησιμωτάτας, εἴπερ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀρετὴ δύναμις εὐεργετική, goes on to place justice first, courage second, and generosity only third (he is not speaking scientifically). ἡναντιώμεθα: “we have opposed ourselves to,” “have taken up the opposite view.” δρῶντες, sc. εὖ.

7. βεβαιότερος δὲ ὁ δράσας τὴν χάριν ὥστε ὀφειλομένην δι' εὐνοίας ^ᾧ δέδωκε σῶζειν· ὁ δ' ἀντοφείλων ἀμβλύτερος, εἰδὼς οὐκ ἐς χάριν, ἀλλ' ἐς ὀφείλημα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀποδώσων. 8. καὶ μόνοι οὐ τοῦ ξυμφέροντος μᾶλλον λογισμῷ ἢ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῷ πιστῷ ἀδεῶς τινὰ ὠφελοῦμεν. 41. 1. ξυνελών τε λέγω τὴν τε πᾶσαν πόλιν τῆς Ἑλλάδος παίδευσιν εἶναι καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον δοκεῖν ἄν μοι τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖστ' ἂν εἶδη καὶ μετὰ χαρίτων μάλιστ' ἂν εὐτραπέλως τὸ σῶμα αὐταρκες παρέχεσθαι. 2. καὶ ὥς οὐ λόγων ἐν τῷ παρόντι κόμπος τάδε μᾶλλον ἢ ἔργων ἐστὶν ἀλήθεια, αὐτὴ ἢ δύναμις τῆς πόλεως, ἣν ἀπὸ τῶνδε τῶν τρόπων ἐκτησάμεθα, σημαίνει. 3. μόνη γὰρ τῶν νῦν ἀκοῆς κρείσσω ἐς

7. ^ᾧ δέδωκε,] Sc. τούτου ^ᾧ, a subjective genitive: cp. ii. 8. 5. Translate, "he who did the good turn is the faster friend in order that he may secure the debt of gratitude by the goodwill of his debtor." *εὐνοια* does sometimes take an objective genitive, and we may also render, "by continued goodwill to the person on whom he conferred it" (so Arn., Kr., Poppo); but surely the benefactor exhibits something more than goodwill. The Schol., regarding τούτου as the suppressed antecedent, made ^ᾧ δέδωκε the subject to σῶζειν, but not well. ὥστε is again somewhat improperly used of the object or purpose rather than of the result. ἀμβλύτερος: "whereas the friendship of him that oweth a benefit is dull and flat." Hobbes. The comparatives refer to each other: cp. i. 122. 2. ἐς χάριν: any help he may give in return will be taken not for a favour but for a debt. Cp. Arist. *Eth.* ix. 7. τὴν ἀρετὴν, τὴν εὐεργεσίαν. Sch.

8. τῷ πιστῷ] "With the frankness and confidence inspired by freedom:" cp. i. 68. 1.

CH. XLI. 1.] "In a word, the sight of our city is a liberal education: no other state can train men to activity so manifold and diverse,

or adorn their energy with such ease and grace. And this is not an empty boast. Say what we will our Athens still betters expectation. Our fame is written not in words but in deeds. Every sea, every land has made a pathway for our daring, and our march may be traced by the indelible tokens of our friendship or enmity."

ξυνελών] Cp. i. 70 10. παίδευσιν: so Steele said of his mistress that to love her was a liberal education. καθ' ἕκαστον: opposed to τὴν πᾶσαν πόλιν. ἂν belongs to παρέχεσθαι: for the doubling of this particle, cp. i. 76. 1; 136. 6, and the triple ἂν is not uncommon in Plato: see Matthiä, 600, and Madv. *G. S.* 173, r. 1. παρ' ἡμῶν: "going forth from us, from our school." εἶδη: "kinds of action." μετὰ χαρίτων μάλιστ' εὐτραπέλως: with the most graceful versatility." σῶμα: the body and all that it contains; and a man is said παρέχεσθαι τὸ σῶμα αὐταρκες when he presents himself with all the requisite powers for the most varied service combined in his own person.

3. ἀκοῆς κρείσσω] "Better than its fame:" cp. i. 69. 8, ὦν ἄρα ὁ λόγος τοῦ ἔργου ἐκράτει. ἔχει, cp. note on i. 5. 1. ὑφ' οἷων = ὅτι ὑπὸ τοῖων. κατὰμεμψιν: "nor giveth cause to the subjected states to murmur as being in subjection to men

πεῖραν ἔρχεται καὶ μόνη οὔτε τῷ πολεμίῳ ἐπελθόντι ἀγαν-
 ἀκτησιν ἔχει ὑφ' οἷων κακοπαθεῖ, οὔτε τῷ ὑπηκόῳ κατὰ-
 μεμψιν ὡς οὐχ ὑπ' ἀξίων ἄρχεται. 4. μετὰ μεγάλων δὲ
 σημείων καὶ οὐδὲν τοῖς ἀμάρτυρόν γε τὴν δύναμιν παρα-
 σχόμενοι τοῖς τε νῦν καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα θαυμασθησόμεθα, καὶ
 οὐδὲν προσδεόμενοι οὔτε Ὁμήρου ἐπαινέτου οὔτε ὅστις
 ἔπεσι μὲν τὸ αὐτίκα τέρψει, τῶν δὲ ἔργων τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἢ
 ἀλήθεια βλάβει, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν μὲν θάλασσαν καὶ γῆν ἐσβα-
 τὸν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τόλμῃ καταναγκάσαντες γενέσθαι, πανταχοῦ
 δὲ μνημεῖα κακῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν αἰδία ξυγκατοικίσαντες. 5.
 περὶ τοιαύτης οὖν πόλεως οἶδε τε γενναίως δικαιούντες μὴ
 ἀφαιρεθῆναι αὐτὴν μαχόμενοι ἐτελεύτησαν, καὶ τῶν λειπο-
 μένων πάντα τινὰ εἰκὸς ἐθέλειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς κάμνειν. 42. 1.
 διὸ δὴ καὶ ἐμήκυνα τὰ περὶ τῆς πόλεως, διδασκαλίαν τε
 ποιούμενος μὴ περὶ ἴσου ἡμῖν εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ οἷς τῶνδε
 μηδὲν ὑπάρχει ὁμοίως, καὶ τὴν εὐλογίαν ἅμα ἐφ' οἷς νῦν
 λέγω φανεράν σημείοις καθιστάς. 2. καὶ εἴρηται αὐτῆς τὰ
 μέγιστα· ἃ γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ὕμνησα, αἱ τῶνδε καὶ τῶν τοιῶνδε
 ἄρεται ἐκόσμησαν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἰσὸρ-

unworthy." Hobbes. μετὰ μεγάλων
 δέ: "for the exercise of our power
 has left speaking signs; yes, it is by
 no means without a witness at any
 rate." For τοὶ . . . γε, cp. i. 3. 2;
 ii. 40. 3. Ὁμήρου ἐπαινέτου, "of a
 Homer to praise us." ἔπεσι, either
 "verses," as at i. 3. 3, or "high-
 flown phrases," as at iii. 67. 6. τῶν
 δὲ ἔργων: the truth, when dis-
 covered, will damage by rectifying
 the overcharged conception of the
 facts to which such a poet would
 give a short-lived currency. The
 participles all belong to θαυμασθη-
 σόμεθα. ξυγκατοικίσαντες, "having
 planted as we went (ξυν-)."

5. πάντα τινά] Cp. note on i.
 1. 2.

CH. XLII. 1.] "I have dwelt thus
 at length on the praises of our city
 for two reasons—to kindle and sus-
 tain our own resolution, and to exalt
 the honour of these men over whose
 grave we are standing. What Athens

is she has been made by the devo-
 tion of such men as these. Surely
 there could not be a more brilliant
 proof of a noble nature than their
 death, whether it be the firstfruits of
 their youthful promise, or the last in
 a long series of brave deeds. Their
 blemishes, if any there were, vanish
 in the light of their glory. Rich or
 poor they thought the joys or hopes
 of life tasteless unless sweetened by
 victory, and death itself light in com-
 parison with dishonour."

μὴ περὶ ἴσου] "Not for equal
 stakes." μηδέν: as the speaker has
 throughout been contrasting Athens
 with a particular and definite state,
 the Spartans, he might have used
 οὐδέν, but he prefers to speak
 broadly, so as to include all less
 fortunate cities: cp. note on i. 22.
 4. ὁμοίως: "in the same degree."
 ἐφ' οἷς = τούτων ἐφ' οἷς.

2. ἐκόσμησαν] Sc. ταῦτα αὐτήν:
 "decked her with these beauties."

ροπος ὥσπερ τῶνδε ὁ λόγος τῶν ἔργων φανείη. 3. δοκεῖ δέ μοι δηλοῦν ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν πρώτη τε μηνύουσα καὶ τελευταία βεβαιούσα ἢ νῦν τῶνδε καταστροφή. 4. καὶ γὰρ τοῖς τᾶλλα χείροσι δίκαιον τὴν ἐς τοὺς πολέμους ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀνδραγαθίαν προτίθεσθαι· ἀγαθῷ γὰρ κακὸν ἀφανίσαντες κοινῶς μᾶλλον ὠφέλησαν ἢ ἐκ τῶν ιδίων ἐβλάψαν. 5. τῶνδε δὲ οὔτε πλούτῳ τις τὴν ἔτι ἀπόλαυσιν προτιμήσας ἐμαλα-

ισόρροπος here governs the genitive τῶν ἔργων, probably because it implies οὐχ ἥττων: cp. Soph. *El.* 87, γῆς ἰσόμοιρ' ἀήρ. ὥσπερ τῶνδε, sc. ὁ λόγος φαίνεται: τοῖσδε would have looked more regular as we have already had πολλοῖς, the dative of reference.

3. δοκεῖ δέ μοι] "And I seem to find the proof of manly worth in the end of these men now, which is at once its earliest token and its latest seal." πρώτη μηνύουσα applies to those whose previous life had been worthless or obscure; τελευταία βεβαιούσα to those who had served their country well before.

4. προτίθεσθαι] The Scholiast explains this word by προτιμᾶσθαι: "it is just that their bravery and patriotism should be set before, allowed to obliterate, the recollection of their demerits." "Even by bad men courage ought to be exhibited" is Poppo's rendering (cp. iii. 64. 7), but this does not suit what follows. "Put forward for their defence." Kr. κοινῶς and ἐκ τῶν ιδίων is a forced antithesis. Thuc. seems to mean that they had done more good to the state than harm to individuals. ἐκ τῶν ιδίων: in consequence of their private relations, in private life.

5. προτιμήσας] They did not prefer the further enjoyment of their wealth to what? To death: so with προτίθεσθαι, just above, we are left to infer what their valour was to be permitted to abolish. πενίας ἐλπίδι, the poor man's hope, is explained by the next words, ὥς πλουτήσκει.

that he might become rich: cp. i. 3. 2, note on ἰσχυσάντων. ἔτι: still, there is a chance left yet. αὐτῶν: than the fruition or hope of wealth. λαβόντες: "regarding as:" cp. iii. 38. 4, πιστότερον ὕψει λαβόντες: iv. 106. 1, τὸ κήρυγμα πρὸς τὸν φόβον δίκαιον εἶναι ἐλάμβανον. μετ' αὐτοῦ, sc. τοῦ κινδύνου. From this point to the end of the chapter a series of natural and easy reflections is disfigured and obscured by the laboured antitheses into which Thuc. has cast it. τοὺς μὲν and τῶν δε present an instance of the paratactic structure: cp. i. 121. 8; 124. 2. "So to desire wealth as not to forego revenge." ἐλπίδι: success was uncertain, and they left it to hope; but the battle was certain and already before their very eyes, so that it was a matter not for hope but for action and the strong arm. ἔργῳ answers to ἐλπίδι, τὸ ἤδη ὀρώμενον σφίσιν αὐτοῖς to τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ κατορθώσκειν, and ἀξιούντες πεποιθέναι to ἐπιτρέψαντες. Krüger translates "in matters of fact, thinking it right to trust or rely upon themselves." αὐτῷ, sc. τῷ ἔργῳ. ἡγησάμενοι, "having thought fit." Similarly οἶεσθαι is used for οἶεσθαι δεῖν: cp. Arist. *Ethics* vii. 2. 2, ὅτι γὰρ οὐκ οἰεταί γε ὁ ἀκρατευόμενος, πρὶν ἐν τῷ πάθει γενέσθαι, φανερόν, "it is plain that the intemperate man thinks indulgence wrong until his passions catch fire." Xen. *Hell.* v. 1. 15, οἶεσθε ταῦτα πάντα καρτερεῖν, "you think it right to bear all these things." And though, ascribing this sense to ἡγησάμενοι, we might have expected

κίσθη οὔτε πενίας ἐλπίδι ὥς καὶ ἔτι διαφυγὼν αὐτὴν πλου-
τήσειεν ἀναβολὴν τοῦ δεινοῦ ἐποιήσατο· τὴν δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων
τιμωρίαν ποθεινοτέραν αὐτῶν λαβόντες καὶ κινδύνων ἅμα
τόνδε κάλλιστον νομίσαντες ἐβουλήθησαν μετ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς
μὲν τιμωρεῖσθαι, τῶν δὲ ἐφίεσθαι, ἐλπίδι μὲν τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ
κατορθώσειν ἐπιτρέψαντες, ἔργῳ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἤδη ὁρώμενου
σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἀξιούντες πεποιθέναι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ ἀμύ-
νεσθαι καὶ παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἡγησάμενοι ἢ το ἐνδόντες σώζεσ-
θαι, το μὲν αἰσχροὺν τοῦ λόγου ἔφυγον, τὸ δ' ἔργον τῷ
σώματι ὑπέμειναν, καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου καιροῦ τύχης ἅμα
ἀκμῇ τῆς δόξης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπηλλάγησαν. / 43. 1.
καὶ οἶδε μὲν προσηκόντως τῇ πόλει τοιοῖδε ἐγένοντο· τοὺς

it to govern a simple infinitive, the insertion of the article is quite defensible. Arnold compares ii. 53, 4, τὸ μὲν προσταλαιπωρεῖν, οὐδεὶς πρόθυμος ἦν. Linwood, reading τῷ ἀμύνεσθαι (with some MSS.), and regarding τό before ἐνδόντες as an interpolation, translates "thinking it right even to die in actual fight."

τὸ . . . αἰσχροὺν τοῦ λόγου] τὸ ὀνει-
δίζεσθαι ὡς δειλοί. Sch. Here again we have λόγος opposed to ἔργον. δι' ἐλαχίστου καιροῦ: there are two main renderings of this passage, according as we connect ἀκμῇ with τύχης or with δόξης. (1) "In one brief instant, while their fortune was at its height, they were taken away from that which was their glory rather than their fear." (2) "In the briefest moment of the chance of battle, at the height of glory rather than of fear, they died." Arnold gives both translations, but prefers the first. Poppo inclines to the second, but understands ἐλά-
χιστος καιρὸς τύχης to mean, "the momentary chance of distinction which good fortune threw in their way." Krüger takes these words as in (2), comparing Hor. *Sat.* i. 1. 7, concurritur, horae momento aut cita mors venit aut victoria laeta. As to the rest of the sentence it is

not very clear what his opinion is, but apparently he would read ζῶης for δόξης, and translate, "they gave up life rather than honour:" for this sense of δεός cp. i. 84. 5; ii. 37. 4; 43. 1. But then what becomes of ἅμα ἀκμῇ? The Scholiast's note is, καὶ ἐν βραχεῖ καιρῷ, φησὶν, ἀπη-
λλάγησαν τὴν σφαγὴν δεξάμενοι, ἀκα-
ζούσης ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔτι τῆς δόξης καὶ ἐλπίδος τοῦ νικῆσαι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ φυγεῖν, and again, τύχην αἰεὶ ὁ Θεοκυδίδης καλεῖ τὸν πόλεμον. He therefore follows (2), except that he makes δόξης mean "expectation" (so Meyer). And both Dio Cassius (lxvi. 18) and Arrian (*Anab.* vii. 16. 11) copy this passage in such a way as to show that they took ἅμα ἀκμῇ τῆς δόξης together.

CH. XLIII. 1.] "May we be more fortunate than they: but that we may be no less brave let us gaze upon the grandeur of Athens till her love fills our souls. Then we shall learn to emulate the brave men by whose devotion she rose, whose praises are written on every land and in every noble heart. For none ought to be so prodigal of life as those who by defeat lose all that makes life worth having."

προσηκόντως τῇ πόλει] "Not

δὲ λοιποὺς χροὴ ἀσφαλεστέραν μὲν εὐχεσθαι, ἀπολμοτέραν δὲ μηδὲν ἀξιοῦν τὴν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους διάνοιαν ἔχειν, σκοποῦντας μὴ λόγῳ μόνῳ τὴν ὠφέλειαν, ἣν ἂν τις πρὸς οὐδὲν χεῖρου αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς εἰδότας μηκύνει, λέγων ὅσα ἐν τῷ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμύνεσθαι ἀγαθὰ ἔνεστιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὴν τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν καθ' ἡμέραν ἔργῳ θεωμένους καὶ ἐραστὰς γιγνομένους αὐτῆς, καὶ ὅταν ὑμῖν μεγάλη δόξῃ εἶναι, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι τολμῶντες καὶ γιγνώσκοντες τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αἰσχυνόμενοι ἄνδρες αὐτὰ ἐκτήσαντο. καὶ ὅποτε καὶ πείρα του σφαλείησαν, οὐκουν καὶ τὴν πόλιν γε τῆς σφετέρας ἀρετῆς ἀξιοῦντες στερίσκειν, κάλλιστον δὲ ἔρανον αὐτῇ προῖέμενοι. ἰ 2. κοινῇ γὰρ τὰ σώματα διδόντες ἰδία τὸν

unworthily of the city," ἀσφαλεστέραν: courage is safe or successful when it is not cut short by death. Compare Soph. *Aj.* 550, ὦ παῖ, γένοιτο πατὴρ εὐτυχέστερος, τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ὅμοιος. μὴ λόγῳ μόνῳ: not in mere words or idle declamation. ἣν ἂν τις: "which I might dilate upon if it were not that you know it as well as I:" cp. ii 36. 5. ἔργῳ θεωμένους: again the antithesis to λόγῳ. "Turn from these lifeless word pictures to the living reality, feed your eyes with the majesty, power, beauty, of Athens, which on all sides you can see and feel. Let your patriotism become a passion, till it burns like love." ἐραστὰς: they were to make the city their mistress, and they did so with a vengeance. Cp. vi. 92. 3, καὶ φιλόπολις οὗτος ὀρθῶς, οὐχ ὅς ἂν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδίκως ἀπολέσας μὴ ἐπίη, ἀλλ' ὅς ἂν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου διὰ τὸ ἐπιθυμεῖν πειραθῇ αὐτὴν ἀναλαβεῖν. Menelaus will have his Helen, and the Greeks must smart for it.

τὰ δέοντα] Not so much "duty" as "what was necessary to be done," so that τὸ γιγνώσκειν τὰ δέοντα is much the same as "sagacity:" cp. i. 70. 9. αἰσχυνόμενοι: afraid of dishonour. The word includes the two ideas of obedience

to officers, and of courage based on fear of shame: cp. note on i. 84. 5. The Scholiast quotes Hom. *Il.* v. 531, αἰδομένων δ' ἀνδρῶν πλέονες σόοι ἢ πέφανται. πείρα του: cp. note on i. 70. 8, and, as to the optative, i. 49. 3. οὐκουν ἀξιοῦντες: they did not on that account think it right: the -ουν appears to point the inference. τὴν πόλιν: the sentiment is scarcely a sound one. The proper course for brave and thoughtful men who have failed in the execution of some well-laid plan is surely to preserve themselves by avoiding unnecessary risks, in order that they may be able to serve their country at some more favourable juncture. But Thuc., or Pericles, says that these men, when thwarted in their hopes, determined in default of any more solid offering to lay their valour at the feet of their country, and like prodigals (προῖέμενοι) bestow upon her the most precious offering of their lives. With οὐκουν . . . γε compare οὐ μέντοι . . . γε, i. 3. 2; οὐ δὲ τοι . . . γε, ii. 41. 3. ἀξιοῦντες and προῖέμενοι both belong to ἐκτήσαντο. ἔρανον: συνεισφοράν. Sch. cp. Smith, *Dict. Ant.*

2. γάρ] Consider all this, "for though they gave their lives jointly

ἀγῆρων ἔπαινον ἐλάμβανον καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐπισημότατον, οὐκ ἐν ᾧ κεῖνται μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν παρὰ τῷ ἐντυχόντι αἰεὶ καὶ λόγου καὶ ἔργου καιρῷ ἀείμνηστος καταλείπεται. 3. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος καὶ οὐ στηλῶν μόνον ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ σημαίνει ἐπιγραφὴ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ μὴ προσηκούσῃ ἄγραφος μνήμη παρ' ἐκάστῳ τῆς γνώμης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ἔργου ἐνδιατᾶται. 4. οὓς νῦν ὑμεῖς ζηλώσαντες καὶ τὸ εὐδαιμον τὸ ἐλεύθερον, τὸ δὲ ἐλεύθερον τὸ εὐψυχον κρίναντες, μὴ περιορᾶσθε τοὺς πολεμικοὺς κινδύνους. 5. οὐ γὰρ οἱ κακοπραγοῦντες δικαιότερον ἀφειδοῖεν ἂν τοῦ βίου, οἷς ἐλπίς οὐκ ἔστ' ἀγαθοῦ, ἀλλ' οἷς ἡ ἐναντία μεταβολὴ ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἔτι κινδυνεύεται καὶ ἐν οἷς μάλιστα μεγάλα τὰ διαφέροντα. ἦν τι πταίσωσιν. 6. ἀλγεινότερα γὰρ ἀνδρί γε φρόνημα ἔχοντι ἢ μετὰ τοῦ [ἐν τῷ]

they received this deathless praise individually." κοινῇ, because the individual soldier is lost sight of in the army; ἰδίᾳ, because pride and affection hang round the individual and forget the army: the opposition is more natural and significant here than at ii. 42. 4. ἐπισημότατον is predicate. οὐ μᾶλλον . . . ἀλλά: "not so much as:" cp. on i. 9. 3. ἐν ᾧ ἡ δόξα: not in the ground, that is, but in the hearts of men, where "their glory is left behind as a sacred and eternal trust to every occasion of word or deed." παρὰ apparently as in παρακαταθήκη. καιρός is half personified (so πόλεμος, ii. 36. 5): opportunity is said to take charge of their glory and hold it up for imitation. Hobbes translates, "wherein their glory is laid up, upon all occasions both of speech and action to be remembered for ever;" but παρὰ never means *at* a time.

3. πᾶσα γῆ] "Every land;" not only ἡ οἰκεία, but ἡ μὴ προσήκουσα. τῆς γνώμης: "an unwritten memorial in heart and mind rather than in any actual and external monument." Arn. Krüger translates, "memory of their spirit rather than

of the (disastrous) fight in which they fell;" but is this possible?

4. τὸ εὐδ. τὸ ἐλεύθερον] τὸ εὐδαιμον is the predicate. "When the subject and predicate are convertible they may both have the article, if they are expressed by infinitives or other words which do not become nouns without such a prefix." Don. G. G. p. 348. "None but the free are happy, none but the brave are free."

5. οἱ κακοπραγοῦντες] According to the Scholiast Thuc. is here alluding to a distich of Theognis: Χρὴ πενίην φεύγοντα καὶ ἐς μεγακῆτεα πόντον ῥίπτειν καὶ πετρῶν, Κύρνε, κατ' ἡλιβάτων. ἡ ἐναντία μεταβολή: the change from happiness to misery. τὰ διαφέροντα: the difference, the interests at stake: cp. iii. 42. 2; vi. 92. 4.

6. φρόνημα ἔχοντι] "To a man of spirit:" cp. i. 81. 7. ἡ μετὰ τοῦ ἐν τῷ μαλακισθῆναι is the reading of several MSS., and if, adopting this order of words, we write τῷ for τῷ with Abresch, Gottleber, and Bekker, we get a very tolerable construction. Translate, "that degradation which waits upon cowardice in any action." With μετὰ τοῦ

μαλακισθῆναι κάκωσις ἢ ὁ μετὰ ῥώμης καὶ κοινῆς ἐλπίδος ἅμα γιγνόμενος ἀναίσθητος θάνατος. 44. 1. διόπερ καὶ τοὺς τῶνδε νῦν τοκέας ὅσοι πάρεστε οὐκ ὀλοφύρομαι μᾶλλον ἢ παραμυθήσομαι. 2. ἐν πολυτρόποις γὰρ ξυμφοραῖς ἐπίστανται τραφέντες· τὸ δ' εὖτυχές, οἷ ἂν τῆς εὐπρεπεστάτης λάχωσιν, ὥσπερ οἶδε μὲν νῦν τελευτῆς, ὑμεῖς δὲ λύπης, καὶ οἷς ἐνευδαιμονῆσαι τε ὁ βίος ὁμοίως καὶ ἐντελευτῆσαι ξυνεμετρήθη. 3. χαλεπὸν μὲν οὖν οἶδα πείθειν ὄν, ὦν καὶ πολλάκις ἔξετε ὑπομνήματα ἐν ἄλλων εὐτυχίαις, αἷς ποτε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἠγάλλεσθε· καὶ λύπη οὐχ ὦν ἂν τις μὴ πειρασόμενος ἀγαθῶν στερίσκηται, ἀλλ' οὗ ἂν ἐθὰς γενόμενος ἀφαιρεθῇ. 4. καρτερεῖν δὲ χρή καὶ ἄλλων παίδων ἐλπίδι οἷς ἔτι ἡλικία

μαλακισθῆναι cp. μετὰ τοῦ γυμνάζεσθαι, i. 6. 5; with ἐν τῷ cp. ii. 37. 2, ὡς ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ εὐδοκιμεῖ. κοινῆς ἐλπίδος: "hope for the public good."

CH. XLIV. 1.] "To those of you who have lost a son I say, that, no man being completely happy, he is most fortunate whose life and death are most glorious. If it is hard to lose such children, yet perhaps in time other children will fill their place, or if this may not be, at any rate the fame of the departed will cheer your solitude."

νῦν] For the position of the adverb, which seems to belong to πάρεστε, cp. μᾶλλον, ii. 7. 3; ἄνω, ii. 83. 1; ἰδίᾳ, iii. 2. 3; τότε, iii. 87. 4; κύκλω, vii. 70. 1.

2. τραφέντες] Cp. ἠπατημένοι, ii. 4. 1. τὸ δ' εὖτυχές, οἷ ἂν: literally, "and that good fortune is this, namely, if any one has obtained." For οἷ ἂν = εἰάν τις. At vi. 14 we have the full construction τὸ καλῶς ἄρξαι τοῦτ' εἶναι, ὅς ἂν τὴν πατρίδα ὠφελήσῃ. Cp. also ii. 62. 4; iii. 39. 2 (where οἷτινες = εἷτινες); 45. 7; iv. 18. 4; vi. 16. 3; vii. 68. 1. ἐνευδαιμονῆσαι: sc. ἐν τῷ βίῳ. ἐντελευτῆσαι: sc. ἐν τῇ εὐδαιμονίᾳ. The Scholiast says, τουτέστιν ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ καὶ ζῆσαι καὶ τελευτῆσαι. "Whose life was measured out to

them in such proportion that they were not only happy in it, but died in their happiness." It would not be easy, says Arnold, to find another instance of such a far-fetched method of expressing so common a sentiment. For the words merely mean that these men had not outlived their happiness. The Greeks allow themselves great liberty in compounding verbs with the preposition ἐν: thus we find ἐναποτίνειν, ἐνδυστυχεῖν, ἐνιππεύειν, ἐγκαθηβᾶν, ἐμμελετᾶν, ἐναποθνήσκειν, ἐνεργολαβεῖν, ἐνεπιорκεῖν.

3. μὲν οὖν] μὲν answers to δέ at the commencement of the next section. πείθειν ὦν = πείθειν ὑμᾶς ταῦτα περὶ ἐκείνων ὦν. ἐν ἄλλων εὐτυχίαις: "when you see others enjoying those blessings (children) in which you also once rejoiced." λύπη ὦν: cp. i. 69. 10, αἰτία μὲν γὰρ φίλων ἀνδρῶν ἐστὶν ἀμαρτανόντων. Krüger reads πειρασόμενος because, he says, you cannot lose what you have never enjoyed, and so Valla translates—"quibus nunquam potituri privantur." Krüger's reason scarcely holds, but all the best MSS. appear to have the future. The genitive οἷ is governed by ἐθὰς, and the construction is ἀλλὰ (τούτου) οὗ ἂν ἐθὰς γενόμενος ἀφαιρεθῇ (αὐτό).

τέκνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι· ἰδίᾳ γάρ τε τῶν οὐκ ὄντων λήθη οἱ ἐπι-
γιγνόμενοί τισιν ἔσονται, καὶ τῇ πόλει διχόθεν, ἕκ τε τοῦ
μὴ ἐρημοῦσθαι καὶ ἀσφαλείᾳ, ξυνοίσει· οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τε ἴσον
τι ἢ δίκαιον βουλευέσθαι οἷ ἂν μὴ καὶ παῖδας ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου
παραβαλλόμενοι κινδυνεύωσιν. 5. ὅσοι δ' αὖ παρηβήκατε,
τόν τε πλείονα κέρδος ὃν εὐτυχεῖτε βίον ἡγεῖσθε καὶ τόνδε
βραχὺν ἔσεσθαι, καὶ τῇ τῶνδε εὐκλείᾳ κουφίζεσθε· 6. τὸ γὰρ
φιλότιμον ἀγήρων μόνον, καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἀχρείῳ τῆς ἡλικίας
τὸ κερδαίνειν, ὥσπερ τινὲς φασι, μᾶλλον τέρπει, ἀλλὰ τὸ
τιμᾶσθαι. 45. 1. παισὶ δ' αὖ ὅσοι τῶνδε πάρεστε ἢ ἀδελ-
φοῖς ὁρῶ μέγαν τὸν ἀγῶνα· τὸν γὰρ οὐκ ὄντα ἅπας εἶωθεν

4. τέκνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι] “The usual phrase is τεκνοποιεῖσθαι or παιδοποιεῖσθαι.” Kr. For the infinitive after ἡλικία cp. note on i. 44. 1. τῶν οὐκ ὄντων λήθη: “a means of forgetting the dead.” διχόθεν: “in two ways.” ἀσφαλείᾳ: the state will be safer because of the greater earnestness and caution with which her citizens will deliberate, when each man stakes the lives of his children on the results of his vote. καὶ παῖδας: children as well as property. ξυνοίσει: “a service will be done to the state.” “There is no subject, or at most πρᾶγμα is to be supplied. Cp. Arist. *Clouds* 594.” Kr. Poppo thinks that τὸ τέκνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι is the subject, while Classen prefers τὸ παῖδας ἐπιγίγνεσθαι.

5. κέρδος] For the sake of emphasis the predicate has been introduced before the subject is completed. Somewhat similar is ἀναίσθητος ii. 43. 6, and the trajection is perhaps not uncommon in the case of a secondary or tertiary predicate: cp. Theoc. v. 84, τὰς ἄλλας διδυματόκος αἴγας ἀμέλγω. Not unlike the present passage is i. 3. 5, οἱ ὡς ἕκαστοι Ἕλληνες κληθέντες. τόνδε: so much life as still remains to us.

6. τὸ . . φιλότιμον] “The love of honour alone grows not old.” τῷ ἀχρείῳ: cp. i. 93. 8. ὥσπερ τινὲς φασι: above all Simonides, who

said, ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων ἀπεστερημένος διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἡδονῶν ὑπὸ μιᾶς ἔτι γηροβοσκεῖται, τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ κερδαίνειν (Plut. *Mor.* p. 781).

CH. XLV. I.] “As for the children and brothers of the dead, they have a hard task indeed before them. Envy stops on this side the grave, and the living have an arduous example, an exacting model, in those whose praise no one grudges. As for their wives, let them remember that a woman’s virtue shuns the light and flourishes best in modest obscurity.”

παισὶ . . . ὅσοι τῶνδε = παισὶ τῶνδε ὅσοι. The genitive, as often happens, is put close to the relative and away from the noun to which it belongs: cp. ii. 67. 4, τοὺς ἐμπόρους οὓς ἔλαβον Ἀθηναίων: iv. 109. 1, τὰ μακρὰ τείχη ἃ σφῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἶχον. μέγαν is predicate—“great is the struggle which I see at hand for them.” τὸν οὐκ ὄντα: τὸν τεθνηκότα. Sch. καθ’ ὑπερβολήν: “by reason of an excess.” κατὰ as at i. 9. 2. “Scarcely even if you transcended them in merit, would you be thought, I do not say their equals but, nearly as good.” Hobbes translates vigorously though not quite exactly, “so that with odds of virtue you will hardly get an equal reputation, but still be thought a little short.”

ἐπαινεῖν, καὶ μόλις ἂν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἀρετῆς οὐχ ὁμοῖοι ἀλλ' ὀλίγω χείρους κριθείητέ. 2. φθόνος γὰρ τοῖς ζῶσι πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐμποδῶν ἀνανταγωνίστῳ εὖνοιά τετίμηται. 3. εἰ δέ με δεῖ καὶ γυναικείας τι ἀρετῆς ὅσαι νῦν ἐν χηρείᾳ ἔσονται μνησθῆναι, βραχείᾳ παραινέσει ἅπαν σημανῶ. 4. τῆς τε γὰρ ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως μὴ χείροσι γενέσθαι ὑμῖν μεγάλη ἢ δόξα, καὶ ἥς ἂν ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον ἀρετῆς πέρι ἢ ψόγου ἐν τοῖς ἄρσεσι κλέος ᾗ. 46. 1. εἴρηται καὶ ἐμοὶ λόγῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὅσα εἶχον πρόσφορα, καὶ ἔργῳ οἱ θαπτόμενοι τὰ

2. φθόνος . . τοῖς ζῶσι] "There is envy for, against, the living." πρὸς: "in regard of, on account of, their rivalry." Ordinary men cannot shake off the notion, that the elevation of others depresses themselves. Compare above, ii. 35. 4, 5, and Horace, *Odes* iii. 24. 31; *Ép.* ii. 1. 13. Krüger quotes from a fragment of Mimnermus, δεινοὶ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ πάντες ἐσμέν εὐκλεεῖ ζῶντι φθονῆσαι, καθανόντα δ' αἰνέσαι. ἀνανταγωνίστῳ means untainted by emulation or jealousy, and τὸ μὴ ἐμποδῶν is that which can no longer cross our path. τετίμηται: is honoured instantly and without reluctance.

3.] ὅσαι refers to τῶν γυναικῶν, implied in γυναικείας. Aristotle almost seems to doubt whether a woman has any ἀρετή at all, but on the whole he concludes, that though she is ἀρχομένη φύσει, her moral and intellectual qualities differ from those of her lord and master only in degree, thus τὸ θῆλυ ἔχει μὲν τὸ βουλευτικόν, ἀλλ' ἄκυρον (*Pol.* i. 13).

4. μὴ χείροσι] "Great is the glory for you not to prove worse than the nature of your sex." ἥς: sc. καὶ μεγάλη ἡ δόξα ταύτης ἥς. For the expegetic use of περί, cp. ii. 51. 5; 62. 1: it is very common in Plato. κλέος, a poetic word, is here used in a neutral sense to signify "talk about any one." On the general question of the condition of women in Greece, see Smith, *Dict. Ant.* s. v. Matrimonium. "Solon

imposed upon women several restraints in regard to proceeding at the obsequies of deceased relatives:" see Grote, iii. 189.

CH. XLVI. 1.] "I have finished what I had to say. But the greatest honour of all still remains to be paid to these brave men whose orphan children will be reared at the public cost, and taught to emulate the virtue of their sires."

καὶ . . . καὶ strengthen the antithesis between λόγῳ and ἔργῳ. Krüger, taking καὶ ἐμοὶ together, translates, "by me as well as by my predecessors in this office;" but not so well. οἱ θαπτόμενοι, from its position, ought to be the subject to both the verbs which follow, but a new nominative, ἡ πόλις, is suddenly introduced. μέχρι ἡβης: to the age of eighteen, according to the Scholiast: see Smith, *Dict. Ant.* s. v. Ephebus. στέφανον: "which hath therein propounded, both to these and them that live, a profitable garland in their matches of valour." Hobbes. The second τοῖσδε, the reading of all the MSS., has, by common consent of the editors, been altered into τοῖς δέ: cp. ii. 65. 5; iii. 98. 1, where the same alteration has been made. It would be strange if the MSS. had made the same blunder in all three passages, and τοῖσδε is quite defensible: see Wunder's note on Soph. *Phil.* 87. For δέ, marking the apodosis, see i. 11. 2

μὲν ἤδη κεκόσμηνται, τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς παῖδας τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε δημοσία ἢ πόλις μέχρι ἥβης θρέψει, ὠφέλιμον στέφανον τοῖσδε τε καὶ τοῖς λειπομένοις τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀγώνων προτιθεῖσα· ἄθλα γὰρ οἷς κείται ἀρετῆς μέγιστα, τοῖσδε καὶ ἄνδρες ἄριστοι πολιτεύουσι. 2. νῦν δὲ ἀπολοφυράμενοι ὃν προσήκει ἕκαστος ἀποχωρεῖτε.”

47] 1. Τοιόσδε μὲν ὁ τάφος ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι τούτῳ καὶ διελθόντος αὐτοῦ πρῶτον ἔτος τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε ἐτελεύτα.] 2. τοῦ δὲ θέρους εὐθύς ἀρχομένου Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι τὰ δύο μέρη ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν· ἠγείτο δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ζευξιδάμου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς. 3. καὶ καθεζόμενοι ἐδήουν τὴν γῆν. 4. καὶ ὄντων αὐτῶν οὐ πολλάς πω ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἡ νόσος πρῶτον ἦρξατο γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, λεγόμενον μὲν καὶ πρότερον πολλαχόσε ἐγκατασκῆψαι καὶ περὶ Αἴμνον καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις χωρίοις, οὐ μέντοι τοσοῦτός γε λοιμὸς οὐδὲ φθορὰ οὕτως ἀνθρώπων οὐδαμοῦ ἐμνημονεύετο γενέσθαι.

2. ἀπολοφυράμενοι] “When you have finished bewailing:” cp. below, 61. 4, ἀπαλήσαντας. So ἀποτύψωνται, Hdt. ii. 40, and ἀπεκῆδυσαν, ib. ix. 31. In all these verbs ἀπο- has the sense of completeness, and so of cessation. ὃν προσήκει: sc. αὐτῷ ὀλοφύρεσθαι.

CH. XLVII. 1. ἐτελεύτα] “Was drawing to a close:” see note on ἐνίκων i. 13. 8.

2. τὰ δύο μέρη] These words are in apposition to Πελ. καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι. Cp. note on ii. 10. 2.

4. ἡ νόσος] “The disease,” the famous plague. The account which follows has been copied by Lucretius, vi. 1138 sqq., and liberally borrowed from by Ovid, *Met.* vii. 523 sqq. “It is extremely difficult to make out the exact nature of a disease from any author more than a few years old, but there is little doubt that the plague at Athens was either true Oriental plague or typhus, or perhaps akin to both, the two diseases being very similar, and only

differing in that the Oriental plague is much more severe, and is accompanied with buboes or glandular swellings in different parts of the body. Typhus is the disease that has at different times been called black death, jail fever, camp fever, &c., and is always present where there are large numbers of persons crowded together, insufficiently fed, clothed, and nourished. We cannot identify the Plague of London though there is a description of it by Sydenham, the father of modern medicine.” λεγόμενον: “it being said:” αὐτήν must be supplied after ἐγκατασκῆψαι. Cp. note on ἄδηλον ὅν, i. 2. 2. The Sch. however, and others refer λεγόμενον to νόσημα, implied in the preceding νόσον. This would be an extreme instance of the σχῆμα πρὸς τὸ σημαίνον, though there are others as extreme—cp. Aesch. *Ag.* 562, δρόσοι . . . τιθέντες ἐν θηρον τρίχα. οὕτως must be joined with γενέσθαι, “to have happened to such a degree.” Arn.

5. οὔτε γὰρ ἰατροὶ ἤρκουν τὸ πρῶτον θεραπεύοντες ἀγνοία, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ μάλιστα ἔθνησκον ὅσῳ καὶ μάλιστα προσήεσαν, οὔτε ἄλλη ἀνθρωπεῖα τέχνη οὐδεμία· ὅσα τε πρὸς ἱεροῖς ἰκέτευσαν ἢ μαντεῖαις καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐχρήσαντο, πάντα ἀνωφελῇ ἦν, τελευτῶντές τε αὐτῶν ἀπέστησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ νικώμενοι. 48. 1. ἤρξατο δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ὡς λέγεται, ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας τῆς ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ Λιβύην κατέβη καὶ ἐς τὴν βασιλέως γῆν τὴν πολλήν. 2. ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν ἐξαπιναίως ἐνέπεσε, καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ ἤψατο τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὥστε καὶ ἐλέχθη ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὡς οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι φάρμακα ἐσβεβλήκοιεν ἐς τὰ φρέατα· κρῆναι γὰρ οὐπὼ ἦσαν αὐτόθι. 3. ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἀφίκετο καὶ ἔθνησκον πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἤδη. 4. λεγέτω μὲν οὖν περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἕκαστος γινώσκει καὶ ἰατρὸς καὶ ἰδιώτης ἀφ' ὅτου εἰκὸς ἦν γενέσθαι αὐτό, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἄστινας νομίζει τοσαύτης μεταβολῆς ἱκανὰς εἶναι δύναμιν ἐς τὸ μεταστήσαι σχεῖν· ἐγὼ δὲ οἶόν τε ἐγίγνετο λέξω, καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ἂν τις σκοπῶν, εἴ ποτε καὶ αὐθις ἐπιπέσοι, μάλιστ' ἂν ἔχοι τι προειδὼς μὴ ἀγνοεῖν, ταῦτα δηλώσω αὐτός τε νοσήσας καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδὼν ἄλλους πάσχοντας.

5. ἤρκουν] “For neither could physicians do any good at first, owing to the ignorance with which they treated the disease:” τὸ πρῶτον belongs to ἤρκουν, for *θεραπεῖα* became more successful as men became more familiar with the plague—see 51. 7, 8. The Scholiast, however, joins the adverb with *θεραπεύοντες*, for, he adds, if they had known the infectious nature of the disease they would not have gone near the sufferers. ὅσῳ καί: cp. on i. 3. 2.

CH. XLVIII. 1. βασιλέως] “The Great King,” the king of Persia: the article is never affixed to the word when it bears this sense—cp. i. 132. 3. τὴν πολλήν: the greatest part.

2. φρέατα] “Tanks or cisterns” for catching and storing up the rain-water: κρῆναι (from ἐκρέω)

“springs.” αὐτόθι: in Peiraeus, for Calirrhoe (ii. 15. 7) was in the upper city.

4. ἰδιώτης] A “layman,” one, that is, who has no scientific knowledge of the subject in question, here of medicine. τὰς αἰτίας: sc. λεγέτω: “the causes of so dreadful a change (in the health of the city), which he judges sufficient to have had power to create such a revolution.” For the position of the genitive *τοσαύτης μεταβολῆς*, cp. note on i. 45. 1. καὶ ἀφ' ὧν: sc. ταῦτα ἀφ' ὧν. “I will give a description, in the light of which men may regard the disease.” μὴ ἀγνοεῖν: that is, may avoid the *ἀγνοια*, which at first rendered useless all the efforts of the physicians. For the sentiment compare the very similar passage, i. 22. 4.

49. 1. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔτος, ὡς ὠμολογεῖτο, ἐκ πάντων μάλιστα δὴ ἐκείνο ἄνοσον ἐς τὰς ἄλλας ἀσθενείας ἐτύγχανεν ὄν· εἰ δέ τις καὶ προέκαμνέ τι, ἐς τοῦτο πάντα ἀπεκρίθη. 2. τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς προφάσεως, ἀλλ' ἐξαίφνης ὑγιεῖς ὄντας πρῶτον μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς θέρμαι ἰσχυραὶ καὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐρυθρήματα καὶ φλόγωσις ἐλάβανε, καὶ τὰ ἐντός, ἢ τε φάρυγξ καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα, εὐθὺς αἱματώδη ἦν καὶ πνεῦμα ἄτοπον καὶ δυσῶδες ἠφίει· ἔπειτα ἐξ αὐτῶν πταρμὸς καὶ βράγχος ἐπεγίγνετο, καὶ ἐν οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ κατέβαινε ἐς τὰ στήθη ὁ πόνος μετὰ βηχὸς ἰσχυροῦ· καὶ ὁπότε ἐς τὴν καρδίαν στηρίξαι, ἀνέστρεφέ τε αὐτὴν καὶ ἀποκαθάρσεις χολῆς πᾶσαι ὅσαι ὑπὸ ἰατρῶν ὠνομασμέναι εἰσὶν ἐπήεσαν, καὶ αὗται μετὰ τάλαιπωρίας μεγάλης. 3. λύγξ τε τοῖς πλείοσιν ἐνέπεσε κενή, σπασμὸν ἐνδιδούσα ἰσχυρόν, τοῖς μὲν μετὰ ταῦτα λωφήσαντα, τοῖς δὲ καὶ πολλῷ ὕστερον. 4. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔξωθεν ἀπτομένῳ σῶμα οὐκ ἄγαν θερμὸν ἦν οὔτε χλωρόν, ἀλλ' ὑπέρυθρον, πελιτνόν, φλυκταίναις μικραῖς καὶ ἔλκεσιν ἐξηνηθηκός· τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς οὕτως ἐκάετο ὥστε μήτε

· Cn. XLIX. 1.] εἴ τι = ὅσα; hence it is followed by πάντα.

2. προφάσεως] “Without any ostensible cause.” Poppo. Rather perhaps, “without any warning:” cp. ἀπροφασίστως, i. 49. 8. ἄτοπον καὶ δυσῶδες: “monstrous and fetid, fetid to a monstrous degree.” Arn. Or ἄτοπον may mean “laboured.” ἐξ αὐτῶν: “after these symptoms.” ὁπότε ἐς τὴν καρδίαν στηρίξαι: “whenever it fastened on the stomach.” Compare *cardiacus*, Juv. v. 32, and for the optative, see note on i. 49. 3.

3. λύγξ...κενή] “Motus ventriculi irritus, nihil ejiciens.” Poppo. τοῖς is governed by ἐνδιδούσα, “in some cases immediately after these symptoms (ἀποκαθάρσεις χολῆς, λύγξ) had disappeared.”

4. τὸ μὲν ἔξωθεν σῶμα] “The skin.” ἀπτομένῳ: sc. αὐτοῦ, “to one touching it, if you touched it:” for this use of the participial dative,

cp. i. 10. 7. “The coolness of the skin is strange, but the leaden look is a familiar symptom of typhus. Indeed the typhus that appeared during the siege of Saragossa corresponded in most particulars with the description of Thuc.” μήτ' ἄλλο τι ἦ: cp. note on ii. 16. γυμνοί: the best and most MSS. appear to read γυμνόν, which is after all by no means indefensible, for we might regard τὸ ἔξωθεν and τὰ ἐντος as two accusatives of extent, ἀνέχεσθαι as passive, and σῶμα as the subject both to ἦν and to ἐκάετο, nor would the absence of the article be any decisive impediment to this construction. Still upon the whole, Bekker's reading γυμνοί, which is by no means without authority, seems preferable. τὰ ἐντος ἐκάετο is equivalent in sense to ἐκάοντο τὰ ἐντος, and hence γυμνοί is treated as if it agreed with the subject of the main verb. ῥίπτειν ἄν: the infinitive of ἔρριπτον ἄν.

τῶν πάνυ λεπτῶν ἱματίων καὶ σινδόνων τὰς ἐπιβολὰς μίτ' ἄλλο τι ἢ γυμνοὶ ἀνέχεσθαι, ἡδιστά τε ἂν ἐς ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ῥίπτειν. 5. καὶ πολλοὶ τοῦτο τῶν ἡμελημένων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἔδρασαν ἐς φρέατα, τῇ δίψῃ ἀπαύστῳ ξυνεχόμενοι. καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ καθειστήκει τό τε πλεόν καὶ ἔλασσον ποτόν. 6. καὶ ἡ ἀπορία τοῦ μὴ ἡσυχάζειν καὶ ἡ ἀγρυπνία ἐπέκειτο διὰ παντός. 7. καὶ τὸ σῶμα ὅσον περ χρόνον καὶ ἡ νόσος ἀκμάζοι οὐκ ἐμαραίνετο, ἀλλ' ἀντεῖχε παρὰ δόξαν τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ, ὥστε ἡ διεφθείροντο οἱ πλείστοι ἐναταῖοι καὶ ἐβδομαῖοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐντὸς καύματος ἔτι ἔχοντές τι δυνάμεως. ἡ εἰ διαφύγοιεν, ἐπικατιόντος τοῦ νοσήματος ἐς τὴν κοιλίαν καὶ ἐλκώσεώς τε αὐτῇ ἰσχυρᾶς ἐγγιγνομένης καὶ διαρροίας ἅμα ἀκράτου ἐπιπιπτούσης οἱ πολλοὶ ὕστερον δι' αὐτὴν ἀσθενεῖα ἀπεφθείροντο. 8. διεξήει γὰρ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ σώματος ἄνωθεν ἀρξάμενον τὸ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ πρῶτον ἰδρυθὲν κακόν, καὶ εἴ τις ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων περιγένοιτο, τῶν γε ἀκρωτηρίων ἀντίληψις αὐτοῦ ἐπεσήμαινε· κατέσκηπτε γὰρ ἐς αἰδοῖα καὶ ἐς ἄκρας χεῖρας καὶ πόδας, καὶ πολλοὶ στερισκόμενοι τούτων διέφευγον, εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. 9. τοὺς δὲ καὶ λήθη ἐλάμβανε παραυτίκα ἀναστάντας

5. καὶ ἔδρασαν] "Actually did so:" for this use of *δρᾶν*, cp. i. 5. 2; 6. 6. τῇ δίψῃ ἀπαύστῳ: "for the thirst which tormented them was insatiable." ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ καθειστήκει: "was all the same," "equally unavailing." For the absence of the article before ἔλασσον, cp. i. 7; ii. 40. 5.

6. ἀπορία τοῦ μὴ] "Distress consisting in want of rest:" the genitive of apposition or material—cp. i. 87. 6; vii. 42. 2. διὰ παντός: *noctem per saepe diemque*, *Lucr.* vi. 1160.

7. εἰ διαφύγοιεν] During the first seven or nine days the bodily strength remained nearly unimpaired, and if the patient died, he died of fever. But, this crisis past, a period of weakness and exhaustion set in with ulceration of the bowels and dysen-

tery. "Typhus runs a rapid course, and in fatal cases death takes place usually before the fourteenth day." ἀκράτου: "the word is explained by Galen, ἀκρητοὶ ὑποχωρήσεις, αἱ ἄμικτοι ὑγρότητος ὑδατώδους, αὐτὸν μόνον ἔχουσαι εἰλικρινῇ ὑπερχόμενον κάτω χυμόν, εἴτε τὸν τῆς ξανθῆς χολῆς, εἴτε τὸν τῆς μελαίνης." *Arn.*

8. ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων] The Scholiast supplies *κινδύνων*. αὐτοῦ: sc. τοῦ κακοῦ, "its seizing upon the extremities." Krüger regards it as masculine, referring to *τις* and governed by *ἀκρωτηρίων*. ἐπεσήμαινε: "set its mark upon the patient."

9. παραυτίκα] "The moment they left their beds they began to forget, or they found they had forgotten." But Poppo says, "addi-

τῶν πάντων ὁμοίως καὶ ἡγνόησαν σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους. 50. 1. γενόμενον γὰρ κρεῖσσον λόγου τὸ εἶδος τῆς νόσου τά τε ἄλλα χαλεπωτέρως ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν προσέπιπτεν ἐκάστω καὶ ἐν τῷδε ἐδήλωσε μάλιστα ἄλλο τι ὃν ἢ τῶν ξυντρόφων τι· τὰ γὰρ ὄρνεα καὶ τετράποδα ὅσα ἀνθρώπων ἄπτεται πολλῶν ἀτάφων γιγνομένων ἢ οὐ προσήει ἢ γευσάμενα διεφθείρετο. 2. τεκμήριον δέ· τῶν μὲν τοιούτων ὀρνίθων ἐπίλειψις σαφὴς ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐχ ἑωρῶντο οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε περὶ τοιοῦτον οὐδέν· οἱ δὲ κύνες μᾶλλον αἴσθησιν παρείχον τοῦ ἀποβαίνοντος διὰ τὸ ξυνδιαιτᾶσθαι.

51. 1. Τὸ μὲν οὖν νόσημα, πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα παραλιπόντι ἀτοπίας, ὥς ἐκάστω ἐτύγχανέ τι διαφερόντως ἐτέρῳ πρὸς ἕτερον γιγνόμενον, τοιοῦτον ἦν ἐπὶ πᾶν τὴν ἰδέαν. 2. καὶ ἄλλο παρελύπει κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον οὐδὲν τῶν εἰωθότων· ὃ δὲ καὶ γένοιτο, ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα. 3. ἔθνησκον δὲ οἱ μὲν

tum παραντίκα videtur docere hunc effectum morbi non fuisse diuturnum."

CH. L. 1. κρεῖσσον λόγου] "Too horrible for words." χαλεπωτέρως ἢ κατὰ: "more grievously than human nature could bear." κατὰ denotes that which is in accordance with a given standard: so οὐ κατὰ σε, "not of your sort," οὐ κατὰ δάκρυα, "too great for tears," κατ' ἀνθρώπον φρονεῖν, "to be (humble) minded as befits a mortal man." To express that which rises above or falls below the standard, a comparative with ἢ is prefixed: cp. Soph. O. C. 598, τί γὰρ τὸ μείζον ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπον νοσεῖς; and below, vi. 15. 3; vii. 45. 2. τῷδε: cp. i. 2. 6, and for ἄλλος τε καί, which is here strengthened by the addition of μάλιστα, see i. 3. 2; 10. 6. ἄπτεται: "touch," in the sense of "eat."

2. τεκμήριον δέ] Cp. note on i. 8. 2; here there is no following γάρ. ἄλλως: "elsewhere," the adverb of manner put for that of place. Cp. Eur. Ion 528, ποῦ δέ

μοι πατήρ σύ; and similar phrases where ποῦ is much the same as πῶς. περὶ τοιοῦτον οὐδέν: "near one of these unburied corpses." τοῦ ἀποβαίνοντος: "of the result," that is, that those creatures which tasted of the corpses died.

CH. LI. 1. παραλιπόντι] Cp. i. 10. 7; ii. 49. 4. ὥς ἐκάστω: as to a certain extent different symptoms appeared in different cases: ὥς denoting fortuitous coincidence is here nearly the same as ὥσπερ at i. 136. 7. διαφερόντως is "differently," "specially," and by that tendency of the Greek language in general, and Thuc. in particular, which we have often observed, ἐτέρῳ πρὸς ἕτερον, "to one man as compared with another," is added as a kind of epexegetis to ἐκάστω διαφερόντως. ἐπὶ πᾶν, "upon the whole," is the "in universum aestimanti" of Tacitus. Cp. v. 68. 3.

2. ὃ δὲ καὶ γένοιτο] "But if any thing did break out." ὃ = εἴ τι—cp. i. 49. 3; and for καί note on i. 3. 2. The fact has already been stated at ii. 49. 1.

ἀμελεία, οἱ δὲ καὶ πάννυ θεραπευόμενοι. 4. ἔν τε οὐδὲν κατέστη ἴαμα ὥς εἰπεῖν ὃ τι χρῆν προσφέροντας ὠφελεῖν· τὸ γάρ τῳ ξυνενεγκὸν ἄλλον τοῦτο ἔβλαπτε. 5. σῶμά τε αὐταρκες ὃν οὐδὲν διεφάνη πρὸς αὐτὸ ἰσχύος πέρι ἢ ἀσθενείας, ἀλλὰ πάντα ξυνήρει καὶ τὰ πάσῃ διαίτῃ θεραπευόμενα. 6. δεινότατον δὲ παντὸς ἦν τοῦ κακοῦ ἢ τε ἀθυμία ὅποτε τις αἴσθοιτο κάμνων, πρὸς γὰρ τὸ ἀνέλπιστον εὐθύς τραπόμενοι τῇ γνώμῃ πολλῶ μᾶλλον προΐεντο σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐκ ἀντεῖχον, καὶ ὅτι ἕτερος ἀφ' ἑτέρου θεραπείας ἀναπιμπλάμενοι ὥσπερ τὰ πρόβατα ἔθνησκον· καὶ τὸν πλείστον φθόρον τοῦτο ἐνεποίει. 7. εἴτε γὰρ μὴ θέλοιεν δεδιότες ἀλλήλοισι προσιέναι, ἀπώλλυντο ἐρήμοι, καὶ οἰκίαι πολλαὶ ἐκενώθησαν ἀπορίᾳ τοῦ θεραπεύσοντος· εἴτε προσίοιεν, διεφθείροντο, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιούμενοι· αἰσχύνῃ γὰρ ἠφείδουν σφῶν αὐτῶν, ἐσιοντες παρὰ φίλους, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰς ὀλοφύρσεις τῶν ἀπογιγνομένων τελευτῶντες καὶ οἱ νικέιοι ἐξέκαμνον, ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ κακοῦ νικώμενοι. 8. ἐπὶ πλέον δὲ ὅμως οἱ διαπεφευγότες τὸν τε θνήσκοντα καὶ τὸν

4. ἔν τε οὐδέν] “No single remedy.” ὥς εἰπεῖν modifies οὐδέν: cp. i. 1. 2. κατέστη of an *ascertained* remedy. χρῆν belongs rather to προσφέροντας than to ὠφελεῖν: cp. iv. 34. 3, καθ' ὃ τι χρῆ ἀμυνομένους σωθῆναι.

5. αὐταρκες] To explain this word, ἰσχύος πέρι ἢ ἀσθενείας is added: cp. ii. 45. 4: 62. 1. “No constitution seemed able to withstand it either as regards strength or weakness,” that is, no constitution was too strong or too weak to catch the infection. ξυνήρει: “seized and crushed in its grasp;” συναγαγὼν ἠφάνιζε, Sch. διαίτῃ: “nursing,” diet and attendance.

6. κάμνων] Cp. ii. 4. 1. μᾶλλον: more than in other diseases. καὶ ὅτι: “and the fact that.” ἀπὸ θεραπείας ἑτέρου: “from attendance upon another.” ἀναπιμπλάμενοι, which like our ‘steeped’ is almost always used in a bad sense, here means “infected.” τοῦτο: τὸ ἕτε-

ρον ἀφ' ἑτέρου θεραπείας ἀναπιμπλάσθαι.

7. προσιέναι] As at 47. 5. τοῦ θεραπεύσοντος: “for want of some one to attend upon the sick.” ἀρετῆς: φιλανθρωπίας καὶ ἀγάπης. Sch. Cp. ii. 40. 6. ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιούμενοι: cp. i. 28. 2. αἰσχύνῃ: for fear of being thought hypocrites. ἐπεὶ καί: even relatives neglected even the lightest offices of piety. τὰς ὀλοφύρσεις ἐξέκαμνον: “gave up in weariness the usual lamentations.” ἐξέκαμνον ὀλοφυρόμενοι would be more regular, but the verb is used here with a transitive force: cp. iii. 30. 4, μὴ ἀποκνήσωμεν τὸν κίνδυνον.

8. ἐπὶ πλέον δὲ ὅμως] Great as was the humanity displayed in many cases by men who had nothing but their piety to sustain them, yet those who had been attacked by the disease and recovered were more helpful and compassionate still. πονούμενον: the active and middle voices are both used in this

πονούμενον ὠκτίζοντο διὰ τὸ προειδέναι τε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἤδη ἐν τῷ θαρσαλέῳ εἶναι· δις γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν ὥστε καὶ κτείνειν οὐκ ἐπελάμβανε. 9. καὶ ἐμακαρίζοντό τε ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ παραχρήμα περιχαρεῖ καὶ ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον ἐλπίδος τι εἶχον κούφης μηδ' ἂν ὑπ' ἄλλου νοσήματός ποτε ἔτι διαφθαρῆναι.

52. 1. Ἐπίεσε δ' αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον πρὸς τῷ ὑπάρχοντι πόνῳ καὶ ἡ ξυγκομιδὴ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ οὐχ ἡσσουν τοὺς ἐπελθόντας. 2. οἰκιῶν γὰρ οὐχ ὑπαρχουσῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν καλυβαῖς πνιγγραῖς ὥρα ἔτους διαιτωμένων ὁ φθόρος ἐγίγνετο οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ νεκροὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἀποθνήσκοντες ἔκειντο καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐκαλινδοῦντο καὶ περὶ τὰς κρήνας ἀπάσας ἡμιθνήτες τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπιθυμία. 3. τά τε ἱερὰ ἐν οἷς ἐσκήνηντο νεκρῶν πλέα ἦν αὐτοῦ ἐναποθνησκόντων· ὑπερβιαζομένου γὰρ τοῦ κακοῦ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅ τι γένωνται ἐς ὀλιγορίαν ἐτράποντο καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ ὀσίων ὁμοίως. 4. νόμοι τε πάντες ξυνεταράχθησαν οἷς ἐχρῶντο πρότερον περὶ τὰς ταφάς, ἔθαπτον δὲ ὡς ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο. 5. καὶ πολλοὶ ἐς ἀναισχύντους θήκας ἐτράποντο σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων διὰ τὸ συχνοὺς ἤδη προτεθνάναι

sense. Poppo compares *ταλαιπωρεῖσθαι* and *ταλαιπωρεῖν*, *ἀπορεῖσθαι* and *ἀπορεῖν*.

9. τῷ παραχρήμα περιχαρεῖ] "Through the excess of their present joy." *μηδ' ὑπ' ἄλλου*: neither by that *now* by any other disease.

CH. LII. 1. ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν] For the non-repetition of the article cp. note on ii. 31. 2. τοὺς ἐπελθόντας: the new comers, the country people.

2. καλύβαις] Cp. ii. 17. 3. ὥρα ἔτους: τῷ θέρει λέγει. Sch. οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ: generally used of a desultory fight or a confused and hasty flight; here apparently it is meant that men died pell-mell, or like sheep, so fast that none of the usual decencies could be observed. *νεκροὶ ἀποθνήσκοντες*: Homer talks of *νεκροὶ τεθνηῶτες*, and Antiphon of *νεκροὶ ἀσπαίρωντες*, from which it would seem that *νεκρός* can be used

of one not quite dead. But Krüger joins *νεκροὶ* with *ἔκειντο*, and translates "lay like corpses," and thinks that *ἐναποθνησκόντων* in the next section is gen. abs.

3. ὅ τι γένωνται] "What is to become of them?" see *Madv. G. S.* 121. *ὀσίων*: "things profane, because those things which may piously be used or touched are those which are not sacred, i. e. which are profane." Arn. But when opposed to *βεβηλά*, *ὅσια* means sacred.

5. ἀναισχύντους θήκας] "Shameless burials:" *θήκη*, properly 'the grave,' is here incorrectly used for the act of disposing of the dead in whatever manner, as *ταφή* and *τάφος* are sometimes confused, and *θάπτω* is applied even to the burning of a dead body. Arn. *σφίσιν*: "of their friends:" cp. note on i. 49. 3.

σφίσιν· ἐπὶ πυρὰς γὰρ ἀλλοτρίας φθάσαντες τοὺς νήσαντας οἱ μὲν ἐπιθέντες τὸν ἑαυτῶν νεκρὸν ὑφήπτον, οἱ δὲ καιομένου ἄλλου ἄνωθεν ἐπιβαλόντες ὃν φέροιεν ἀπήεσαν. 53. 1. πρῶτόν τε ἤρξε καὶ ἐς τᾶλλα τῇ πόλει ἐπὶ πλέον ἀνομίας τὸ νίκημα. 2. ῥᾶον γὰρ ἐτόλμα τις ἢ πρότερον ἀπεκρύπτετο μὴ καθ' ἡδονὴν ποιεῖν, ἀγχίστροφον τὴν μεταβολὴν ὀρῶντες τῶν τ' εὐδαιμόνων καὶ αἰφνιδίως θνησκόντων καὶ τῶν οὐδὲν πρότερον κεκτημένων, εὐθύς δὲ τὰ κείνων ἐχόντων. 3. ὥστε ταχείας τὰς ἐπαυρέσεις καὶ πρὸς τὸ τερπνὸν ἡξίουں ποιεῖσθαι, ἐφήμερα τὰ τε σώματα καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὁμοίως ἡγούμενοι. 4. καὶ τὸ μὲν προσταλαιπωρεῖν τῷ δόξαντι καλῶ οὐδεὶς πρόθυμος ἦν, ἄδηλον νομίζων εἰ πρὶν ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἐλθεῖν διαφθαρήσεται· ὅ τι δὲ ἤδη τε ἡδὺ καὶ πανταχόθεν τὸ ἐς αὐτὸ κερδαλέον, τοῦτο καὶ καλὸν καὶ χρήσιμον κατέστη. 5. θεῶν δὲ φόβος ἢ ἀνθρώπων νόμος οὐδεὶς ἀπεῖργε, τὸ μὲν

CH. LIII. 1. ἀνομίας] "In every other respect also the plague gave the first occasion to a great outburst of lawlessness in the state." ἀνομίας, with which ἐπὶ πλέον must be closely joined, is governed by ἄρξει, as is also the dative τῇ πόλει: cp. ii. 12. 4.

2. ἀπεκρύπτετο μὴ] Cp. note on i. 73. 4. καθ' ἡδονήν: cp. ii. 37. 3. The plural ὀρῶντες refers to the collective τις: men were more reckless and defiant in indulging the lusts which before they dissembled, when they saw how sudden was the transition from wealth to death, from poverty to wealth.

3. πρὸς τὸ τερπνόν] "Looking to pleasure," making that their chief aim. τὸ προσταλαιπωρεῖν: cp. Soph. O. C. 442, τὸ δρᾶν οὐκ ἠθέλησαν: Ant. 79, τὸ γὰρ βία πολιτῶν δρᾶν ἔφυν ἀμήχανος: 1106, καρδίας δ' ἐξίσταμαι τὸ δρᾶν: Trach. 545, τὸ δ' αὖ ξυνοικεῖν τῇδ' ὁμοῦ τίς ἂν γυνὴ δύναιτο; where the infinitive with the accusative of the article denoting the result is used instead of the simple infinitive. Somewhat similar is the redundancy of ὥστε

noticed on i. 28. 6. See also iii. 1. 2; vi. 17. 8, and Madv. G. S. 154 b, r.; Jelf, 670. 1. "No man was willing to spend any further pains for a visionary duty." εἰ: whether he will not. τὸ ἐς αὐτό: Poppo wishes to take these words together—"as far as regards it," i. e. pleasure; and Krüger also stumbles at the article, which he brackets. But there is surely no difficulty in the co-ordination of ὅ τι ἡδὺ with τὸ κερδαλέον, or in the omission of ἦν, or in the position of πανταχόθεν outside the article. "Whatever provided instant gratification, and whatever in any manner ministered thereto."

5. τὸ μὲν] τὸ θεῖον δηλονότι. Sch. From this point the sentence proceeds as if it had opened with ἀπεῖργοντο instead of ἀπεῖργε; hence the pendent nominative κρίνοντες: cp. iv. 23. 2; v. 70. ἐν ὁμοίῳ: cp. ii. 49. 5. οὐδεὶς ἐλπίζων is equivalent to οὐκ ἐλπίζοντες. ἂν qualifies both βιούς and ἀντιδοῦναι: "and partly because no one expected he should live till the day of reckoning, and pay the penalty for his crimes." τὴν ἡδη κατεψηφισμένην, sc. τιμω-

κρίνοντας ἐν ὁμοίῳ καὶ σέβειν καὶ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ πάντας ὁρᾶν ἐν ἴσῳ ἀπολλυμένους, τῶν δὲ ἀμαρτημάτων οὐδεὶς ἐλπίζων, μέχρι τοῦ δίκην γενέσθαι βιούς ἂν τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀντιδοῦναι, πολὺ δὲ μείζω τὴν ἤδη κατεψηφισμένην σφῶν ἐπικρεμασθῆναι, ἣν πρὶν ἐμπεσεῖν εἰκὸς εἶναι τοῦ βίου τι ἀπολαῦσαι.

54. 1. Τοιοῦτῳ μὲν πάθει οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι περιπεσόντες ἐπιέζοντο, ἀνθρώπων τε ἔνδον θνησκόντων καὶ γῆς ἔξω δηουμένης. 2. ἐν δὲ τῷ κακῷ οἷα εἰκὸς ἀνεμνήσθησαν καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ἔπους, φάσκοντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι πάλαι ἄδεσθαι,

ἥξει Δωριακὸς πόλεμος καὶ λοιμὸς ἅμ' αὐτῷ.

3. ἐγένετο μὲν οὖν ἔρις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μὴ λοιμὸν ὠνομάσθαι ἐν τῷ ἔπει ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν, ἀλλὰ λιμὸν, ἐνίκησε δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος εἰκότως λοιμὸν εἰρησθαι· οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι πρὸς ἃ ἔπασχον τὴν μνήμην ἐποιοῦντο. 4. ἣν δέ γε οἶμαί ποτε ἄλλος πόλεμος καταλάβῃ Δωρικὸς τοῦδε ὕστερος καὶ ξυμβῇ γενέσθαι λιμὸν, κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς οὕτως ἄσονται. 5. μνήμη δὲ ἐγένετο καὶ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων χρηστηρίου τοῖς εἰδόσιν, ὅτε ἐπερωτῶσιν αὐτοῖς τὸν θεὸν εἰ χρὴ πολεμεῖν ἀνεῖλε κατὰ κράτος πολεμοῦσι νίκην ἔσεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφη ξυλλήψεσθαι. 6. περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ χρηστηρίου τὰ γιγνόμενα ἥκαζον ὁμοῖα εἶναι. 7. ἐσβεβληκότων δὲ τῶν Πελο-

ρίαν, “the sentence (of death by the plague) already recorded against them.” ἦν = καὶ ταύτην—cp. ii. 24. 2.

CH. LIV. 1. γῆς] Cp. note on ii. 21. 1.

2. οἷα εἰκὸς] “As was natural,” sc. ἀναμνησθῆναι αὐτούς. ἔπους: “a hexameter verse”—cp. ii. 41. 4. φάσκοντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι: this nominative embraces only a portion of the real subject: cp. note on i. 49. 5.

3.] ἔρις contains the notion of affirming, and so governs the infinitive ὠνομάσθαι. γὰρ introduces a reason for the εἰκότως—“for men shaped their memory by their sufferings.”

4. οὕτως] That is they will read λιμός.

5. Λακεδαιμονίων] “The oracle of, given to, the Lacedæmonians:” cp. Soph. *O. T.* 906, Λαῖου θέσφατα. For the construction of μνήμη, cp. ii. 21. 1. For the fact see i. 118. 4. Apollo is the god of pestilence also in the first book of the *Iliad*. As Pæan he was also ἀλεξίμορος and is invoked in the opening chorus of the *Oedipus Tyrannus*. He was the Sun-god (Lord of Light Sophocles calls him, *O. T.* 203), and his arrows, the sunbeams, the tela diei of Lucretius, deal life and death according as they foster or scorch.

6. ὁμοῖα] “Men found upon comparison that the facts agreed with it.”

7.] δέ answering to μὲν is a mere conjunction. καὶ εἰπεῖν: to such a

ποννησίων ἢ νόσος ἤρξατο εὐθύς. καὶ ἐς μὲν Πελοπόννησον οὐκ ἐσήλθεν, ὅ τι ἄξιον καὶ εἰπεῖν, ἐπενείματο δὲ Ἀθήνας μὲν μάλιστα, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χωρίων τὰ πολυανθρωπότατα. 8. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὴν νόσον γενόμενα.

55. 1. Οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐπειδὴ ἔτεμον τὸ πεδῖον, παρήλθον ἐς τὴν Πάραλον γῆν καλουμένην μέχρι Λαυρίου, οὗ τὰ ἀργύρεα μέταλλά ἐστιν Ἀθηναίοις. 2. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἔτεμον ταύτην ἣ πρὸς Πελοπόννησον ὄρα, ἔπειτα δὲ τὴν πρὸς Εὐβοιάν τε καὶ Ἄνδρον τετραμμένην. 3. Περικλῆς δὲ στρατηγὸς ὢν καὶ τότε περὶ μὲν τοῦ μὴ ἐπεξιέναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην εἶχεν ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐσβολῇ. 56. 1. ἔτι δ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ὄντων πρὶν ἐς τὴν παραλίαν γῆν ἐλθεῖν ἑκατὸν νεῶν ἐπίπλουν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ παρεσκευάζετο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐτοῖμα ἦν, ἀνήγετο. 2. ἦγε δ' ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ὀπλίτας Ἀθηναίων τετρακισχιλίους καὶ ἱππέας τριακοσίους ἐν ναυσὶν ἱππαγωγοῖς πρῶτον τότε ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν νεῶν ποιηθείσαις. ξυνεστρατεύοντο δὲ καὶ Χῆοι καὶ Λέσβιοι πεντήκοντα ναυσίν. 3. ὅτε δὲ ἀνήγετο ἡ στρατιὰ αὕτη Ἀθηναίων, Πελοποννησίους κατέλιπον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὄντας ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ. 4. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἔτεμον τῆς γῆς τὴν πολλήν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν προσβαλόντες ἐς ἐλπίδα μὲν ἦλθον τοῦ ἐλεῖν, οὐ μέντοι προεχώρησέ γε. 5. ἀναγαγόμενοι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἐπιδάυρου ἔτεμον τὴν τε Τροιζηνίδα γῆν καὶ τὴν Ἀλιάδα καὶ τὴν Ἑρμιονίδα· ἐστὶ δὲ πάντα ταῦτα ἐπιθαλάσσια τῆς Πελοποννήσου. 6. ἄραντες δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀφίκοντο ἐς Πρασιάς, τῆς Λακωνικῆς πόλισμα ἐπιθαλάσσιον, καὶ τῆς τε γῆς ἔτεμον καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ πόλισμα εἶλον καὶ ἐπόρθησαν. 7. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνεχώρησαν. 8. τοὺς δὲ Πελοποννη-

degree as deserves (not only a passing allusion but) also explicit mention: cp. iv. 48. 5, ὅ τι καὶ ἀξιόλογον, and note on i. 3. 2.

CH. LV. 1. τὸ πεδῖον] Cp. ii. 20. 1.

CH. LVI. 1. ἐτοῖμα] "When things were ready: cp. i. 1. 3; 7.

2. πρῶτον τότε] First made, that

is, by the Athenians, for they had been used by the Persians long before; see Hdt. vi. 48.

4. τῆς Πελοποννήσου] Cp. note on i. 10. 2, and, for the order of the words, i. 13. 2. τὴν πολλήν: cp. τῆς γῆς ἡ ἀρίστη, i. 2. 3.

6. τῆς . . γῆς] Cp. i. 30. 2.

σίους οὐκέτι κατέλαβον ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὄντας, ἀλλ' ἀνακεχωρηκότας.

57. 1. "Ὅσον δὲ χρόνον οἱ τε Πελοποννήσιοι ἦσαν ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Ἀθηναίων καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐστράτευον ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, ἡ νόσος ἔν τε τῇ στρατιᾷ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔφθειρε καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὥστε καὶ ἐλέχθη τοὺς Πελοποννησίους δείσαντας τὸ νόσημα. ὥς ἐπυνθάνοντο τῶν αὐτομόλων ὅτι ἐν τῇ πόλει εἴη καὶ θάπτοντας ἅμα ἡσθάνοντο, θᾶσσον ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐξελθεῖν. 2. τῇ δὲ ἐσβολῇ ταύτῃ πλείστον τε χρόνον ἐνέμειναν καὶ τὴν γῆν πᾶσαν ἔτεμον· ἡμέρας γὰρ τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἐγένοντο.

58. 1. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους Ἀγνων ὁ Νικίου καὶ Κλεόπομπος ὁ Κλεινίου ξυστράτηγοι ὄντες Περικλέους, λαβόντες τὴν στρατιὰν ἥπερ ἐκεῖνος ἐχρήσατο ἐστράτευσαν εὐθύς ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράκης καὶ Ποτίδαιαν ἔτι πολιορκουμένην, ἀφικόμενοι δὲ μηχανάς τε τῇ Ποτιδαίᾳ προσέφερον καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ ἐπειρῶντο ἐλεῖν. 2. προὔχῳρει δὲ αὐτοῖς οὔτε ἡ αἵρεσις τῆς πόλεως οὔτε τᾶλλα τῆς παρασκευῆς ἀξίως· ἐπιγενομένη γὰρ ἡ νόσος ἐνταῦθα δὴ πάννυ ἐπίεσε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, φθείρουσα τὴν στρατιάν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς προτέρους στρατιώτας νοσῆσαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ τῆς ξὺν Ἀγνωνι στρατιᾶς, ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ ὑγιαίνοντας. 3. Φορμίων δὲ καὶ οἱ ἑξακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι οὐκέτι ἦσαν περὶ Χαλκιδέας. 4. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀγνων ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἀπὸ τετρακισχιλίων ὀπλιτῶν χιλίους καὶ πεντήκοντα τῇ νόσῳ ἀπολέσας ἐν τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα ἡμέραις· οἱ δὲ πρότεροι στρατιῶται κατὰ χώραν μένοντες ἐπολιόρκουν τὴν Ποτίδαιαν.

59. 1. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν δευτέραν ἐσβολὴν τῶν Πελοποννησίων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὥς ἢ τε γῇ αὐτῶν ἐτέτμητο τὸ δεύτερον

CH. LVII. 1. ὥστε καὶ ἐλέχθη] "People went so far as to say," not quite correctly.

2. τῇ . . . ἐσβολῇ] Temporal dative: cp. ii. 20. 1.

CH. LVIII. 1. Ἀγνων] Cp. iv. 102. 3; v. 11. 1.

2. ἐνταῦθα δὴ] Worse than in any

other place. νοσῆσαι: "caught the disease:" cp. ἰσχυσάντων, i. 3. 2.

3. οἱ ἑξακόσιοι] His 1600 men who were mentioned at i. 64. 3. περί: cp. i. 5. 3.

4. κατὰ χώραν] Cp. i. 28. 6.

καὶ ἡ νόσος ἐπέκειτο ἅμα καὶ ὁ πόλεμος, ἡλλοίαντο τὰς γνώμας, καὶ τὸν μὲν Περικλέα ἐν αἰτία εἶχον ὥς πείσαντα σφᾶς πολεμεῖν καὶ δι' ἐκείνον ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς περιπεπτωκότες, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ὥρμητο ξυγχωρεῖν. 2. καὶ πρέσβεις τινὰς πέμψαντες ὥς αὐτοὺς ἄπρακτοι ἐγένοντο. 3. πανταχόθεν τε τῇ γνώμῃ ἄποροι καθεστῶτες ἐνέκειντο τῷ Περικλεῖ. 4. ὁ δὲ ὀρῶν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὰ παρόντα χαλεπαίνοντας καὶ πάντα ποιούντας ἅπερ αὐτὸς ἡλπίζε, ξύλλογον ποιήσας, ἔτι δ' ἐστρατήγει, ἐβούλετο θαρσύναί τε καὶ ἀπαγαγὼν τὸ ὀργιζόμενον τῆς γνώμης πρὸς τὸ ἡπιώτερον καὶ ἀδεέστερον καταστήσαι. 5. παρελθὼν δὲ ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

60. 1. “Καὶ προσδεχομένῳ μοι τὰ τῆς ὀργῆς ὑμῶν ἐς ἐμέ

CH. LIX. 1. ἡλλοίαντο] μετεβλήθησαν. We have seen the present perfects ἐντεθύμημαι, “I have come to understand,” i. 120. 6; πεφόβημαι, “I have come to fear,” i. 144. 1; τετίμημαι, “I have come to be honoured,” ii. 45. 2. ἡλλοίαντο is the corresponding past tense—“they had become altered.” So also ὥρμητο just below. ὥς = the Latin *tanquam* or *velut* after verbs of suspecting, and belongs to περιπεπτωκότες as well as πείσαντα. ξυγχωρεῖν πρὸς: cp. iii. 27. 2. “They had become eager to make terms with the Lacedaemonians.” The Scholiast however explains ξυγχωρεῖν by ἐνδιδόναι, and Krüger, following him, regards it as an epexegetic infinitive.

3. πανταχόθεν] “Bewildered by the difficulties which beset them on every side.”

4. ἔτι δ' ἐστρατήγει] The parenthetical δέ introduces the reason why he was able to call an assembly: cp. ii. 22. 1; iv. 118. 6. What is here called ξύλλογος is called ἐκκλησία just below; the first term, as denoting any assembly whether deliberative or not, embraces the second. τὸ ὀργιζόμενον τῆς γνώμης: cp. i. 36. 1; 90. 2; “he wished to

divert their angry feelings and compose them to a calmer and bolder tone.”

CH. LX. 1.] “You are wrong to fume and despond. Though the war has borne heavily on individuals the State is safe. She can bear your calamities, you cannot bear hers; is it not folly then to abandon all care for her preservation through grief at your private losses? Yet this is what you are doing: you are furious with me for advising war, with yourselves for consenting to it. But what is my fault? You took my advice because you believed me to be wise, eloquent, patriotic, and pure; and if you were right in so believing, my policy may have been mistaken, but cannot have been criminal. But it was not even mistaken, for the logic of facts compelled you to war. Be just and take blame to yourselves whom present pain blinds to prospective advantage, whose spirits are cowed and broken by the sharp and unforeseen disaster of the plague. Remember that you have the glory of Athens to support, and a great name is kept bright by great deeds and great suffering. And do not fancy that your suffering will be

γεγένηται, αἰσθάνομαι γὰρ τὰς αἰτίας, καὶ ἐκκλησίαν τούτου ἔνεκα ξυνήγαγον ὅπως ὑπομνήσω καὶ μέμψωμαι εἴ τι μὴ ὀρθῶς ἢ ἐμοὶ χαλεπαίνετε ἢ ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς εἴκετε. 2. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι πόλιν πλείω ξύμπασαν ὀρθουμένην ὠφελεῖν τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἢ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν πολιτῶν εὐπραγοῦσαν, ἀθρόαν δὲ σφαλλομένην. 3. καλῶς μὲν γὰρ φερόμενος ἀνὴρ

fruitless. One half the world is ours, for wherever the sea rolls our sovereignty is undisputed. Freedom too, the fountain and safeguard of power and wealth, will fight for us. Let us not then prove unworthy of our fathers, but front the enemy with the proud confidence of wisdom and strength. But if fame cannot stir you, there is more than fame at stake. A despot cannot descend from his throne; he must abye the hatred which his rule has evoked, and his only safety is in defiance. Be strong then. Do not be so unjust as to ascribe to me the calamities of a pestilence, against which no human foresight could provide. Be patient and courageous, as befits a race renowned for its indomitable spirit and wide empire. Fame is the only object of high aspirations. Hated you are and will be, since such is the lot of power. Let us then give our enemies good cause for hatred: long after their spite and rancour are forgotten our glory will endure. Send no more embassies to Sparta, and learn that a stout heart and a ready hand are our only preservers."

προσδεχομένῳ μοι] Cp. note on ii. 3. 2 and the passages there quoted, to which v. 111. 1 may be added. τὰ τῆς ὀργῆς: "the manifestations of your anger:" cp. i. 141. 2. μέμψωμαι: cp. note on i. 56. 2.

2. πλείω] Adverbial accusative to be taken with ὠφελεῖν: cp. i. 3. 6. In this passage we have set out in the clearest light that curious Greek conception of the πόλις or state as something distinct from and superior to each and all of the human

beings of whom it is composed. We have not yet got beyond what Comte would call the metaphysical stage of political science, when words and phrases assume an independent existence, and are invested with all the attributes, all the capacities of feeling or action, which belong properly to concrete sentient beings. So here the πόλις may be ruined while each individual citizen flourishes. We might say that the good of a part ought to be sacrificed on emergency to the good of the whole, the welfare of a class to the welfare of the nation, or the immediate advantage of the community to their prospective permanent improvement. Pericles (or Thuc.) says that the good of each singly should be sacrificed to the good of all collectively, as if 1 + 1 made 3. Aristotle finds fault with Plato for the same mistake, *Pol.* ii. 5. 27, ἀδύνατον δὲ εὐδαιμονεῖν ὅλην (τὴν πόλιν) μὴ τῶν πλείστων ἢ μὴ πάντων μερῶν ἢ τινων ἐχόντων τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν. οὐ γὰρ τῶν αὐτῶν τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν ὥνπερ τὸ ἄρτιον· τοῦτο μὲν ἐνδέχεται τῷ ὅλῳ ὑπάρχειν, τῶν δὲ μερῶν μηδετέρῳ, τὸ δὲ εὐδαιμονεῖν ἀδύνατον.

3. καλῶς . . φερόμενος] Properly of a ship running smoothly before a fair breeze. Horace (*Od.* i. 14) conceives of the state as a ship, and, as the ship is distinct from and in a sense more valuable than its crew and cargo, an abuse of this metaphor may be at the bottom of the error described in the last note. τὸ καθ' ἑαυτόν: "as regards his private affairs:" cp. ii. 11. 4. πολλῶ μᾶλλον: sc. ἢ εὐτυχᾶν ἐν κακοτυχούσῃ.

τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν διαφθειρομένης τῆς πατρίδος οὐδὲν ἦσσαν
 ξυναπόλλυται, κακοτυχῶν δὲ ἐν εὐτυχούσῃ πολλῶ μᾶλλον
 διασώζεται. 4. ὁπότε οὖν πόλις μὲν τὰς ἰδίας ξυμφορὰς οἶα
 τε φέρειν, εἰς δὲ ἕκαστος τὰς ἐκείνης ἀδύνατος, πῶς οὐ χρὴ
 πάντα ἀμύνειν αὐτῇ, καὶ μὴ, ὃ νῦν ὑμεῖς δρᾶτε, ταῖς κατ'
 οἶκον κακοπραγίαις ἐκπεπληγμένοι τοῦ κοινού τῆς σωτηρίας
 ἀφίεσθε, καὶ ἐμέ τε τὸν παραινέσαντα πολεμεῖν καὶ ὑμᾶς
 αὐτοὺς οἱ ξυνέγνωτε δι' αἰτίας ἔχετε. 5. καίτοι ἐμοὶ τοιούτῳ
 ἀνδρὶ ὀργίζεσθε ὃς οὐδενὸς οἶομαι ἦσσαν εἶναι γνῶναί τε τὰ
 δέοντα καὶ ἐρμηνεύσαι ταῦτα, φιλόπολις τε καὶ χρημάτων
 κρείσσων. 6. ὃ τε γὰρ γνούς καὶ μὴ σαφῶς διδάξας ἐν ἴσῳ
 καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐνεθυμήθη· ὃ τ' ἔχων ἀμφότερα, τῇ δὲ πόλει
 δύσνους, οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως τι οἰκείως φράζοι· προσόντος δὲ καὶ
 τοῦδε, χρήμασι δὲ νικωμένου, τὰ ξύμπαντα τούτου ἐνὸς ἂν
 πωλοῖτο. 7. ὥστ' εἴ μοι καὶ μέσως ἡγούμενοι μᾶλλον ἐτέρων
 προσεῖναι αὐτὰ πολεμεῖν ἐπέισθητε, οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως νῦν τοῦ
 γε ἀδικεῖν αἰτίαν φεροίμην. 61. 1. καὶ γὰρ οἷς μὲν αἵρεσις
 γεγένηται τᾶλλα εὐτυχούσι, πολλὴ ἄνοια πολεμῆσαι· εἰ δ'
 ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ἢ εἴξαντας εὐθὺς τοῖς πέλας ὑπακούσαι ἢ κιν-

4. ὁπότε] "Since." καὶ μὴ: sc. δρᾶν. ἀφίεσθε and ἔχετε instead of agreeing with this infinitive, are made to conform with the verb of the relative clause, and we have thus an anacoluthon: see Matthiä, *G. G.* 630. 1. Poppo however thinks the present passage is to be compared with vi. 11. 5, ἐφίεσθε, or 36. 2, ξύγκεινται, where a verb is added to explain a preceding verb by way of apposition, without any connecting particle such as γάρ.

5.] τοιούτῳ ἀνδρί is predicative—"I, with whom you are angry, am a man of this nature:" cp. note on i. 70. 1. ἦσσαν γνῶναι: cp. note on i. 9. 3. γνῶναι is equivalent to ἐνεθυμηθῆναι, ii. 40. 3; viii. 68. 1, and just below, and means to perceive or originate. φιλόπολις τε: sc. οἶομαι εἶναι.

6. ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ εἰ μὴ] "Is no more use than if he had never hit

upon the idea at all." ἀμφότερα: originality and eloquence. ὁμοίως οἰκείως: "with the same loyal warmth," as if he were φιλόπολις. οἰκείως is the spirit in which we expect the member of a family to work for the family interests. τοῦδε: patriotism. νικωμένου may be either neuter or masculine. τούτου ἐνός: sc. χρημάτων, genitive of price.

7.] μᾶλλον ἐτέρων = μᾶλλον ἢ ἐτέροις: cp. i. 80. 2. τοῦ γε ἀδικεῖν: "of crime at any rate." In the next section he urges that his advice was not even a blunder.

CH. LXI. 1. τᾶλλα] "Except as regards that one object which can be gained only by war." Bl. πολεμῆσαι: "to go to war: cp. note on i. 3. 2.

ἦν] "An abrupt transition from the general to the particular: cp. i. 71. 1." Kr. See also i. 40. 2. But it may be quite regular. "If a

δυνεύσαντας περιγενέσθαι, ὁ φυγὼν τὸν κίνδυνον οὐ ὑποστάντος μεμπτότερος. 2. καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν ὁ αὐτός εἰμι καὶ οὐκ ἐξίσταμαι· ὑμεῖς δὲ μεταβάλλετε, ἐπειδὴ ξυνέβη ὑμῖν πεισθῆναι μὲν ἀκεραίοις, μεταμέλειν δὲ κακουμένοις, καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν λόγον ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἀσθενεῖ τῆς γνώμης μὴ ὀρθὸν φαίνεσθαι, διότι τὸ μὲν λυποῦν ἔχει ἤδη τὴν αἴσθησιν ἐκάστω, τῆς δὲ ὠφελείας ἀπεστιν ἔτι ἢ δῆλωσις ἅπασι, καὶ μεταβολῆς μεγάλης, καὶ ταύτης ἐξ ὀλίγου, ἐμπεσούσης ταπεινῇ ὑμῶν ἢ διάνοια ἐγκαρτερεῖν ἂν ἔγνωτε. 3. δουλοῖ γὰρ φρόνημα τὸ αἰφνίδιον καὶ ἀπροσδόκητον καὶ τὸ πλείστῳ παραλόγῳ ξυμβαῖνον· ὃ ὑμῖν πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ κατὰ τὴν νόσον γεγένηται. 4. ὅμως δὲ πόλιν μεγάλην οἰκοῦντας καὶ ἐν ἡθεσιν ἀντιπάλοις αὐτῇ τεθραμμένους χρεὼν καὶ ξυμφοραῖς ταῖς μεγίσταις ἐθέλειν ὑφίστασθαι καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν μὴ ἀφανίζειν· ἐν ἴσῳ γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι δικαιοῦσι τῆς τε ὑπαρχούσης δόξης αἰτιᾶσθαι ὅστις μαλακία ἐλλείπει καὶ τῆς μὴ προσηκούσης μισεῖν τὸν θρασύτητι ὀρεγόμενον·

man has a choice, it is folly for him to go to war. But when we see him truckle to danger, we ask whether it was possible for him to avoid it without dishonour." *κινδυν. ὑσαντας περιγενέσθαι*: "to save their freedom by battle and danger." *μεμπτότερος*: though he who faces the hazard is not blamable at all: cp. note on *μᾶλλον*, i. 3. 2.

2. *οὐκ ἐξίσταμαι*] Sc. *ὦν παρήνεσα*, Sch: cp. i. 140. 1. *ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἀσθενεῖ*: we should have expected the possessive to agree with *γνώμης*, but cp. vi. 16. 2; vii. 17. 4; also Hom. *Il.* ii. 54, *Νεστορέη παρὰ νῆϊ Πυλοιογενέος βασιλῆος*: *Od.* xi. 634, *Γοργείην κεφαλὴν δεινοῖο πελώρου*: Lucr. v. 24, *Nemicaeus hiatus leonis*. *γνώμης*: will or determination: cp. note on i. 122. 4.

ἔχει] "Makes itself immediately felt by each one:" cp. i. 5. 1; 9. 2. *καὶ ταύτης*: "and that too." *ἐξ ὀλίγου*: cp. ii. 11. 5. *ταπεινῇ ἐγκαρτερεῖν*: "too dejected to persevere in." See note on i. 9. 4. The

positive here, and at i. 50. 6 *ὀλίγαι ἀμύνειν*, bears the sense of the comparative and is accordingly constructed with an infinitive, which may be preceded by (*ἢ*) *ὥς* or *ὥστε* (thus Eur. *Andr.* 80, *γέρων ἐκεῖνος ὥστε σ' ὠφελεῖν παρών*), or may stand alone.

4. *ἀντιπάλοις*] *ἀντὶ τοῦ ἴσοις καὶ παραπλησίοις τῷ μεγέθει τῆς πόλεως*: *δεῖ γὰρ πρὸς τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰ φρονήματα ἔχειν*. Sch. *ὑφίστασθαι* takes the dative for much the same reason as *προκινδυνεύσαι*, i. 73. 4. *τῆς ὑπαρχούσης δόξης*: "the glory of his race," the glory which he finds ready to his hand, having been bequeathed to him by his ancestors. Arnold translates, "his proper and natural character or reputation," but Pericles is thinking of the hereditary fame of Athens. *ἀπαλγῆσαντας*: *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ τὸ χρεών*. *τὸ δὲ ἀπαλγῆσαντας ἀντὶ τοῦ παυσανέμενους ἀλγεῖν*, ὥσπερ τὸ ἀπολοφυράμενοι (ii. 46. 2). Sch.

ἀπαλήσαντας δὲ τὰ ἴδια τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι. 62. 1. τὸν δὲ πόνον τὸν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον, μὴ γένηται τε πολὺς καὶ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον περιγενώμεθα, ἀρκείτω μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐν οἷς ἄλλοτε πολλάκις γε δὴ ἀπέδειξα οὐκ ὀρθῶς αὐτὸν ὑποπτευόμενον, δηλώσω δὲ καὶ τόδε, ὃ μοι δοκεῖτε οὐτ' αὐτοὶ πώποτε ἐνθυμηθῆναι ὑπάρχον ὑμῖν μεγέθους πέρι ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐτ' ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖς πρὶν λόγοις, οὐδ' ἂν νῦν ἐχρησάμην κομπωδεστέραν ἔχοντι τὴν προσποίησιν, εἰ μὴ καταπεπληγμένους ὑμᾶς παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἐώρων. 2. οἴεσθε μὲν γὰρ τῶν ξυμμάχων μόνον ἄρχειν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀποφαίνω δύο μερῶν τῶν ἐς χρῆσιν φανερῶν, γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, τοῦ ἐτέρου ὑμᾶς παντὸς κυριωτάτους ὄντας, ἐφ' ὅσον τε νῦν νέμεσθε καὶ ἦν ἐπὶ πλεον βουλευθῆτε· καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις τῇ ὑπαρχούσῃ παρασκευῇ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ πλεοντας ὑμᾶς οὔτε βασιλεὺς κωλύσει οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἔθνος τῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι. 3. ὥστε οὐ κατὰ τὴν τῶν οἰκιῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς χρεῖαν, ὧν μεγάλων νομίζετε ἐστερηῆσθαι, αὕτη ἡ δύναμις φαίνεται· οὐδ' εἰκὸς χαλεπῶς φέρειν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ κηπίον καὶ ἐγκαλλώ-

CH. LXII. 1.] τὸν πόνον is governed by ἀπέδειξα, and repeated for the sake of perspicuity by αὐτόν. Classen remarks that Thuc. likes to open his sentences with an accusative, and this tendency often brings him to the verge of an anacoluthon: cp. i. 32. 5; 33. 3; 73. 2; 86. 2; 142. 3. μὴ γένηται: join with ὑποπτευόμενον. οὐδὲν μᾶλλον: "none the more" on account of our sufferings. πολλάκις γε δὴ: "aye, right often." μεγέθους πέρι, "as touching greatness" (cp. ii. 45. 6; 51. 5), explains in what sense this advantage could be said ὑπάρχειν ὑμῖν ἐς τὴν ἀρχήν. "Which neither have you, as I think, ever perceived, though it guarantees you your empire in its full extent." οὐτ' ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖς πρὶν λόγοις: "not certainly ἐνεθυμήθην but ἐχρησάμην." Arn. προσποίησιν: cp. vi. 16. 5: "since we cannot lay claim to it without seeming too vain-glorious:" ἔχοντι as at 61. 2 above.

2. δύο μερῶν] "Of the two elements" or parts of the world, land and water: the genitive depends upon τοῦ ἐτέρου. Vergil (*Aen.* ix. 131) calls the sea "rerum pars altera." ἄλλο: "neither the Persian king nor any other nation." Arn. "No king or nation either," is perhaps a better translation: cp. note on ii. 14. 1.

3. οὐ κατὰ] "Not on a par with the enjoyment." "So that you must not put the use of houses and lands, wherein now you think yourselves deprived of a mighty matter, into the balance with such a power as this." Hobbes. For the meaning of κατὰ, see L. and S. The Greek γαμειῶ καὶ ἐν τῷ corresponds to the Latin "nube pari." Cp. also ii. 50. 1. αὐτῶν: for them—an objective genitive: cp. i. 77. 3.

μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ] Cp. iii. 36. 3: Hdt. iv. 118, ἥκει γὰρ ὁ Πέρσης οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον ἐπ' ἡμέας ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐπ' ὑμέας: v. 94, ἀποδεικνύντες τε λόγῳ οὐδὲν

πισμα πλούτου πρὸς ταύτην νομίσαντας ὀλιγωρήσαι, καὶ γινῶναι ἐλευθερίαν μὲν, ἣν ἀντιλαμβάνόμενοι αὐτῆς διασώσωμεν, ῥαδίως ταῦτα ἀναληψομένην, ἄλλων δ' ὑπακούσασι καὶ τὰ προσκεκτημένα φιλεῖν ἐλασσοῦσθαι, τῶν τε πατέρων μὴ χεῖρους κατ' ἀμφότερα φανῆναι, οἱ μετὰ πόνων καὶ οὐ παρ' ἄλλων δεξάμενοι κατέσχον τε καὶ προσέτι διασώσαντες παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν αὐτά, αἴσχιον δὲ ἔχοντας ἀφαιρεθῆναι ἢ κτωμένους ἀτυχῆσαι, ἰέναι δὲ τοῖς ἰχθροῖς ὁμόσε μὴ φρονήματι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταφρονήματι. 4. αὐχημα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀπὸ ἀμαθίας εὐτυχοῦς καὶ δειλῷ τινι ἐγγίγνεται, καταφρόνησις δὲ ὅς ἂν καὶ γνώμη πιστεύῃ τῶν ἐναντίων προέχειν, ὃ ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει. 5. καὶ τὴν τόλμαν ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμοίας

μᾶλλον Αἰολεῦσι μετεὸν τῆς Ἰλιάδος χώρης ἢ οὐ καὶ σφίσι: vii. 16, φανῆναι δὲ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον μοι ὀφείλει ἔχοντι τὴν σὴν ἐσθῆτα ἢ οὐ καὶ τὴν ἐμήν. "This idiom is generally found when the comparative clause is negative or interrogative, or contains some term of reprobation." Don. *G. G.* p. 393. Hermann also (*on Viger*, p. 799) says that it is used only after a negative or an interrogative or some other mode of expression which implies a negation, and it would therefore be an instance of the Greek habit of accumulating or repeating the negative: see *Madv. G. S.* 89, r. 2; *Jelf, G. G.* 749. 3. But may we not rather say that μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ arises from the blending of two equally legitimate phrases, μᾶλλον ἢ and μᾶλλον καὶ οὐ—cp. i. 120. 3? μᾶλλον is followed by several different constructions—ἀλλά, ἀλλ' οὐ, ἢ, ἢ οὐ, and οὕτως ὥς. We have noticed hybrid phrases formed by a similar kind of fusion on i. 3. 2; ii. 24. 1. See *Matthiä, G. G.* 454. 1 b c d.

κηπίον] "A pleasure garden." ἄλλοι δὲ τὸ κηπίον εἶδος κουρᾶς φασιν οὕτως ὀνομαζομένης. Sch. πρὸς ταύτην: "compared with this." γινῶναι with ἀναληψομένην and φιλεῖν means to understand or perceive; with φανῆναι to deter-

mine. προσκεκτημένα: πρὸς τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ κεκτημένα. κατ' ἀμφότερα refers to κατέσχον and διασώσαντες παρέδοσαν. κτωμένους: "in the attempt to acquire." ἰέναι: sc. γινῶναι. φρονήματι . . . καταφρονήματι: for the affected assonance, cp. i. 33. 4; 39. 3; 122. 8; vi. 76. 4. These jingling ornaments are characteristic of an archaic style and half-formed taste: see *Munro's Luccretius*, introduction to Notes, ii. p. 106, and note on i. 826. αὐχημα, as the Scholiast says, seems to be used as a synonym for φρόνημα: if there is a distinction the latter is high spirit, the former the loud and vapouring language which such a spirit is apt to exhale. καταφρόνημα is disdain or proud confidence in long prosperity and tried wisdom. καὶ . . . καί, not only from other causes and in other people, but "even from blunderer's luck even in a coward." ὅς ἂν: sc. ἐκείνῳ ἐγγίγνεται ὅς ἂν: see note on ii. 44. 2. καὶ γνώμη: οὐ μόνον εὐτυχία (out of εὐτυχοῦς) ἀλλὰ καὶ γνώμη.

5. ἀπό] "Where fortune is equal," literally "daring starting from the side of, and so accompanied by equal fortune;" for ἀπό, cp. i. 91. 7. and, for the absence of τήν, ii. 31. 2. ἐκ τοῦ ὑπέρφρονος: "sagacity starting from the centre of,

τύχης ἢ ξύνεσις ἐκ τοῦ ὑπέρφρονος ἐχυρωτέραν παρέχεται, ἐλπίδι τε ἥσσον πιστεύει, ἥς ἐν τῷ ἀπόρῳ ἢ ἰσχύς, γνώμη δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ἥς βεβαιότερα ἢ πρόνοια. 63. 1. τῆς τε πόλεως ὑμᾶς εἰκὸς τῷ τιμωμένῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχειν, ὥπερ ἅπαντες ἀγάλλεσθε, βοηθεῖν καὶ μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς πόνους ἢ μηδὲ τὰς τιμὰς διώκειν· μηδὲ νομίσαι περὶ ἐνὸς μόνου, δουλείας ἀντ' ἐλευθερίας, ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχῆς στερήσεως καὶ κινδύνου ὧν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀπήχθεσθε. 2. ἥς οὐδ' ἐκστῆναι ἔτι ὑμῖν ἔστιν, εἴ τις καὶ τότε ἐν τῷ παρόντι δεδιὼς ἀπραγμοσύνη ἀνδραγαθίζεται· ὡς τυραννίδα γὰρ ἤδη ἔχετε αὐτήν, ἣν λαβεῖν μὲν ἄδικον δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἀφεῖναι δὲ ἐπικίνδυνον. 3. τάχιστ' ἂν τε πόλιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἐτέρους τε πείσαντες ἀπολέσειαν καὶ εἴ που ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν αὐτόνομοι οἰκήσειαν· τὸ γὰρ ἀπραγμον οὐ σώζεται μὴ μετὰ τοῦ δραστηρίου τεταγμένον, οὐδὲ ἐν ἀρχούσῃ πόλει ξυμφέρει, ἀλλ' ἐν ὑπηκόῳ, ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν. 64. 1. ὑμεῖς δὲ

born of, disdain;" for ἐκ, cp. i. 39. 1; 143. 4. ἐν τῷ ἀπόρῳ: "which is strongest when men do not know what to do." "The same sentiment is repeated v. 103, 113, namely, that hope acts peculiarly on those who have nothing better to trust to, who are ἐν ἀπόρῳ." Arn. ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων: "based (not on contingent prospects but) on resources actually existing." Arn.

CH. LXIII. 1. τῷ τιμ. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχειν] "The honour derived from its empire:" cp. i. 36. 1. The article is again absent before ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχειν. βοηθεῖν: cp. i. 123. 1. ὧν = τούτων ᾧ, "danger arising from the hatred which you incurred:" for ᾧ ἀπήχθεσθε cp. note on i. 3. 6.

2.] τότε here of that which precedes: cp. i. 143. 7. ἀνδραγαθίζεται: "is for so playing the honest man." Arn. Thuc., as we have seen, ii. 40. 3, regarded ἀπραγμοσύνη as a very dubious excellence, so that there is irony here in its connexion with ἀνδραγαθίζεται, especially as ἀπραγμοσύνη in its turn is motivated

by δεδιὼς. We might paraphrase, "if any man in his terror has suddenly remembered the beauty of humility and complaisance, and is for airing his virtue by concession." ὡς τυραννίδα: the speaker seems to accept and glory in a title which the enemies of Athens thought to be the most hateful they could apply to her: see i. 122. 6; iii. 37. 2.

3. οἱ τοιοῦτοι] οἱ ἀπράγμονες. Sch. ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν: by themselves: see Madv. G. S. 73. 3. τὸ ἀπραγμον: "the quiet and peace-loving temper can only escape ruin when allied with promptitude and resolution." Si vis pacem para bellum. ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν: "it is good in a subject city in order that its slavery may be safe." For a martial independent spirit would provoke jealousy and suspicion and drive the despot to measures of repression. The infinitive is epexegetic: cp. i. 44. 1. Krüger takes ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν as the subject to ξυμφέρει, but it was scarcely necessary to say that safe slavery is not expedient to a sovereign state.

μήτε ὑπὸ τῶν τοιῶνδε πολιτῶν παράγεσθε μήτε ἐμὲ δι' ὀργῆς ἔχετε, ᾧ καὶ αὐτοὶ ξυνδιέγνωτε πολεμεῖν, εἰ καὶ ἐπελθόντες οἱ ἐναντίοι ἔδρασαν ἅπερ εἰκὸς ἦν μὴ ἐθελησάντων ὑμῶν ὑπακούειν, ἐπιγεγέννηταί τε πέρα ὧν προσεδεχόμεθα ἡ νόσος ἥδε, πρᾶγμα μόνον δὴ τῶν πάντων ἐλπίδος κρεῖσσον γεγεννημένον. 2. καὶ δι' αὐτὴν οἶδ' ὅτι μέρος τι μᾶλλον ἔτι μισοῦμαι οὐ δικαίως, εἰ μὴ καὶ ὅταν παρὰ λόγον τι εὖ πράξητε ἐμοὶ ἀναθήσετε. 3. φέρειν τε χρὴ τά τε δαιμόνια ἀναγκαίως τά τε ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνδρείως· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν ἔθει τῇδε τῇ πόλει πρότερόν τε ἦν νῦν τε μὴ ἐν ὑμῖν κωλυθῇ. 4. γινώτε δὲ ὄνομα μέγιστον αὐτὴν ἔχουσιν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις διὰ τὸ ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς μὴ εἶκειν, πλεῖστα δὲ σώματα καὶ πόνους ἀναλωκέναί πολέμῳ, καὶ δύναμιν μεγίστην δὴ μέχρι τοῦδε κεκτημένην, ἧς ἐς αἰῶδιον τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις, ἦν καὶ νῦν ὑπενδωμέν ποτε, πάντα γὰρ πέφυκε καὶ ἐλασσοῦσθαι, μνήμη καταλελείψεται, Ἑλλήνων τε ὅτι Ἕλληνες πλείστων δὴ ἥρξαμεν, καὶ πολέμοις μεγίστοις ἀντέσχομεν πρὸς τε ξύμπαντας καὶ καθ' ἐκάστους, πόλιν τε τοῖς πᾶσιν εὐπορωτάτην καὶ μεγίστην ὠκῆσαμεν. 5. καίτοι ταῦτα ὁ μὲν ἀπράγμων μέμφαιτ' ἄν, ὁ δὲ δρᾶν τι βουλόμενος

CH. LXIV. 1. ἅπερ εἰκὸς ἦν] Sc. δρᾶν αὐτοῦς. ἐλπίδος κρεῖσσον: "worse than we expected."

2. μέρος τι] Cp. i. 1. 2. μᾶλλον does not improve the sense.

3. ἀναγκαίως] "With resignation." ἐν ἔθει ἦν: the Latin moris erant. ἐν ὑμῖν: in your case, by your fault: cp. Soph. *Aj.* 1136, ἐν τοῖς δικασταῖς, κούκ ἐμοί, τόδ' ἐσφάλη.

4. ἀναλωκέναί] ἀπὸ κοινοῦ τὸ γινώτε. Sch.: cp. ii. 62. 3. But it must be connected with διὰ τό. μέχρι τοῦδε must be taken with μεγίστην δὴ, "by far the greatest that has ever been seen." ἐς αἰῶδιον: "for ever"—cp. iv. 63. 1. νῦν ποτέ: nunc tandem aliquando. Poppo. πέφυκε: "it is the nature of all things to (reach their climax and) wane:" cp. note on i. 3. 2.

ὅτι . . ἥρξαμεν, according to Poppo, depends on γινώτε, but it seems better to regard it as explanatory of μνήμη. καθ' ἐκάστους: cp. notes on i. 3. 2; 36. 3, and see iv. 64. 3; vii. 64. 2. This phrase appears to play the part at one time of a nominative, at another of an accusative, at a third of a dative, being regarded in fact as an indeclinable noun. In the present passage, according to Buttmann, it is governed by πρὸς. Yet κατά may here, as Krüger says, signify "over against:" cp. i. 48. 3.

5. καίτοι] We shall leave behind us an imperishable renown, "and yet" your ἀπράγμων would find fault with the very means by which that renown was acquired. καὶ αὐτός: will think them desirable as we have done.

καὶ αὐτὸς ζηλώσει· εἰ δέ τις μὴ κέκτηται· φθονήσει. 6. τὸ δὲ μισεῖσθαι καὶ λυπηροὺς εἶναι ἐν τῷ παρόντι πᾶσι μὲν ὑπῆρξε δὴ ὅσοι ἕτεροι ἐτέρων ἠξίωσαν ἄρχειν· ὅστις δ' ἐπὶ μεγίστοις τὸ ἐπίφθονον λαμβάνει, ὀρθῶς βουλευέται. 7. μῖσος μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντέχει, ἢ δὲ παραντίκα τε λαμπρότης καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα δόξα ἀείμνηστος καταλείπεται. 8. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐς τε τὸ μέλλον καλὸν προγνόντες ἐς τε τὸ αὐτίκα μὴ αἰσχρὸν τῷ ἤδη προθύμῳ ἀμφότερα κτήσασθε, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις μήτε ἐπικηρυκεύεσθε μήτε ἔνδηλοι ἔστε τοῖς παροῦσι πόνοις βαρυνόμενοι, ὥς οἵτινες πρὸς τὰς ξυμφορὰς γνώμη μὲν ἥκιστα λυποῦνται, ἔργῳ δὲ μάλιστα ἀντέχουσιν, οὗτοι καὶ πόλεων καὶ ιδιωτῶν κράτιστοί εἰσιν.”

65. 1. Τοιαῦτα ὁ Περικλῆς λέγων ἐπειράτο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τῆς τε ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὀργῆς παραλύειν καὶ ἀπο τῶν παρόντων δεινῶν ἀπάγειν τὴν γνώμην. 2. οἱ δὲ δημοσίᾳ μὲν τοῖς λόγοις ἀνεπείθοντο καὶ οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔτι ἔπεμπον ἐς τε τὸν πόλεμον μᾶλλον ὥρμητο, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τοῖς παθήμασιν ἐλυποῦντο, ὁ μὲν δῆμος ὅτι ἀπ' ἐλασσόνων ὀρμώμενος ἐστέρητο καὶ τούτων, οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ καλὰ κτήματα κατὰ τὴν χώραν οἰκοδομίαις τε καὶ πολυτελέσι κατασκευαῖς

6. ἕτεροι ἐτέρων] “To rule over others:” ἕτεροι serves merely to point the contrast between the subject and object, and must be dropped in translation. ὅστις δέ: “‘but he who, since he must incur hatred, incurs it for the highest objects, counsels wisely.’ Compare Caesar’s favourite sentiment from Euripides, εἶπερ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν χρή, τυραννίδος πέρι κάλλιστον ἀδικεῖν, τᾶλλα δ' εὐσεβεῖν χρεών. *Phoen.* 524.” Arn.

7. οὐκ . . ἀντέχει] διαλύεται γὰρ ἡ θανάτῳ ἢ ἄλλῳ τινί. Sch. In what follows the non-repetition of the article may imply that ἡ παραντίκα λαμπρότης is the same thing as ἡ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα δόξα. “The prestige of to-day becomes the glory of future years and survives unforgotten for ever:” but cp. note on i. 7.

8. προγνόντες] “Decide then with a view to:” cp. πρόνοια ἐς τὸν

πόλεμον, 65. 6 below. ἀμφότερα: τὸ μέλλον καλόν, τὸ αὐτίκα μὴ αἰσχρόν. ὥς: “for.” πρὸς τὰς ξυμφορὰς belongs to ἀντέχουσιν—cp. vi. 22; the intervening words are a mere afterthought suggested by our author’s desire to bring in his favourite antithesis.

CH. LXV. 1. ἐπ' αὐτόν] κατ' αὐτοῦ, Sch. Krüger says that ἐπὶ is never used in this sense by Attic writers, and, with several MSS. of inferior authority, reads ἐς: cp. i. 130. 2; iii. 44. 7. But Poppo retains ἐπ', as do Bekker, Arnold, Classen, and others. αὐτόν might have been αὐτόν, but cp. i. 68. 2.

2. ἀπ' ἐλασσόνων] “Starting with less” than the δυνατοί: cp. i. 64. 3; 144. 5. οἰκοδομίαις: the dative is governed by καλά. κατασκευαῖς: cp. i. 10. 2. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον: cp. i. 142. 1.

ἀπολωλεκότες, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, πόλεμον αὐτ' εἰρήνης ἔχοντες. 3. οὐ μέντοι πρότερόν γε οἱ ξύμπαντες ἐπαύσαντο ἐν ὀργῇ ἔχοντες αὐτὸν πρὶν ἐξημίωσαν χρήμασιν. 4. ὕστερον δ αὖθις οὐ πολλῶ, ὅπερ φιλεῖ ὁμίλος ποιεῖν, στρατηγὸν εἶλοντο καὶ πάντα τὰ πράγματα ἐπέτρεψαν, ὧν μὲν περὶ τὰ οἰκεία ἕκαστος ἤλγει, ἀμβλύτεροι ἤδη ὄντες, ὧν δὲ ἡ ξύμπασα πόλις προσεδείτο, πλείστου ἄξιον νομίζοντες εἶναι. 5. ὅσον τε γὰρ χρόνον προὔστη τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ, μετρίως ἐξηγεῖτο καὶ ἀσφαλῶς διεφύλαξεν αὐτήν, καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπ' ἐκείνου μεγίστη· ἐπεὶ τε ὁ πόλεμος κατέστη, ὁ δὲ φαίνεται

3. οὐ μέντοι . . . γε] Cp. i. 3. 2. χρήμασιν: see Madv. *G. S.* 39. "The accusation is said to have been preferred on the ground of pecuniary malversation, and ended by his being sentenced to pay a considerable fine, the amount of which is differently reported—fifteen, fifty, or eighty talents—by different authors. Plutarch and Diodorus both state that Pericles was not only fined but also removed from his office of Strategus, but the silence of Thuc. leads me to doubt this." Grote, vi. 228.

4. ὅπερ] The antecedent is not so much στρατηγὸν εἶλοντο as the levity and fickleness manifested by their conduct. For both construction and sentiment, cp. iv. 28. 3; vi. 63. 2; viii. 1. 4. ἐπέτρεψαν: not that they clothed him with any extraordinary unconstitutional powers. Thuc. simply means that a strong reaction took place in favour of Pericles, and that he recovered his old paramount influence on public affairs, which, however, would still depend on his popularity with the ecclesia. ὧν μὲν: τούτων ἃ ἤλγει ἕκαστος ἀμβλύτεροι ὄντες, "less sensitive in respect of their grief," is Poppo's explanation, and may be right though his reason is wrong. For at ii. 87. 3, to which he appeals, τῆς γνώμης, according to his own note, is corrupt, and if it be genuine (as it most probably is) depends

not on ἀμβλύνεσθαι, but on τὸ μὴ κατὰ κράτος νικηθέν. Classen compares the genitive found after χαλεπῶς φέρειν, ii. 62. 3, and constructs πρὸς ταῦτα ὧν ἤλγει ἀμβ. Poppo thinks this possible, and so does Krüger, though he would prefer to read πέρι for περί. ὧν δέ: πρὸς ταῦτα ὧν. "For the sense of their domestic losses was now dulled; and for the need of the commonwealth they prized him more than any other whatsoever." Hobbes.

5. ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ] "During the peace" which succeeded the Thirty Years' Truce. Arn. Krüger places the comma after πόλεως, and connects ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ with μετρίως ἐξηγεῖτο, but surely he is wrong, for the words ἐπεὶ τε ὁ πόλεμος κατέστη point the contrast between the success of Pericles as a peace, and as a war minister. Perhaps Bloomfield and Arnold are not right in laying stress on the article: the magnitude of the Peloponnesian War made the previous administration of Pericles look like a time of unbroken peace. μετρίως: τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἐναντίον τοῦ βιαίως καὶ πλεονεκτικῶς. Aristid. ii. 126 quoted by Poppo, cp. iv. 19. 2. Is it not rather "cautiously," avoiding all extravagant and perilous enterprises? See the anecdote from Plutarch, Grote, vi. 232. ὁ δέ: cp. on i. 11. 2; ii. 46. 1. τὴν δύναμιν: sc. τῆς πόλεως.

καὶ ἐν τούτῳ προγνούς τὴν δύναμιν. 6. ἐπεβίω δὲ δύο ἔτη καὶ μῆνας ἕξ· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀπέθανεν, ἐπὶ πλέον ἔτι ἐγνώσθη ἡ πρόνοια αὐτοῦ ἢ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον. 7. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἡσυχάζοντάς τε καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν θεραπεύοντας καὶ ἀρχὴν μὴ ἐπικτώμενους ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ μηδὲ τῇ πόλει κινδυνεύοντας ἔφη περιέσεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ταῦτά τε πάντα ἐς τοῦναντίον ἔπραξαν καὶ ἄλλα ἔξω τοῦ πολέμου δοκοῦντα εἶναι, κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας φιλοτιμίας καὶ ἴδια κέρδη. κακῶς ἔς τε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐπολίτευσαν, ἃ κατορθούμενα μὲν τοῖς ἰδιώταις τιμὴ καὶ ὠφέλεια μᾶλλον ἦν, σφαλέντα δὲ τῇ πόλει ἐς τὸν πόλεμον βλάβη καθίστατο. 8. αἴτιον δ' ἦν ὅτι ἐκεῖνος μὲν δυνατὸς ὢν τῷ τε ἀξιώματι καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ, χρημάτων τε διαφανῶς ἀδωρότατος γενόμενος, κατεῖχε τὸ πλήθος ἐλευθέρως, καὶ οὐκ ἤγετο μᾶλλον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἢ αὐτὸς ἦγε, διὰ τὸ μὴ κτώμενος ἐξ οὐ προσηκόντων τὴν δύναμιν πρὸς ἡδονήν τι λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἔχων ἐπ' ἀξιώσει καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν τι ἀντειπεῖν. 9. ὁπότε γοῦν αἴσθοιτό τι αὐτοὺς παρὰ καιρὸν ὕβρει θαρσοῦντας,

6. ἐπεβίω] μετὰ τὸ καταστῆναι τὸν πόλεμον. Sch. So at v. 26. 5. ἡ πρόνοια: "the prescience of his war policy."

7. ἐπικτώμενους] Cp. i. 144. 1. τῇ πόλει: instrumental dative—cp. vi. 9. 3; 10. 5. ἔξω τοῦ πολέμου: "which seem to have had nothing to do with the war," which did not in the least help towards the attainment of the objects for which they had gone to war. κατὰ: "by reason of," "to gratify." μᾶλλον: more than to the state. βλάβη: "crippled the city for the war." αἰνίττεται τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην, Sch.; but no doubt Arnold is right, and "Thuc. alludes to the sending to Crete of the ships which ought to have reinforced Phormio (ii. 85. 6), to the petty expeditions to Sicily, the iniquitous attack upon Melos, the expedition against Boeotia which led to the defeat at Delium, and various proceedings perhaps of the νῆες ἀργυρολόγοι such as those recorded iii. 19, by which the allies

were harassed and impoverished, and a general impression created of the evils of the Athenian dominion."

8. χρημάτων] The usual genitive after an adjective compounded with ἄ privative, see Madv. G. S. 63, r. 1. ἐλευθέρως: "independently, not humouring the wishes of the people." Kr. μή affects both the participle and the infinitive; cp. i. 12. 1, ὥστε μὴ ἡσυχάσασα ἀνξηθῆναι. Kr. "Because he framed not his words to please them, like one who is gaining power by unworthy means." Arn. ἐπ' ἀξιώσει: "on the strength of his high character:" cp. vi. 60. 1. πρὸς ὀργὴν: so as to cause anger. "He durst anger them with contradiction." Hobbes. Elsewhere the phrase means "angrily," as πρὸς ἡδονήν "gladly," πρὸς βίαν "violently;" but in the present passage the sense is fixed beyond doubt by the context and antithesis. At iii. 43. 5; viii. 27. 6, we have a different meaning again.

λέγων κατέπλησσειν ἐπὶ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι, καὶ δεδιότας αὐτὸν ἀλόγως ἀντικαθίστην πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ θαρσεῖν. 10. ἐγίγνετό τε λόγῳ μὲν δημοκρατία, ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρὸς ἀρχή. 11. οἱ δὲ ὑστέρον ἴσοι αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὄντες καὶ ὀρεγόμενοι τοῦ πρώτου ἕκαστος γίγνεσθαι ἐτράποντο καθ' ἡδονὰς τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐνδιδόναι. 12. ἐξ ὧν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ὥς ἐν μεγάλῃ πόλει καὶ ἀρχὴν ἐχούσῃ ἡμαρτήθη καὶ ὁ ἐς Σικελίαν πλοῦς, ὃς οὐ τοσοῦτον γνώμης ἀμάρτημα ἦν πρὸς οὓς ἐπήεσαν, ὅσον οἱ ἐκπέμψαντες οὐ τὰ πρόσφορα τοῖς οἰχομένοις ἐπιγιγνώσκοντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας διαβολὰς περὶ τῆς τοῦ δήμου προστασίας, τὰ τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀμβλύτερα ἐποιοῦν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν πρῶτον ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἐταράχθησαν. 13. σφαλέντες δ' ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἄλλη τε παρασκευὴ καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τῷ πλείονι

10. ἐγίγνετο] The aorist might have been used—cp. ii. 13. 2, τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα τριακοσίων ἀποδέοντα μύρια ἐγένετο: but see note on i. 13. 8, and cp. ἐφαίνετο, i. 95. 3. See also note on ii. 37. 2. ὑπὸ with a verbal noun: cp. i. 130. 1, ὧν ἐν μεγάλῳ ἀξιώματι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. i. 141, 9, τῷ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ ἀπάντων ἰδία δοξάσματι.

11.] αὐτοῖς stands here as in the phrase αὐτοὶ ἑαυτούς. Kr. We should then have a fusion of two phrases, for the idea of reciprocal action can be expressed either by αὐτοὶ ἑαυτούς or by ἄλλοι ἄλλους = ἀλλήλους (see Don. *N. C.* § 174). Classen translates “in themselves,” in their real worth. ἐτράποντο governs the infinitive, as at i. 50. 1: “they began to shape even the conduct of affairs to the movements of popular caprice.” καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐνδιδόναι: not only πρὸς ἡδονὴν τι λέγειν. Thuc. is thinking of Cleon, Eucrates, Lysicles, Hyperbolus.

12. ὥς] “As was to be expected,” nearly equivalent to ὥς εἰκός: cp. iv. 34. 1. γνώμης ἀμάρτημα: “a miscalculation of the strength of those against whom.” πρὸς οὓς: sc. τοῦ-

των πρὸς οὓς—cp. i. 86. 5. ὅσον: cp. i. 127. 2. The construction is irregular as there is nothing to balance ἀμάρτημα: instead of a predicate to ὅς we have an independent verbal clause. Not altogether dissimilar is i. 40. 4. οἱ ἐκπέμψαντες: Ἀθηναίων οἱ προὔχοντες. Sch.

ἐπιγιγνώσκοντες] “Voting afterwards.” ἀλλά: sc. ἐπιγιγνώσκοντες, Poppo: πολιτευόμενοι or βουλευόμενοι. Arn. But κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας διαβολὰς balances ἐπιγιγνώσκοντες, and is in sense equivalent to a participle, just as in the eighth section above διὰ τὸ μὴ . . . λέγειν balances ἔχων. They “followed out their selfish intrigues,” especially in the violent party contests which broke out after the mutilation of the Hermæ and in the recall of Alcibiades. Grote. προστασίας: cp. vi. 28. 2. τὰ is accusative of limitation after ἐταράχθησαν. πρῶτον distinguishes the first disturbances at the time of the charges against Alcibiades (vi. 28; 53; 60) from those which broke out after the failure of the Sicilian expedition (see viii. 48 sqq., 63 sqq.).

μορίῳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἤδη ἐν στάσει ὄντες ὅμως τρία μὲν ἔτη ἀντείχον τοῖς τε πρότερον ὑπάρχουσι πολεμίοις καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ Σικελίας μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἔτι τοῖς πλείοσιν ἀφεςθηκόσι, Κύρῳ τε ὕστερον βασιλέως παιδὶ προσγενομένῳ, ὃς παρείχε χρήματα Πελοποννησίοις ἐς τὸ ναυτικόν· καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐνέδοσαν ἢ αὐτοὶ ἐν σφίσι κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας διαφορὰς περιπεσόντες ἐσφάλησαν. 14. τοσοῦτον τῷ Περικλεῖ ἐπερίσσευσεν τότε ἀφ' ὧν αὐτὸς προέγνω καὶ πάνυ ἂν ῥαδίως περιγενέσθαι τῶν Πελοποννησίων αὐτῶν τῷ πολέμῳ.

66. 1. Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους ἐστράτευσαν ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν ἐς Ζάκυνθον τὴν νῆσον, ἣ κεῖται ἀντιπέρας Ἡλίδος· εἰσὶ δὲ Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ἄποικοι καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ξυνεμάχουν. 2. ἐπέπλεον.

13. τρία . . . ἔτη] What three years? According to Krüger, from the time when the oligarchic revolution broke out at Athens in the early part of B.C. 411, to the arrival of Cyrus at Sardes in the spring of B.C. 408. According to Arnold, from the spring of the year B.C. 407, when Cyrus first entered upon the government of Lower Asia, to the spring of 404 B.C., when Athens surrendered to Lysander. Arnold's explanation can hardly be right, for even if we grant that Κύρῳ τε ὕστερον is to be included in the three years, the order will hardly allow us to make it the starting-point. Poppo seems to favour Haack's conjecture of δέκα for τρία, which is boldly adopted by Classen.

βασιλέως] Of Darius Nothus, son of Artaxerxes. προσγενομένῳ: in addition to their former enemies. ἐν σφίσιν ἐσφάλησαν: cp. note on ii. 64. 3. Krüger notices that Thuc. has here, according to Ionic usage, employed σφίσι for σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, the secondary for the primary reflexive: cp. ii. 76. 2; iv. 8. 2; 103. 3, elsewhere, and note on i. 19. 1. περιπεσόντες: sc. αὐταῖς—cp. i. 43.

1. Similar participles coupled with a verb which governs a different case are, amongst others, εὐρών, ii. 102. 7; λαβόντας, iii. 59. 1; πλασάμενος, vi. 58. 1. Sometimes the noun is put in the case required by the participle: cp. ἐφ' ἧ νῦν ἀφιγμένοι ὑμᾶς αἰτούμεθα, iv. 18. 1. "Graeci scilicet, cum verba duo diversos casus regentia ad idem nomen aequè referantur, ne nomen proprium aut pronomen minus suaviter repetatur, in utrovis regimine semel ponunt altero omisso." Porson.

14. ἐπερίσσευσεν] Arnold, making ἀφ' ὧν . . . πολέμῳ the subject, translates, "such a superabundance of means did Pericles then possess, from which he of himself foresaw that with the utmost ease he could triumph over the mere unaided force of the Peloponnesians." Krüger, ingeniously enough, translates, "so many resources did he possess over and above those by means of which he foresaw:" on this view the antecedent to ἀφ' ὧν is τούτων governed by ἐπερίσσευσεν.

CH. LXVI. 1. εἰσὶ] Sc. οἱ Ζακύνθιοι: cp. note on ἑκαστοι, i. 7.

δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων χίλιοι ὀπλίται καὶ Κνήμος Σπαρτιάτης ναύαρχος. 3. ἀποβάντες δὲ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐδήλωσαν τὰ πολλά. 4. καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐ ξυνεχώρουν, ἀπέπλευσαν ἐπ' οἴκου.

67. 1. Καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους τελευτῶντος Ἀριστεὺς Κορίνθιος καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις Ἀνήριστος καὶ Νικόλαος καὶ Στρατόδημος καὶ Τεγεάτης Τιμαγόρας καὶ Ἀργεῖος ἰδίᾳ Πόλλις πορευόμενοι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ὡς βασιλέα, εἴ πως πείσειαν αὐτὸν χρήματά τε παρέχειν καὶ ξυμπολεμεῖν, ἀφικνοῦνται ὡς Σιτάλκην πρῶτον τὸν Τήρεω ἐς Θράκην, βουλόμενοι πείσαι τε αὐτὸν εἰ δύναιντο μεταστάντα τῆς Ἀθηναίων ξυμμαχίας στρατεῦσαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ποτίδαιαν, οὗ ἦν στράτευμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολιορκοῦν, καὶ ἥπερ ὥρμητο δι' ἐκείνου πορευθῆναι πέραν τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ὡς Φαρνάκην τὸν Φαρναβάζου, ὃς αὐτοὺς ἔμελλεν ὡς βασιλέα ἀναπέμψειν. 2. παρατυχόντες δὲ Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις Λέαρχος Καλλιμάχου καὶ Ἀμεινιάδης Φιλήμονος παρὰ τῷ Σιτάλκῃ πείθουσι τὸν Σάδοκον τὸν γεγεννημένον Ἀθηναῖον Σιτάλκου υἱὸν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐγχειρίσαι σφίσιν, ὅπως μὴ διαβάντες ὡς βασιλέα τὴν ἐκείνου πόλιν τὸ μέρος βλάβωσιν. 3. ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς πορευομένους αὐτοὺς διὰ τῆς Θράκης ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῖον ᾧ ἔμελλον τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον περαιώσειν πρὶν ἐσβαίνειν ξυλλαμβάνει, ἄλλους ξυμπέμψας μετὰ τοῦ Λεάρχου καὶ Ἀμεινιάδου, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ἐκείνοις παραδοῦναι οἱ δὲ λαβόντες

2. ναύαρχος] See Smith, *Dict. Ant.* Aristotle (*Pol.* ii. 9. 33) mentions the excessive power of this officer as a serious defect in the Spartan constitution, ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖς βασιλευσιν οὐσι στρατηγοῖς αἰδίοις ἢ ναυαρχία σχέδον ἑτέρα βασιλεία καθέστηκεν.

CH. LXVII. 1. Ἀνήριστος καὶ Νικόλαος] See Hdt. vii. 137. ἰδίᾳ· ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ· οἱ γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι φίλοι ἦσαν Ἀθηναίοις. Sch.: cp. i. 128. 4. εἰ: cp. ii. 12. 1. πολιορκοῦν: sc. αὐτήν—cp. on 65. 13. ἥπερ ὥρμητο: as they had proposed. καὶ couples πορευθῆναι to πείσαι.

2. Ἀθηναῖον] See ii. 29. 7. τὸ

μέρος: “as far as in them lay:” cp. i. 74. 4; 127. 2. But Poppo and the Schol. connect the words not with βλάβωσιν, but with τὴν ἐκείνου πόλιν, “that city which was in part his own.”

3. περαιώσειν] περαιώσεσθαι (cp. i. 10. 6) would be more regular. This intransitive use of the active περαιοῦν is noticed by the grammarian Thomas Magister (A.D. 1310) as peculiar to Thuc. but Poppo proposes to read ὃ ἔμελλε, “the ship which was to carry them over.” ἐκείνοις: τοῖς πρέσβεσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων. Sch.

ἐκόμισαν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. 4. ἀφικομένων δὲ αὐτῶν δείσαντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Ἀριστεά μὴ αὐθις σφᾶς ἔτι πλείω κακουργῇ διαφυγῶν, ὅτι καὶ πρὸ τούτων τὰ τῆς Ποτιδαίας καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης πάντ' ἐφαίνετο πράξας, ἀκρίτους καὶ βουλομένους ἔστιν ἂν εἰπεῖν αὐθημερὸν ἀπέκτειναν πάντας καὶ ἐς φάραγγας ἐσέβαλον, δικαιοῦντες τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀμύνεσθαι οἷσπερ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπῆρξαν, τοὺς ἐμπόρους οὓς ἔλαβον Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐν ὀλκάσι περὶ Πελοπόννησον πλέοντας ἀποκτείναντες καὶ ἐς φάραγγας ἐσβαλόντες. 5. πάντας γὰρ δὴ κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ πολέμου οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅσους λάβοιεν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ὡς πολεμίους διέφθειρον, καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Ἀθηναίων ξυμπολεμοῦντας καὶ τοὺς μηδὲ μεθ' ἐτέρων.

68. 1. Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τοῦ θέρους τελευτῶντος καὶ Ἀμπρακιῶται αὐτοί τε καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων πολλοὺς ἀναστήσαντες ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ Ἄργος τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἀμφιλοχίαν. 2. ἔχθρα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους ἀπὸ τοῦδε αὐτοῖς ἤρξατο πρῶτον γενέσθαι. 3. Ἄργος τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν καὶ Ἀμφιλοχίαν τὴν ἄλλην ἔκτισε μετὰ τὰ Τρωικὰ οἵκαδε ἀναχωρήσας καὶ οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τῇ

4. τὰ τῆς Ποτιδαίας] "The Potidaean and Thraceward troubles:" see i. 60. 2. τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀμύνεσθαι: "to requite the Lacedaemonians with the same cruelties which they had been the first to perpetrate." οἷσπερ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὦν, says the Sch., who, therefore, regards it as equivalent to τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὦν. ὑπῆρξαν: as in ὑπάρχειν ἀδικίας, "to begin or do a thing unprovoked," and ὦν is explained by ἀποκτείναντες. Ἀθηναίων: for the position of the genitive cp. ii. 45. 1, and for the fact cp. iii. 51.

5. δῆ] "You must know." Perhaps Thuc. means to point attention to the atrocity of the act. Such barbarity was common enough (cp. i. 30. 1; iii. 32. 1), though the remonstrances of the Samians to Alcidas and the half excuse which Thuc. makes for the Athenians in

the present passage seem to indicate that even Greek morality did not altogether approve of the butchering of prisoners in cold blood. See Grote, vi. 245 and 248, note. τοὺς μηδὲ μεθ' ἐτέρων: "neutrals." "For the order cp. ii. 72. 3; vi. 44. 4; vii. 33. 2; οὐδὲ ὑφ' ἐτέρων, v. 48. 1; οὐδ' ἀφ' ἐτέρων, vii. 44. 1; οὐδὲ καθ' ἕτερα, vii. 42. 6. Only in the later writers do we find the preposition before οὐδέ or μηδέ." Kr.

CH. LXVIII. 1. αὐτοί τε καὶ . . . ἀναστήσαντες] Cp. note on μισθῷ πείσαντες, i. 60. 1.

3. ἀρεσκόμενος] Cp. i. 129. 2. τῇ καταστάσει: εὔρε γὰρ τὴν μητέρα Ἐριφύλην ἀναιρεθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Ἀλκμαίωνος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ. Sch. Thuc. perhaps was unwilling to commit himself to the details of the myth, yet see ii. 102. 7. After Amphilochochus had returned from

ἐν Ἀργεὶ καταστάσει Ἀμφίλοχος ὁ Ἀμφιάρεω ἐν τῷ Ἀμπρακικῷ κόλπῳ, ὁμώνυμον τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδι Ἀργος ὀνομάσας. 4. καὶ ἦν ἡ πόλις αὕτη μεγίστη τῆς Ἀμφιλοχίας καὶ τοὺς δυνατωτάτους εἶχεν οἰκήτορας. 5. ὑπὸ ξυμφορῶν δὲ πολλαῖς γεναῖς ὕστερον πιεζόμενοι Ἀμπρακιώτας ὁμόρους ὄντας τῇ Ἀμφιλοχικῇ ξυνοίκους ἐπηγάγοντο, καὶ ἐλληνίσθησαν τὴν νῦν γλῶσσαν τότε πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀμπρακιωτῶν ξυνοικησάντων· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι Ἀμφίλοχοι βάρβαροί εἰσιν. 6. ἐκβάλλουσιν οὖν τοὺς Ἀργεῖους οἱ Ἀμπρακιῶται χρόνῳ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἴσχουσι τὴν πόλιν. 7. οἱ δ' Ἀμφίλοχοι γενομένου τούτου διδύασιν ἑαυτοὺς Ἀκαρνᾶσι καὶ προσπαρακαλέσαντες ἀμφοτέρω Ἀθηναίους, οἱ αὐτοῖς Φορμίωνά τε στρατηγὸν ἔπεμψαν καὶ ναῦς τριάκοντα, ἀφικομένον δὲ τοῦ Φορμίωνος, αἰρούσι κατὰ κράτος Ἀργος καὶ τοὺς Ἀμπρακιώτας ἠνδραπύδισαν, κοινῇ τε ὥκησαν αὐτὸ Ἀμφίλοχοι καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνες. 8. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἡ ξυμμαχία ἐγένετο πρῶτον

Troy, *being* displeased with the state of things at home, he *founded* Argos and *named* it after his own native town. For the participle *ὀνομάσας*, cp. note on *ξυμπολεμησάντων*, i. 18. 3.

5. *ἐλληνίσθησαν*] All the MSS. read *ἐλληνίσθησαν*: so Bekker (ed. 1832), Buttmann, Arnold. Lobeck, *on Phryg.* 380, insists upon the augment, which is accordingly added by Poppo, Krüger, Classen. For the construction, which implies an active, *ἐλληνίσω τινα τὴν γλῶσσαν*, cp. *οἱ ἐπιτετραμμένοι τὴν φυλακὴν*, i. 126. 11. The Ambraciots were a Doric colony from Corinth. When Thuc. says that the Amphilochians were barbarians, he means that their language was unintelligible to him (so Ovid at Tomi says, “*Barbarus hic ego sum quia non intelligor ulli*”), and in this of course he must be right. But the legend which connects Amphilochian Argos with the Trojan War is, to say the least, doubtful. Every barbarous race with which the Greeks came into contact, even the Libyan Maxyes (Hdt.

iv. 191, cp. Thuc. vi. 2. 3), tried to tack on their antiquities to those of the brilliant and victorious Hellenes or their famous opponents. So the Egyptians made out Alexander to be the son of Nectanebo (Nieb. *Lect. on Anc. Hist.* i. 101), so the Romans boasted of Aeneas and the British of Brute. The Greek leaders in the Trojan War, if ever there was a Trojan War (see Max Müller, *Lect. on the Science of Languages*, ii. 471), can have spoken no other language than that of Homer. See note on i. 3. 5.

6. *χρόνῳ*] “In course of time.”

7. *Φορμίωνα*] “Phormion was sent to Chalcidice about October or November 432, B.C. (i. 64), and the expedition against Argos probably occurred between that event and the naval conflict of Corcyraeans and Athenians against Corinthians with their allies—Ambraciots included—which conflict had happened in the preceding spring.” Grote, vi. 164 note.

8. *ἡ ξυμμαχία*] Mentioned at ii. 9. 5.

Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶσιν. 9. οἱ δὲ Ἀμπρακιῶται τὴν μὲν ἔχθραν ἐς τοὺς Ἀργεῖους ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ σφῶν αὐτῶν πρῶτον ἐποιήσαντο. ὕστερον δὲ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τήνδε τὴν στρατείαν ποιοῦνται αὐτῶν τε καὶ Χαόνων καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν τῶν πλησιοχώρων βαρβάρων· ἐλθόντες τε πρὸς τὸ Ἄργος τῆς μὲν χώρας ἐκράτουν, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὥς οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἐλεῖν προσβαλόντες, ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου καὶ διελύθησαν κατὰ ἔθνη. 10. τοσαῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ θέρει ἐγένετο.

69. 1. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος Ἀθηναῖοι ναῦς ἔστειλαν εἴκουσι μὲν περὶ Πελοπόννησον καὶ Φορμίωνα στρατηγόν, ὃς ὀρμώμενος ἐκ Ναυπάκτου φυλακὴν εἶχε μήτ' ἐκπλεῖν ἐκ Κορίνθου καὶ τοῦ Κρισαίου κόλπου μηδένα μήτ' ἐσπλεῖν, ἐτέρας δὲ ἐξ ἐπὶ Καρίας καὶ Λυκίας καὶ Μελήσανδρον στρατηγόν, ὅπως ταῦτά τε ἀργυρολογῶσι καὶ τὸ ληστικὸν τῶν Πελοποννησίων μὴ ἐῷσιν αὐτόθεν ὀρμώμενον βλάπτειν τὸν πλοῦν τῶν ὀλκάδων τῶν ἀπὸ Φασήλιδος καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἡπείρου. 2. ἀναβὰς δὲ στρατιᾷ Ἀθηναίων τε τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐς τὴν Λυκίαν ὁ Μελήσανδρος ἀποθνήσκει καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς μέρος τι διέφθειρε νικηθεὶς μάχῃ.

70. 1. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος οἱ Ποτιδαιᾶται ἐπειδὴ οὐκέτι ἐδύναντο πολιορκούμενοι ἀντέχειν, ἀλλ' αἷ τε ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐσβολαὶ Πελοποννησίων οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀπανίστασαν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὃ τε σῖτος ἐπελελοίπει, καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐπεγεγένητο αὐτόθι ἤδη βρώσεως πέρι ἀναγκαίας

9. ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ] τῷ Πελοποννησιακῷ δηλονότι. Sch.

CH. LXIX. 1. ὀρμώμενος ἐκ] Cp. i. 64. 3. ἐκπλεῖν: the simple infinitive of purpose, cp. note on i. 44. 1. αὐτόθεν: from Caria and Lycia. τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἡπείρου: cp. i. 62. 4, τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν and note on i. 8. 3. "Significatur maxime Aegyptus, cf. viii. 35. 2." Poppo.

CH. LXX. 1. μᾶλλον] "Still," more than if they had never been made at all. βρώσεως πέρι ἀναγκαίας: περί with the genitive added

to explain ἄλλα πολλά: cp. ii. 45. 4; 51. 5. "Many other calamities had befallen them in the town, in the way of unnatural food," and some had even been driven to cannibalism: the ἄλλα πολλά were grass, vermin, carrion, which are distinguished as less revolting food than human flesh. For ἀναγκαία, cp. note on i. 2. 2. ἀλλήλων: so Herodotus (iii. 25) speaks of ἀλλήλοφαγίῃ, and we of "eating one another:" the inaccuracy is not unnatural. οὕτω δὲ: cp. i. 131. 1.

καί τινες καὶ ἀλλήλων ἐγέγευντο, οὕτω δὲ λόγους προσφέρουσι περὶ ξυμβάσεως τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοῖς ἐπὶ σφίσι τεταγμένοις, Ξενοφῶντί τε τῷ Εὐριπίδου καὶ Ἐστιοδώρῳ τῷ Ἀριστοκλείδου καὶ Φανομάχῳ τῷ Καλλιμάχου. 2. οἱ δὲ προσεδέξαντο, ὁρῶντες μὲν τῆς στρατιᾶς τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν ἐν χωρίῳ χειμερινῷ, ἀναλωκυίας τε ἤδη τῆς πόλεως δισχίλια τάλαντα ἐς πολιορκίαν. 3. ἐπὶ τοῖσδε οὖν ξυνέβησαν, ἐξελθεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς ἐπικούρους ξὺν ἐνὶ ἱματίῳ, γυναῖκας δὲ ξὺν δυοῖν, καὶ ἀργύριόν τι ῥητὸν ἔχοντας ἐφόδιον. 4. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπόσπονδοι ἐξήλθον ἐπὶ τὴν Χαλκιδικὴν καὶ ἕκαστος ἥ ἐδύνατο. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τοὺς τε στρατηγοὺς ἐπητιάσαντο ὅτι ἄνευ αὐτῶν ξυνέβησαν, ἐνόμιζον γὰρ ἂν κρατῆσαι τῆς πόλεως ἥ ἐβούλοντο, καὶ ὕστερον ἐποίκους ἑαυτῶν ἐπεμψαν ἐς τὴν Ποτίδαιαν καὶ κατώκισαν. 5. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι ἐγένετο· καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε ὃν Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψε.

71. 1. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ

2. προσεδέξαντο] Sc. τοὺς λόγους. μὲν . . τε: cp. i. 144. 2. ἐν χωρίῳ χειμερινῷ: "in so bleak a position:" cp. note on i. 5. 1. ἐς πολιορκίαν: "on a siege," an unworthy object: cp. i. 143. 7. τὴν τε ὀλόφυρσιν μὴ οἰκῶν καὶ γῆς ποιεῖσθαι.

3. παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας] Cp. i. 89. 4. As we should say, "men, women, and children, and the (not their) auxiliaries." ξὺν ἐνὶ ἱματίῳ: Livy in similar passages has cum singulis vestimentis or privis vestibus. A Greek man might wear only *one* garment, a Greek woman always wore *two*, hence Herodotus, making merry with the way in which the Egyptians inverted all the customs of the Greeks (as Sir Rutherford Alcock, in his *Capital of the Tycoon*, laughs at the perversity with which the Japanese invert those of the English), says (ii. 36) εἴματα τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἕκαστος ἔχει δύο, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν ἐν ἑκάστη. ἔχοντας: the participle again balances a preposi-

tion with its case: cp. ii. 65. 12.

4. ἥ ἐδύνατο] Sc. ἐξελθεῖν, "wherever he could" go or find a shelter. ἄνευ αὐτῶν: cp. ἄνευ Λακεδαιμονίων, i. 128. 4. ἥ ἐβούλοντο: "on such terms as they wished," i. e. on no terms at all, much the same as χρήσασθαι ὃ τι ἂν βούλωνται, ii. 4. 7. Had the generals waited till the city was obliged to surrender at discretion, "the expense would have been partly made good by selling the prisoners as slaves—and Athenian vengeance probably gratified by putting the warriors to death. The displeasure of the Athenians against the commanders cannot however have been very serious, since Xenophon was appointed to command against the Chaëdians in the ensuing year (ii. 79. 1)." Grote, vi. 249.

5. τὸ δεύτερον] "Thuc. elsewhere omits the article in this phrase: cp. ii. 47. 1; 103. 2; iii. 25. 4; 88. 7; 116. 3." Poppo.

οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐς μὲν τὴν Ἀττικὴν οὐκ ἐσέβαλον, ἐστράτευσαν δ' ἐπὶ Πλάταιαν· ἤγειτο δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ζευξιδάμου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς. 2. καὶ καθίσας τὸν στρατὸν ἔμελλε δηῶσειν τὴν γῆν· οἱ δὲ Πλαταιῆς εὐθὺς πρέσβεις πέμψαντες πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔλεγον τοιάδε· 3. “ Ἀρχίδαμε καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐ δίκαια ποιεῖτε οὐδ' ἄξια οὔτε ὑμῶν οὔτε πατέρων ὧν ἐστε ἐς γῆν τὴν Πλαταιῶν στρατεύοντες. 4. Πausanίας γὰρ ὁ Κλεομβρότου Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐλευθέρωσας τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπὸ τῶν Μήδων μετὰ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐθελησάντων ξυνάρασθαι τὸν κίνδυνον τῆς μάχης ἢ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐγένετο, θύσας ἐν τῇ Πλαταιῶν ἀγορᾷ Διὶ ἐλευθερίῳ ἱερὰ καὶ ξυγκαλέσας πάντας τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἀπεδίδου Πλαταιεῦσι γῆν καὶ πόλιν τὴν σφετέραν ἔχοντας αὐτονόμους οἰκεῖν, στρατεῦσαί τε μηδένα ποτὲ ἀδίκως ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μηδ' ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀμύνειν τοὺς παρόντας ξυμμάχους κατὰ δύναμιν. 5. τάδε μὲν ἡμῖν πατέρες οἱ ὑμέτεροι ἔδοσαν ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ προθυμίας τῆς ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς κινδύνοις γενομένης, ὑμεῖς δὲ τὰναντία δρᾶτε· μετὰ γὰρ Θηβαίων τῶν ἡμῖν ἐχθίστων ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἤκετε. 6. μάρτυρας δὲ θεοὺς τοὺς τε ὀρκίους τότε γενομένους ποιούμενοι καὶ τοὺς ὑμετέρους πατρώους καὶ ἡμε-

CH. LXXI. 3. οὐδ'] Used conjunctively with a general negative which is divided by οὔτε . . . οὔτε: cp. i. 31. 2 and note on ii. 93. 2.

4. ξυνάρασθαι] This verb usually governs the genitive, because it signifies to part and take a share of: cp. iv. 10. 1; v. 28. 2. But Eur. *Or.* 767, we have *συνηράμην φόνον σοι μητρός*, where, as here, the verb has its proper meaning of bearing the whole of a burden in concert with others.

ἀπεδίδου] “He proceeded to restore” the land and city rescued from the Persians. For the imperfect, cp. note on i. 13. 8. ἔχοντας . . . οἰκεῖν give the purpose—“to the end they should possess and inhabit them in complete independence.” ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ: “with a view to enslaving them.” εἰ δὲ μή:

cp. note on i. 28. 4.

6. ὀρκίους] “This is a good specimen of one of the most characteristic features of polytheism” (Arn.): each god deals with particular persons, places, or things, and may on no account step beyond his own province. Thus the Plataeans appeal first to those deities under whose special supervision the compact of Pausanias was placed, the deities by whom he swore—Zeus Eleutherios and others; secondly, to the heavenly proctors of the contracting powers, the national gods of the Dorians (Heracles, Apollo, and others), and those whose special domicile was in the Plataean territory (Hera Teleia, Athena Areia, and others). For the absence of the article before ἡμετέρους, cp. i. 7.

τέρους ἐγχωρίους λέγομεν ὑμῖν τὴν γῆν τὴν Πλαταιίδα μὴ ἀδικεῖν μηδὲ παραβαίνειν τοὺς ὅρκους, εἴαν δὲ οἰκεῖν αὐτονόμους καθάπερ Πανσανίας ἐδικαίωσεν.” 72. 1. τοσαῦτα εἰπόντων Πλαταιῶν Ἀρχίδαμος ὑπολαβὼν εἶπε· “ Δίκαια λέγετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Πλαταιῆς, ἣν ποιῆτε ὁμοῖα τοῖς λόγοις. 2. καθάπερ γὰρ Πανσανίας ὑμῖν παρέδωκεν, αὐτοὶ τε αὐτονομεῖσθε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ξυνελευθεροῦτε ὅσοι μετασχόντες τῶν τότε κινδύνων ὑμῖν τε ξυνώμοσαν καὶ εἰσι νῦν ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίοις, παρασκευὴ τε τοσῆδε καὶ πόλεμος γεγέννηται αὐτῶν ἔνεκα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐλευθερώσεως. 3. ἥς μάλιστα μὲν μετασχόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐμμείνατε τοῖς ὅρκοις· εἰ δὲ μή, ἅπερ καὶ τὸ πρότερον ἤδη προῦκαλεσάμεθα, ἡσυχίαν ἄγετε νεμόμενοι τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔστε μηδὲ μεθ’ ἐτέρων, δέχεσθε δὲ ἄμφοτέρους φίλους, ἐπὶ πολέμῳ δὲ μηδ’ ἐτέρους. 4. καὶ τάδε ἡμῖν ἀρκέσει.” 5. ὁ μὲν Ἀρχίδαμος τοσαῦτα εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ Πλαταιῶν πρέσβεις ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἐσῆλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῷ πλήθει τὰ ῥηθέντα κοινώσαντες ἀπεκρίναντο αὐτῷ ὅτι ἀδύνατα σφίσιν εἶη ποιεῖν ἃ προκαλεῖται ἄνευ Ἀθηναίων· παῖδες γὰρ σφῶν καὶ γυναῖκες παρ’ ἐκείνοις εἶησαν· δεδιέναι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῇ πάσῃ πόλει μὴ ἐκείνων ἀπο-

CH. LXXII. 2. γάρ] “I mean.” τῶν ἄλλων: those who did not aid in the Persian War, and have been enslaved by the Athenians.

3. ἥς] Sc. παρασκευῆς. μάλιστα μὲν . . . εἰ δὲ μή: cp. i. 32. 1. καὶ αὐτοί: “you also, or on your part,” as you bid us do. προκαλεῖσθαι τι: “to invite a person to do any thing:” cp. ἐναντία πολεμήσοντες, i. 29. 1; note on i. 3. 6, and v. 37. 5. “At what time this summons was made we do not know; it is alluded to again, on occasion of the slaughter of the Plataean prisoners, iii. 68. 2.” Grote, vi. 252. φίλους: “as friends.” ἐπὶ πολέμῳ: “for purposes of war.”

5. παῖδες . . καὶ γυναῖκες] See ii. 70. 3. εἶησαν: “were as they said.” Thuc. might have written ᾗσαν, in which case he would have been stating the fact as of his own

knowledge. δεδιέναι: depends directly on ἀπεκρίναντο: cp. i. 87. 4. οὐκ ἐπιτρέπωσιν: “should not suffer them to abide by any arrangements which they might have concluded with the Peloponnesians to the prejudice of the Athenian alliance.” ὥς ἔνορκοι ὄντες: “alleging that they were comprehended in the oaths,” awaiting themselves of the right given by the proposed treaty. κατὰ τὸ ἀμφοτέρους δέχεσθαι is to be joined with πειράσῳσι καταλαβεῖν— “should again endeavour to seize their city under cover of the agreement to admit both.” Arnold, not so well, translates, “As being comprehended within the terms of their oath when they swore to admit both parties.” For κατὰ, cp. κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον, i. 9. 2; κατὰ τὸ ὕμωρον, vi. 88. 1.

χωρησάντων Ἀθηναῖοι ἐλθόντες σφίσιν οὐκ ἐπιτρέπωσιν, ἢ Θηβαῖοι ὡς ἔνορκοι ὄντες κατὰ τὸ ἀμφοτέρους δέχεσθαι αὐθις σφῶν τὴν πόλιν πειράσωσι καταλαβεῖν. 6. ὁ δὲ θαρσύνων αὐτοὺς πρὸς ταῦτα ἔφη, “ Ὑμεῖς δὲ πόλιν μὲν καὶ οἰκίας ἡμῖν παράδοτε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ γῆς ὅρους ἀποδείξατε καὶ δένδρα ἀριθμῶ τὰ ὑμέτερα καὶ ἄλλο εἴ τι δυνατὸν ἐς ἀριθμὸν ἐλθεῖν· αὐτοὶ δὲ μεταχωρήσατε ὅποι βούλεσθε ἕως ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ᾗ. 7. ἐπειδὰν δὲ παρέλθῃ, ἀποδώσομεν ὑμῖν ἃ ἂν παραλάβωμεν. 8. μέχρι δὲ τοῦδε ἕξομεν παρακαταθήκην, ἐργαζόμενοι καὶ φορὰν φέροντες ἢ ἂν ὑμῖν μέλλῃ ἱκανὴ ἔσεσθαι.” 73. 1. οἱ δ’ ἀκούσαντες ἐσήλθον αὐθις ἐς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ βουλευσάμενοι μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἔλεξαν ὅτι βούλονται ἃ προκαλεῖται Ἀθηναίοις κοινῶσαι πρῶτον, καὶ ἣν πείθωσιν αὐτούς, ποιεῖν ταῦτα· μέχρι δὲ τούτου σπείσασθαι σφίσιν ἐκέλευον καὶ τὴν γῆν μὴ δηοῦν. 2. ὁ δὲ ἡμέρας τε ἐσπείσατο ἐν αἷς εἰκὸς ἦν κομισθῆναι καὶ τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἔτεμνεν. 3. ἐλθόντες δὲ οἱ Πλαταιῆς πρέσβεις ὡς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ βουλευσάμενοι μετ’ αὐτῶν πάλιν ἦλθον ἀπαγγέλλοντες τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει τοιάδε· “ Οὗτ’ ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ, ὦ ἄνδρες Πλαταιῆς, ἀφ’ οὗ ξύμμαχοι ἐγενόμεθα, Ἀθηναῖοί φασιν ἐν οὐδενὶ ὑμᾶς προέσθαι ἀδικουμένους οὔτε νῦν περιόψεσθαι, βοηθήσειν δὲ κατὰ δύναμιν. 4. ἐπισκῆπτουσί τε ὑμῖν πρὸς τῶν ὄρκων οὓς οἱ πατέρες ὥμοσαν μηδὲν νεωτερίζειν περὶ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν.” 74. 1. τοιαῦτα τῶν πρέσ-

6. Ὑμεῖς δέ] “Then do you:” the apodotic δέ—cp. i. 11. 2; 46. 1; 65. 5; 98. 1. The suppressed protasis would be εἰ οὖν ταῦτα φοβεῖσθε, or something of the kind. πόλιν καὶ οἰκίας: for the absence of the article, cp. i. 89. 4; ii. 14. 1. Krüger says it can only be absent because two conceptions are united (see note on the first passage referred to); but cp. i. 143. 7, τὴν γῆν καὶ οἰκίας, and ii. 21. 2, γῆς. ἄλλο εἴ τι = ἄλλα ὅσα: cp. ii. 36. 5. They were to number their trees and any thing else that could be numbered, to take an inventory of them, by way of security that the Peloponnesians

gave back every thing as they received it.

8. παρακαταθήκην] “In trust.” For the sacredness of the παρακαταθήκη see the story of Glaucus, Hdt. vi. 86. ἐργαζόμενοι: τὴν γῆν δηλονότι. Sch. ἱκανή: εἰς τροφήν δηλονότι. Sch.

CH. LXXIII. 2. ἡμέρας] Accusative in opposition to σπονδάς understood: cp. v. 41. 2. “He granted them a truce for as many days as seemed sufficient for their going and returning.”

3. ἀφ’ οὗ] Ninety-one years: cp. iii. 68. 6.

4. νεωτερίζειν] “To do nothing

βειων ἀπαγγειλάντων οἱ Πλαταιῆς ἐβουλεύσαντο Ἀθηναίους μὴ προδιδόναι, ἀλλ' ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ γῆν τεμνομένην εἰ δεῖ ὀρώοντας καὶ ἄλλο πάσχοντας ὅ τι ἂν ξυμβαίῃ· ἐξελθεῖν τε μηδένα ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀποκρίνασθαι ὅτι ἀδύνατα σφίσι ποιεῖν ἐστὶν ἃ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προκαλοῦνται. 2. ὥς δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο, ἐντεῦθεν δὴ πρῶτον μὲν ἐς ἐπιμαρτυρίαν καὶ θεῶν καὶ ἡρώων τῶν ἐγχωρίων Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ βασιλεὺς κατέστη, λέγων ὧδε. “Θεοὶ ὅσοι γῆν τὴν Πλαταιίδα ἔχετε καὶ ἡρώες, ξυνίστορες ἔστε ὅτι οὔτε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀδίκως, ἐκλιπόντων δὲ τῶνδε πρότερον τὸ ξυνώμοτον, ἐπὶ γῆν τήνδε ἦλθομεν, ἐν ᾗ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν εὐξάμενοι ὑμῖν Μήδων ἐκράτησαν καὶ παρέσχετε αὐτὴν εὐμενῇ ἐναγωνίσασθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οὔτε νῦν, ἣν τι ποιῶμεν, ἀδικήσομεν· προκαλεσάμενοι γὰρ πολλὰ καὶ εἰκότα οὐ τυγχάνομεν. 3. ξυγγνώμονες δὲ ἔστε τῆς μὲν ἀδικίας κολάζεσθαι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι

hasty with regard to the alliance,” “not to cast off their allies.” νεώτερον ποιεῖν is followed by περί with the genitive at ii. 6. 2.

CH. LXXIV. 1. ὀρώοντας] We might have expected ὀρώντες, πάσχοντες, as the participles refer to the subject of the main verb ἐβουλεύσαντο. But the construction is changed by the interposition of εἰ δεῖ, thus ἀνέχεσθαι εἰ δεῖ σφῶς ἀνέχεσθαι ὀρώοντας. ἐξελθεῖν: they were afraid to trust themselves in the power of Archidamus after rejecting his terms.

2. πρῶτον μὲν] There is no answering ἔπειτα δέ, as Thuc. preferred, for the sake of clearness after so long an interval, to open the next chapter with τοσαῦτα ἐπιθειάσας. ἐς ἐπιμαρτυρίαν κατέστη: “fell to adjuring.”

ὅσοι . . ἔχετε] “Who hold or possess,” who are the special guardians of the Plataean land, the θεοὶ ἐγχώριοι, πολιοῦχοι, προστατήριοι. It was necessary that the Spartan should try to conciliate them, lest they should be indignant at his violating soil sacred to them. Ca-

millus, who had no particular injustice to urge against the Veientes, has to buy over Juno, their tutelar deity, by offering her a temple at Rome: see Livy, v. 21. ξυνίστορες: Krüger and Poppo read ξυνίστορές, making ἔστε indicative. τὴν ἀρχήν: “at first,” opposed to νῦν. τὸ ξυνώμοτον: “their sworn obligations.”

γῆν τήνδε] For the absence of the article cp. iv. 85. 5, στρατιᾷ τῇδε: iv. 105. 2, κήρυγμα τὸδε, and note on i. 50. 2. αὐτήν: for the transition from the relative to the demonstrative pronoun cp. ii. 84. 2, ὕπερ ἀναμένων τε περιέπλει καὶ εἰώθει (sc. αὐτό) γίγνεσθαι, and Madv. G. S. 104 b; iv. 42. 2; viii. 76. 6. εὐμενῇ ἐναγωνίσασθαι: “a propitious field to fight in:” for the construction compare ii. 20. 3, ἐπιτήδειος ἐνστρατοπεδεῦσαι, and see note on ii. 44. 2. τι: “any hurt.” οὐ τυγχάνομεν: sc. αὐτῶν—see note on ii. 65. 13.

3. ξυγγνώμονες] A most artificial sentence: we have first the governing phrase, then two clauses each made up of a genitive, an infinitive,

προτέροις, τῆς δὲ τιμωρίας τυγχάνειν τοῖς ἐπιφέρουσι νομίμως." 75. 1. τοσαῦτα ἐπιθειάσας καθίστη ἐς πόλεμον τὸν στρατόν, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν περιεσταύρωσεν αὐτοὺς τοῖς δένδρεσιν ἃ ἔκοψαν, τοῦ μηδένα ἔτι ἐξιέναι, ἔπειτα χῶμα ἔχουν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ἐλπίζοντες ταχίστην αἴρεσιν ἔσεσθαι αὐτῶν στρατεύματος τοσούτου ἐργαζομένου. 2. ξύλα μὲν οὖν τέμνοντες ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος παρωκοδόμουν ἐκατέρωθεν, φορμηδὸν ἀντὶ τοίχων τιθέντες, ὅπως μὴ διαχέοιτο ἐπὶ πολὺ τὸ χῶμα· ἐφόρουν δὲ ὕλην ἐς αὐτὸ καὶ λίθους καὶ γῆν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἀνύτειν μέλλοι ἐπιβαλλόμενον. 3. ἡμέρας δὲ ἔχουν

a dative, and a secondary or adverbial predicate; it is to be remembered, however, that such regularity in Thuc. often is merely apparent, and appeals to the eye alone, without affecting the sense or construction. (1) *ξυγγνώμονες*, which elsewhere signifies that which deserves or receives pardon, allowance, or consideration (iii. 40. 2; iv. 98. 6), must here bear a different meaning: Arnold translates it by "allow," Poppo by "concedite," while Krüger, who thinks that it does not quite drop its proper signification, renders it "nobis ignoscentes concedite;" Göller, on the other hand (if I understand him as reported by Poppo), thinks that *ξυγγνώμονες* is used ambiguously, being equivalent, as regards the first clause to *ξυνίστορες*, as regards the second to our "vouchsafe." (2) *τῆς ἀδικίας* is governed on the theory of A. P. K. by both *ὑπάρχουσι* and *κολάζεσθαι* (for *κολάζειν τινά τινος* cp. vi. 38. 4, and i. 96. 1), on the theory of G. by *ξυγγνώμονες*: *τῆς τιμωρίας* is governed by *τυγχάνειν*. (3) the infinitives on the first theory are governed by *ξυγγνώμονες ἔστε* = *ξυγχαρῆσατε*: on the second *κολάζεσθαι* is epexegetic, while *τυγχάνειν* is governed. Arnold renders, "Allow that the first aggressors be punished for their iniquity, and that they who are lawfully seeking vengeance may not fail to obtain it." But most

probably Göller is right. Thuc. meant at first to have written *ξυγγνώμονες δὲ ἔστε τῆς τιμωρίας τυγχάνειν τοῖς ἐπιφέρουσι νομίμως*, then his yearning for antithesis came upon him, and he inserted the other clause, which in truth can scarcely be said to have a government at all.

CH. LXXV. 1. *δένδρεσιν*] Arnold makes a distinction between *δένδρα*, the fruit trees, principally figs and olives, which grew on the plain, and the *ξύλα*, timber or beams formed of the forest trees which were felled on the mountains. The *δένδρα* were only large enough to supply materials for a palisade. *ἔκοψαν*: for the transition from Archidamus to his soldiers cp. iv. 90. 1, 2, *εἰείχιζε . . . ἔσκαπτον*.

χῶμα ἔχουν] For the use of the mound in sieges Bloomfield quotes 2 Sam. xx. 15; 2 Kings xix. 32; Jer. vi. 6; Herodotus, i. 162. See Smith, *Dict. Ant.* s. v. Agger. It required too much time and labour to be often employed by the Greek republican forces.

2. *τέμνοντες ἐκ*] "Felling timber on, and bringing it from Cithaeron." *ἐκατέρωθεν*: "they built them along on either side," so as to form two parallel lines of open woodwork constructed *φορμηδόν*, of beams interlacing at right angles, like mat or basket-work. *ἀνύτειν*: "to advance the work."

ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ νύκτας ξυνεχῶς διηρημένοι κατ' ἀναπαύλας ὥστε τοὺς μὲν φέρειν, τοὺς δὲ ὕπνον τε καὶ σῖτον αἰρεῖσθαι. Λακεδαιμονίων τε οἱ ξεναγοὶ ἐκάστης πόλεως ξυνεφεστῶτες ἡνάγκαζον ἰς τὸ ἔργον. 4. οἱ δὲ Πλαταιῆς ὀρώντες τὸ χῶμα αἰρόμενον, ξύλινον τεῖχος ξυνθεντες καὶ ἐπιστήσαντες τῷ ἑαυτῶν τείχει ἢ προσεχοῦτο, ἐσωκοδόμουν ἐς αὐτὸ πλίνθους ἐκ τῶν ἐγγὺς οἰκιῶν καθαιρούντες. 5. ξύνδεσμος δ' ἦν αὐτοῖς τὰ ξύλα, τοῦ μὴ ὑψηλὸν γιγνόμενον ἀσθενὲς εἶναι τὸ οἰκοδόμημα· καὶ προκαλύμματα εἶχε δέρρεις καὶ διφθέρας ὥστε τοὺς ἐργαζομένους καὶ τὰ ξύλα μήτε πυρφόροις οἷστοις βάλλεσθαι ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ τε εἶναι. 6. ἤρετο δὲ τὸ ὕψος τοῦ τεύχους μέγα καὶ τὸ χῶμα οὐ σχολαίτερον ἀντανῆει αὐτῷ. 7. καὶ οἱ Πλαταιῆς τοιόνδε τι ἐπινοοῦσι· διελόντες τοῦ τεύχους ἢ προσέπιπτε τὸ χῶμα ἐσεφόρουν τὴν γῆν. 76. 1. οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι αἰσθόμενοι ἐν ταρσοῖς καλάμου πηλὸν ἐνείλλοντες ἐσέβαλλον ἐς τὸ διηρημένον, ὅπως μὴ διαχεόμενον ὥσπερ ἡ γῆ φοροῖτο. 2. οἱ δὲ ταύτῃ ἀποκληόμενοι τοῦτο μὲν ἐπέσχον, ὑπόνομον δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὀρύξαντες καὶ

3.] διηρημένοι is surely passive though Krüger and Poppo regard it as middle, and supply τὸ χοῦν. κατ' ἀναπαύλας: "by way of, into relays." ξεναγοί: "those Spartan officers who commanded the contingents of the several allies." Arn. They were ξυνεφεστῶτες because they commanded not alone but in conjunction with an officer from the particular state.

4. ἢ προσεχοῦτο] "On that part of it against which the mound was advancing."

5. δέρρεις καὶ διφθέρας] "Raw hides and dressed skins."

7. τοῦ τεύχους] Partitive genitive governed by ἢ. ἢ προσέπιπτε: the face of the mound as it was pushed forward would form an inclined plane, the bottom of which would touch the foot of the wall long before the top of it reached the ramparts. The Plataeans carried away the earth at the bottom as fast as it was tilted over by the Pelopon-

nesians (this they could do without at all exposing themselves), and so prevented the mound from advancing.

CH. LXXVI. 1. ἐν ταρσοῖς] "In gabions," mats or baskets made of rushes. The construction, according to Poppo, is ἐν ταρσοῖς καλάμου πηλὸν ἐσέβαλλον ἐς τὸ διηρημένον ἐνείλλοντες αὐτὸν ἐκείνοις: see note on ii. 65. 13. ἐνείλλοντες: "ramming in:" see Buttman's *Lexil.* s. v. εἰλεῖν. διαχεόμενον: the neuter agrees with χῶμα, the word which was most prominent in the writer's mind. Or if it refers to πηλόν, we may compare ἐξενεχθέντα, i. 54. 2; λεγόμενον, ii. 47. 4. ὥσπερ ἡ γῆ: "like the loose earth which they had used before."

2.] ἐπέσχον governs an accusative also at v. 46. 1; 63. 4; vii. 33. 3; a genitive at viii. 31. 1. Poppo. ξυντεκμηράμενοι: "having made their way by calculation:" ξυν- of putting together premises or particular facts,

ξυντεκμηράμενοι ὑπὸ τὸ χῶμα ὑφείλκον αὐθις παρὰ σφᾶς τὸν χοῦν· καὶ ἐλάνθανον ἐπὶ πολὺ τοὺς ἔξω, ὥστ' ἐπιβάλλοντας ἦσσαν ἀνύτειν ὑπαγομένου αὐτοῖς κάτωθεν τοῦ χώματος καὶ ἰζάνοντος αἰεὶ ἐπὶ τὸ κενούμενον. 3. δεδιότες δὲ μὴ οὐδ' οὕτω δύνωνται ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀντέχειν, προσεπεξεῦρον τόδε· τὸ μὲν μέγα οἰκοδόμημα ἐπαύσαντο ἐργαζόμενοι τὸ κατὰ τὸ χῶμα, ἔνθεν δὲ καὶ ἔνθεν αὐτοῦ ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ βραχέος τείχους ἐκ τοῦ ἐντὸς μηνοειδὲς ἐς τὴν πόλιν προσωκοδόμουν, ὅπως εἰ τὸ μέγα τεῖχος ἀλίσκοιτο, τοῦτ' ἀντέχοι, καὶ δέοι τοὺς ἐναντίους αὐθις πρὸς αὐτὸ χοῦν, καὶ προχωροῦντας εἴσω διπλάσιόν τε πόνον ἔχειν καὶ ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ μᾶλλον γίνεσθαι. 4. ἅμα δὲ τῇ χώσει καὶ μηχανὰς προσῆγον τῇ πόλει οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι, μίαν μὲν ἢ τοῦ μεγάλου οἰκοδομήματος κατὰ τὸ χῶμα προσαχθεῖσα ἐπὶ μέγα τε κατέσεισε καὶ τοὺς Πλαταιέας ἐφόβησεν, ἄλλας δὲ ἄλλη

in order to draw a conclusion : cp. συλλογισμός, colligo.

3. οὐδ' οὕτω] "In spite of all this." προσεπεξεῦρον: "devised the following plan besides (πρός) to meet this chance (ἐπί)." αὐτοῦ is governed by ἔνθεν, "of it," that is of the part of the wall which they had raised by means of the ξύλινον τεῖχος. βραχέος: "low," that part of the wall which they had not thought it necessary to elevate, as it was not opposite the mound. ἐκ τοῦ ἐντὸς: "on the inside they built an extra wall crescent-shaped and curving in towards the city:" thus the assailants would be obliged to carry on their mound further than they expected, and under a cross-fire, as the Plataeans would be able to discharge their missiles from each horn of the new demilune. μᾶλλον: more than at present, the city wall being a mere curtain without bastions.

4. μηχανάς] "Battering rams." These were familiar to the Assyrians, though not to the Homeric Greeks, who had no siege-train at all, unless we may give the name to scaling-ladders and crowbars. μηχαναί followed Cleon's army, v. 7. 5;

and at iv. 100. 1 we have an account of a remarkable engine which was improvised for the attack upon Delium. But artillery was of little importance till the time of Philip of Macedon, of whose siege-trains Aristotle speaks as we might speak of rifled cannon. ἄλλως τε καὶ νῦν εὐρημένων τῶν περὶ τὰ βέλη καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς εἰς ἀκρίβειαν πρὸς τὰς πολιορκίας (Pol. iv. (vii.) 11. 9). Sieges and fortifications imply a systematic study of the art of war, seldom found except in a time of monarchs and standing armies. Assyrian, Macedonian, and Roman dictators could devote to such objects more labour and skill than were at the disposal of the citizen commander of a militia of citizens.

κατὰ τὸ χῶμα] "By way of, along, the mound:" cp. κατὰ κορυφήν, ii. 99. 1; κατὰ τὸν Ἀχελῷον, iii. 7. 3. ἐπὶ μέγα, "a great part," governs the genitive τοῦ μεγάλου οἰκοδομήματος: cp. iv. 3. 2; 12. 3; 100. 2; vii. 65. 3; cp. note on i. 3. 2. ἀνέκλων: they kept breaking off the heads of the rams by pulling them upwards.

τοῦ τείχους, ἃς βρόχους τε περιβάλλοντες ἀνέκλων οἱ Πλαταιῆς, καὶ δοκοὺς μεγάλας ἀρτήσαντες ἀλύσει μακραῖς σιδηραῖς ἀπὸ τῆς τομῆς ἐκατέρωθεν ἀπὸ κεραιῶν δύο ἐπι-κεκλιμένων καὶ ὑπερτεινουσῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τείχους ἀνελκύσαντες ἐγκαρσίας, ὅποτε προσπεσεῖσθαί πη μέλλοι ἢ μηχανή, ἀφίεσαν τὴν δοκὸν χαλαραῖς ταῖς ἀλύσει καὶ οὐ διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντες· ἡ δὲ ῥύμη ἐμπίπτουσα ἀπεκαύλιζε τὸ προ-έχον τῆς ἐμβολῆς.

77. 1. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι, ὥς αἶ τε μηχαναὶ οὐδὲν ὠφέλουν καὶ τῷ χώματι τὸ ἀντιτείχισμα ἐγίγνετο, νομίσαντες ἄπορον εἶναι ἀπὸ τῶν παρόντων δεινῶν ἐλεῖν τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὴν περιτείχισιν παρεσκευάζοντο. 2. πρότερον δὲ πυρὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς πειρᾶσαι εἰ δύναιτο πνεύματος γενομένου ἐπιφλέξαι τὴν πόλιν οὖσαν οὐ μεγάλην· πᾶσαν γὰρ δὴ ἰδέαν ἐπευόουν, εἴ πως σφίσιν ἄνευ δαπάνης καὶ πολιορκίας προσαχθείη. 3. φοροῦντες δὲ ὕλης φακέλλους παρέβαλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ χώματος ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ πρῶτον τοῦ τείχους καὶ τῆς

δοκοὺς μεγάλας] A second device was to suspend a heavy beam by a chain from each end, to two spars sloping upwards over the wall; when the ram was pushed forward underneath, they let the beam go with a run, and so broke off the iron head with which the engine was armed. **τομῆς**: the end of the **δοκός**. **ἐγκαρσίας**: “at right angles” to the battering-ram. **χαλαραῖς** is predicate—“by loosing the chains.” **διὰ χειρὸς**: cp. ii. 13. 2.

CH. LXXVII. 1. τὸ ἀντιτείχισμα] τὸ μνηοειδὲς τεῖχος. **ἀπό**: “starting from.” This preposition is used not only when the end or result is in accordance with the pre-existing circumstances, but also when it is contrasted with or opposed to them: so here “in spite of their present difficulties.” Others not so well render “with their present means of attack.” **τὴν περιτείχισιν**: the article as in **ἡ ἐπιτείχισις**, i. 142. 2, or as with numbers, the blockade being one of a certain number of methods

of assault, with the rest of which it is contrasted.

2. **δή]** “You see,” or “you must know.” **ιδέαν**: “every kind” of attack: cp. i. 109. 1. **πολιορκίας**: “a long siege,” unless it is better to render **δαπάνη καὶ πολιορκία** “an expensive siege.”

3. **παρέβαλλον]** “Threw them along” the edge of the mound. **γενομένου**: sc. τοῦ μεταξὺ. **ἐπιπαρήνησαν**: “they piled them up also (ἐπί) along (παρά).” **ὅσον** = **τοσοῦτον ὅσον** and governs **τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως**. As they durst not approach the foot of the wall for fear of being shot from above, they threw the wood from the top of the mound, along the walls outside, not inside the city. That it was outside is clear, as they could not have flung fascines over both the **μέγα οἰκοδόμημα** and the **μνηοειδὲς τεῖχος**. They trusted that a favourable wind would carry the flame over the ramparts in upon the houses, which sometimes formed part of the city wall: see ii. 4. 5.

προσχώσεως, ταχὺ δὲ πλήρους γενομένου διὰ πολυχειρίαν ἐπιπαρένησαν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως ὅσον ἐδύναντο ἀπὸ τοῦ μετεώρου πλείστον ἐπισχεῖν, ἐμβαλόντες δὲ πῦρ ξὺν θείῳ καὶ πίσσῃ ἤψαν τὴν ὕλην. 4. καὶ ἐγένετο φλόξ τοσαύτη ὅσην οὐδεὶς πω ἔς γε ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον χειροποίητον εἶδεν· ἥδη γὰρ ἐν ὄρεσιν ὕλη τριφθεῖσα ὑπ' ἀνέμων πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου πῦρ καὶ φλόγα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνῆκε. 5. τοῦτο δὲ μέγα τε ἦν καὶ τοὺς Πλαταιέας τᾶλλα διαφυγόντας ἐλαχίστου ἐδέησε διαφθεῖραι· ἐντὸς γὰρ πολλοῦ χωρίου τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἦν πελάσαι, πνεῦμά τε εἰ ἐπεγένετο αὐτῇ ἐπίφορον, ὅπερ καὶ ἤλπιζον οἱ ἐναντίοι. οὐκ ἂν διέφυγον. 6. νῦν δὲ καὶ τότε λέγεται ξυμβῆναι, ὕδωρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πολὺ καὶ βροντὰς γενομένας σβέσαι τὴν φλόγα καὶ οὕτω παυθῆναι τὸν κίνδυνον.

78. 1. Οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐπειδὴ καὶ τούτου διήμαρτον, μέρος μὲν τι καταλιπόντες τοῦ στρατοπέδου, [τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἀφέντες,] περιετείχιζον τὴν πόλιν κύκλῳ, διελόμενοι κατὰ πόλεις τὸ χωρίον· τάφρος δὲ ἐντὸς τε ἦν καὶ ἔξωθεν ἐξ ἧς ἐπλινθεύσαντο. 2. καὶ ἐπειδὴ πᾶν ἐξείργαστο περὶ ἄρκτούρου ἐπιτολάς, καταλιπόντες φύλακας τοῦ ἡμίσεος τείχους, τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ Βοιωτοὶ ἐφύλασσον, ἀνεχώρησαν τῷ στρατῷ καὶ διελύθησαν κατὰ πόλεις. 3. Πλαταιῆς δὲ παῖδας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τε καὶ πλῆθος τὸ ἄχρηστον

4.] ἥδη = olim, and with the aorist indicative denotes that which has often been known to happen: cp. i. 69. 9; ii. 89. 9. πρὸς αὐτήν: "from the mere attrition of its boughs." Arn. ἀπ' αὐτοῦ: ἀπὸ τοῦ τριφθῆναι.

5. ἐλαχίστου ἐδέησε] Sc. τοῦτο: see Madv. G. S. 57 a, note. αὐτῇ: τῇ φλογί.

6. νῦν] "As it is." ξυμβῆναι . . σβέσαι . . παυθῆναι: for the apposition cp. ii. 60. 4. "Thuc. does not seem to credit the story of this opportune thunderstorm." Grote, vi. 258. Cp. Hdt. i. 87.

CH. LXXVIII. 1. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἀφέντες] Omitted in several MSS. τὸ χωρίον: "the ground" to be covered by the wall: of this a definite part was assigned to each con-

tingent. ἐντός: on the inner side of the ring, next Plataea.

2. ἄρκτούρου ἐπιτολάς] The heliacal rising of Arcturus, "when the star rises a little before sunrise, and so first becomes visible after the period of forty days, during which it has been invisible, because it did not rise till after the sun." Arn. About the 17th or 18th Sept.

3. ἄχρηστον] The reading of the best MSS. Others ἀχρεῖον. ἐκκεκομισμένοι: cp. ii. 6. 5. σιτοποιοί: the baking of bread and the cooking and preparation of food generally, seem to have been regarded as woman's work in Greece, and in Rome, till the close of the sixth century of the city: see Hdt. iii. 150; vii. 187. Yet at Thuc. vi.

τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρότερον ἐκκεκομισμένοι ἦσαν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐπολιορκούντο ἐγκαταλελειμμένοι τετρακόσιοι, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα, γυναῖκες δὲ δέκα καὶ ἑκατὸν σιτοποιοί. 4. τοσοῦτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἑξὺμπαντες ὅτε ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο, καὶ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς ἦν ἐν τῷ τείχει οὔτε δούλος οὔτε ἐλεύθερος. 5. τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ Πλαταιῶν πολιορκία κατεσκευάσθη.

79. 1. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους καὶ ἅμα τῇ τῶν Πλαταιῶν ἐπιστρατεία Ἀθηναῖοι δισχιλίαις ὀπλίταις ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἱππεῦσι διακοσίοις ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράκης καὶ Βοττιαίους ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου· ἐστρατήγει δὲ Ξενοφῶν ὁ Εὐριπίδου τρίτος αὐτός. 2. ἐλθόντες δὲ ὑπὸ Σπάρτῳ τὴν Βοττικὴν τὸν σῖτον διέφθειραν. 3. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ προσχωρήσειν ἡ πόλις ὑπὸ τινων ἔνδοθεν πρασσόντων. 4. προσπεμψάντων δὲ ἐς Ὀlynthον τῶν οὐ ταῦτα βουλομένων ὀπλίται τε ἦλθον καὶ στρατιὰ ἐς φυλακὴν· ἥς ἐπεξελθούσης ἐκ τῆς Σπαρτώλου ἐς μάχην καθίστανται οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει. 5. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὀπλίται τῶν Χαλκιδέων καὶ ἐπίκουροί τινες μετ' αὐτῶν νικῶνται ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐς τὴν Σπάρτῳ· οἱ δὲ ἱππῆς τῶν Χαλκιδέων καὶ ψιλοὶ νικῶσι τοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἱππέας καὶ ψιλούς.

22 we find mention of men σιτοποιοί.

CH. LXXIX. 1. τῶν Πλαταιῶν] "Against the Plataeans." The genitive is objective: cp. ἀμιξίαν ἀλλήλων, i. 3. 4; εὐνοία ἐκατέρων, i. 22. 3; ἐπιχειρήσεις τινος, i. 70. 8.

2. ὑπὸ Σπάρτῳ] "Under the walls of Spartolus:" cp. Hom. II. ii. 673, Νιρεὺς δὲ κάλλιστος ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθεν. Spartolus, according to Colonel Leake, lay to the north of Olynthus, between that town and Apollonia.

3. ὑπὸ] προσχωρήσειν is regarded as equivalent in sense to a passive verb, for instance προδοθήσεσθαι: cp. note in i. 8. 3. For πράσσειν, used of a treasonable or underhand correspondence, cp. i. 57. 3.

4 οὐ] "Vulgoμή, perperam, quippe

quod non simpliciter significaret *qui nolebant*, sed additâ notione *si qui erant ejusmodi*." Poppo. But Krüger joins the negative with ταῦτα. καὶ στρατιὰ: καὶ is corrective—"and in fact a body of men of all arms," not hoplites only: cp. i. 80. 3, τοὺς Πελοποννησίους καὶ τοὺς ἀστυγείρονas.

5. ψιλούς] This word "includes all foot soldiers who were not ὀπλίται, whether they were πελτασταί, τοξόται, ἀκοντισταί, or only λιθοβόλοι." Arn. In some states they appear to have formed a regular branch of the national militia, with a uniform armature; but this was not the case at Athens until the time of Iphicrates, in the beginning of the next century. Cp. iv. 94. 1. Niebuhr, *Lect. on Anc. Hist.* ii. 209. Smith, *Dict. Biog.* Iphicrates.

6. εἶχον δέ τινας οὐ πολλοὺς πελταστὰς ἐκ τῆς Κρουσίδος γῆς καλουμένης. 7. ἄρτι δὲ τῆς μάχης γεγενημένης ἐπιβοηθοῦσιν ἄλλοι πελτασταὶ ἐκ τῆς Ὀλύνθου. 8. καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Σπαρτώλου ψιλοὶ ὡς εἶδον, θαρσήσαντες τοῖς τε προσγιγνόμενοις καὶ ὅτι πρότερον οὐχ ἡσσῶντο, ἐπιτίθενται αὐθις μετὰ τῶν Χαλκιδέων ἱππέων καὶ τῶν προσβοηθησάντων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. καὶ ἀναχωροῦσι πρὸς τὰς δύο τάξεις ἃς κατέλιπον παρὰ τοῖς σκευοφόροις. 9. καὶ ὁπότε μὲν ἐπίοιεν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐνεδίδοσαν, ἀποχωροῦσι δὲ ἐνέκειντο καὶ ἐσηκόντιζον. 10. οἳ τε ἱππῆς τῶν Χαλκιδέων προσιππεύοντες ἢ δοκοῖ προσέβαλλον καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα φοβήσαντες ἔτρεψαν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ἐπεδίωξαν ἐπὶ πολὺ. 11. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὴν Ποτίδαιαν καταφεύγουσι καὶ ὕστερον τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους κομισάμενοι ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀναχωροῦσι τῷ περιόντι τοῦ στρατοῦ· ἀπέθανον δὲ αὐτῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τετρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ πάντες. 12. οἱ δὲ Χαλκιδῆς καὶ οἱ Βοττιαῖοι τροπαῖόν τε ἔστησαν καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀνελόμενοι διελύθησαν κατὰ πόλεις.

80. 1. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τούτων Ἀμπρακιῶται καὶ Χάονες βουλόμενοι Ἀκαρνανίαν πᾶσαν καταστρέψασθαι καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἀποστήσαι πείθουσι Λακεδαιμονίους ναυτικὸν παρασκευάσασθαι ἐκ τῆς ξυμμαχίδος καὶ ὀπλίτας χιλίους πέμψαι ἐς Ἀκαρνανίαν, λέγοντες ὅτι ἦν ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ ἅμα μετὰ σφῶν ἔλθωσιν, ἀδυνάτων ὄντων ξυμβοηθεῖν τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης Ἀκαρνάνων ῥαδίως ἂν Ἀκαρ-

6. εἶχον] Sc. οἱ Χαλκιδῆς.

8. ἀναχωροῦσι] Sc. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι: for the abrupt change of subject cp. i. 51. 5; ii. 3. 4.

10. ἢ δοκοῖ] "Whenever there seemed to be an opportunity," like ὅπη παρείκοι, iii. 1. 2. For the construction, cp. note on i. 49. 3. As to the form of the optative in these verbs, Poppe observes that we have προσχωροῖ, iv. 105. 1; προχωροίη, ii. 5. 1; ὑποχωροίη, iv. 10. 4; δοκοίη, iv. 11. 4.

11.] τῷ περιόντι is masculine: cp. 2. 3. Also cp. i. 30. 3.

CH. LXXX. 1. τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσ-

σης] "The Acarnanians who lived on the coast:" cp. v. 65. 4; vii. 63. 1; viii. 1. 2." Poppe: and Krüger also regards the words as equivalent to ἀδυνάτων ὄντων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσση Ἀκαρνάνων ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ξυμβοηθεῖν. The same phrase recurs ii. 83. 1, where it seems to give a better construction if we take ἀπὸ θαλάσσης as in i. 7, and translate "the Acarnanians who dwelt in the interior." The object was to prevent them from concentrating their forces by threatening as many points as possible.

νανίαν σχόντες καὶ τῆς Ζακύνθου καὶ Κεφαλληνίας κρατήσουσι, καὶ ὁ περίπλους οὐκέτι ἔσοιτο Ἀθηναίοις ὁμοῖος περὶ Πελοπόννησον· ἐλπίδα δ' εἶναι καὶ Ναύπακτον λαβεῖν. 2. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πεισθέντες Κνήμον μὲν ναύαρχον ἔτι ὄντα καὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἐπὶ ναυσὶν ὀλίγαις εὐθὺς πέμπουσι, τῷ δὲ ναυτικῷ περιήγγειλαν παρασκευασαμένῳ ὥς τάχιστα πλεῖν εἰς Λευκάδα. 3. ἦσαν δὲ Κορίνθιοι ξυμπροθυμούμενοι μάλιστα τοῖς Ἀμπρακιώταις ἀποίοις οὔσι. 4. καὶ τὸ μὲν ναυτικὸν ἐκ τε Κορίνθου καὶ Σικυῶνος καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ χωρίων ἐν παρασκευῇ ἦν, τὸ δ' ἐκ Λευκάδος καὶ Ἀνακτορίου καὶ Ἀμπρακίας πρότερον ἀφικόμενον ἐν Λευκάδι περιέμενε. 5. Κνήμος δὲ καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ χίλιοι ὀπλίται ἐπειδὴ ἐπεραιώθησαν λαθόντες Φορμίωνα, ὃς ἦρχε τῶν εἴκοσι νεῶν τῶν Ἀττικῶν αἱ περὶ Ναύπακτον ἐφρούρουν, εὐθὺς παρεσκευάζοντο τὴν κατὰ γῆν στρατείαν. 6. καὶ αὐτῷ παρήσαν Ἕλληνων μὲν Ἀμπρακιῶται καὶ Λευκάδιοι καὶ Ἀνακτόριοι καὶ οὓς αὐτὸς ἔχων ἦλθε χίλιοι Πελοποννησίων, βάρβαροι δὲ Χάονες χίλιοι ἀβασίλευτοι, ὧν ἡγούντο ἐπ' ἑτησίῳ προστασίᾳ ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ γένους Φῶττος καὶ Νικάνωρ. 7.

ἂν . . . σχόντες] “They might easily seize Acarnania, and then will certainly be masters of the islands.” σχόντες represents σχοῖεν, so that we have here ἦν with subjunctive in the protasis answered by ἂν with optative, and by the future indicative in the apodosis: cp. iii. 46. 2, ἦν τις καὶ ἀποστᾶσα πόλις γνῶ μὴ περιεσομένη, ἔλθοι ἂν εἰς ξύμβασιν. Krüger strangely connects ἂν κρατήσουσι, though in i. 140. 9 he reads καταστήσaiτε against the majority of MSS., which have καταστήσετε. On the general question whether ἂν is ever used with the future indicative, see Stallbaum's note on Plato, *Rep.* 615 D; Matthiä, *G. G.* 599 d; Madv. *G. S.* 118, r. 3. ἔσοιτο: the indicative κρατήσουσι is an instance of the mixed style of the oratio obliqua (see i. 28. 2); ἔσοιτο is in its proper mood. At

the same time the optative may mark a secondary, more distant and uncertain consequence: cp. iii. 22. 9. ὁμοῖος: “as safe or easy as before:” cp. i. 73. 5; ii. 89. 16. εἶναι: cp. note on δεδιέναι, ii. 72. 5. 2. ναύαρχον] “The regular term of the Spartan high admiral's command, at least a few years later, was one year. Cnemus and Alcidas, however, both appear to have held the office for two years: perhaps because in the beginning of a maritime war, to which the Lacedaemonians were such strangers, they wished their admirals to gain more experience than they could acquire in the short space of a twelvemonth.” Arn. Cp. above on ii. 66. 2. ἐπὶ ναυσὶν: generally ἐπὶ νεῶν, but cp. iv. 10. 3.

5. τῶν εἴκοσι νεῶν] See ii. 69. 1.

6. ἐπ' ἑτησίῳ προστασίᾳ] “On

ἐστρατεύοντο δὲ μετὰ Χαόνων καὶ Θεσπρωτοὶ ἀβασίλευτοι. 8. Μολοσσούς δὲ ἤγε καὶ Ἀτιντᾶνας Σαβύλινθος ἐπίτροπος ὢν Θάρυπος τοῦ βασιλέως ἔτι παιδὸς ὄντος, καὶ Παραναίους Ὀροῖδος βασιλεὺς ὢν. 9. Ὀρέσται δὲ χίλιοι, ὢν ἐβασίλευεν Ἀντίοχος, μετὰ Παραναίων ξυνεστρατεύοντο Ὀροίδῳ Ἀντιόχου ἐπιτρέψαντος. 10. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ Περδίκκας κρύφα τῶν Ἀθηναίων χιλίους Μακεδόνων, οἳ ὕστερον ἦλθον. 11. τούτῳ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπορεύετο Κνήμος, οὗ περιμείνας τὸ ἀπὸ Κορίνθου ναυτικόν· καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἀργείας ἰόντες Λιμναίαν κώμην ἀτείχιστον ἐπόρθησαν. 12. ἀφικνούνται τε ἐπὶ Στράτον, πόλιν μεγίστην τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας, νομίζοντες, εἰ ταύτην πρώτην λάβοιεν, ῥαδίως ἂν σφίσι τᾶλλα προσχωρήσειν.

81. 1. Ἀκαρνᾶνες δὲ αἰσθόμενοι κατὰ τε γῆν πολλὴν στρατιὰν ἐσβεβληκυῖαν ἔκ τε θαλάσσης ναυσὶν ἅμα τοὺς πολεμίους παρεσομένους, οὔτε ξυνεβοήθουν ἐφύλασσόν τε τὰ αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι, παρά τε Φορμίωνα ἔπεμπον κελεύοντες ἀμύνειν· ὁ δὲ ἀδύνατος ἔφη εἶναι ναυτικοῦ ἐκ Κορίνθου μέλλοντος ἐκπλεῖν Ναύπακτον ἐρήμην ἀπολιπεῖν. 2. οἳ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἳ ξύμμαχοι τρία τέλη ποιήσαντες σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐχώρουν πρὸς τὴν τῶν Στρατίων πόλιν, ὅπως ἐγγὺς στρατοπεδευσάμενοι, εἰ μὴ λόγοις πείθοιεν, ἔργῳ πειρῶντο τοῦ τείχους. 3. καὶ μέσον μὲν ἔχοντες προσήεσαν Χάονες καὶ οἳ ἄλλοι βάρβαροι, ἐκ δεξιᾶς δ' αὐτῶν Λευκάδιοι καὶ

the terms of being chiefs for one year; or, 'with an annual chieftainship,' as ἐπὶ is used in the expressions καθῆσθαι ἐπὶ δακρύοις, 'to sit weeping;' ζῆν ἐπὶ παισί, 'to live with, or having children.'" Arn. Cp. i. 27. 1; 37. 2. These chiefs were selected from a privileged family, the ἀρχικὸν γένος.

9. ἐπιτρέψαντος] τὸ ἀρχειν δηλονότι. Sch.

10. κρύφα] Because he was at this time in alliance with Athens: see ii. 29. 8. ὕστερον: "too late."

11. τῆς Ἀργείας] τῆς Ἀμφιλοχικῆς. Sch.

12. ἂν . . προσχωρήσειν] "ἂν is found with the future infinitive at v. 82. 5; vi. 66. 1; viii. 25. 5; 71. 1." Poppo; but Madvig, *G. S.* 173, r. 2, would correct these and all similar passages. ἂν προσχωρήσειν = ὅτι ἂν προσχωρήσοι, and has therefore no bearing upon the question whether ἂν is or is not used by Attic writers with the future indicative: see note on § 1, and the passage of Matthiä there referred to.

CH. LXXXI. 2. τρία τέλη] "Three columns," which would converge upon the town by different roads: cp. i. 48. 2.

Ἀνακτόριοι καὶ οἱ μετὰ τούτων, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ Κυνῆμος καὶ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ Ἀμπρακιῶται· διείχον δὲ πολὺ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε οὐδὲ ἑωρῶντο. 4. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες τεταγμένοι τε προσήεσαν καὶ διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχοντες ἕως ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ· οἱ δὲ Χάονες σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς πιστεύοντες καὶ ἀξιούμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκείνη ἡπειρωτῶν μαχιμώτατοι εἶναι, οὐτ' ἐπέσχον τὸ στρατόπεδον καταλαβεῖν χωρήσαντές τε ῥύμη μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων ἐνόμισαν αὐτοβοεῖ ἂν τὴν πόλιν ἐλεῖν καὶ αὐτῶν τὸ ἔργον γενέσθαι. 5. γνόντες δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Στράτιοι ἔτι προσιόντας καὶ ἡγησάμενοι, μεμονωμένων εἰ κρατήσειαν, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι σφίσι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὁμοίως προσελθεῖν, προλοχίζουσι τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐνέδραις, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, ἔκ τε τῆς πόλεως ὁμόσε χωρήσαντες καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐνεδρῶν προσπίπτουσι. 6. καὶ ἐς φόβον καταστάντων διαφθείρονται τε πολλοὶ τῶν Χαόνων καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι βάρβαροι ὥς εἶδον αὐτοὺς ἐνδόντας, οὐκέτι ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλ' ἐς φυγὴν κατέστησαν. 7. τῶν δὲ Ἑλληνικῶν στρατοπέδων οὐδέτερον ἦσθετο τῆς μάχης, διὰ τὸ πολὺ προελθεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ στρατόπεδον

3. οἱ μετὰ τούτων] “An equivalent expression to οἱ ξύμμοροι αὐτοῖς, sc. τοῖς Θηβαίοις, iv. 93. 4, signifying the Perioeci of the Leucadian peninsula, who were not Leucadian citizens, and those also of Anactorium.” Arn. This may be right. But the words may be no more than a vague et cetera, and need not mean that there were any others at all. Or it may refer to exiles from Sollion, ii. 30. 1, or quotas from any other Greek towns in the neighbourhood which were too small to deserve a separate mention.

4. διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχοντες] “With due vigilance,” keeping an advanced guard, and sending forward videttes. Literally, “being in a state of guard:” cp. note on i. 17. 1. “We may observe the great inferiority of the Epirots to the Greeks, and even

to the less advanced portion of the Greeks, in the qualities of order, discipline, steadiness, and power of co-operation for a joint purpose.” Grote, vi. 273. οὐτ' ἐπέσχον . . . καταλαβεῖν: “nor did they halt to occupy their camp as they should have done:” for the infinitive cp. note on i. 44. 1. τὸ στρατόπεδον: “the camp,” which it was usual to pitch at nightfall. γενέσθαι: repeat ἂν—“that the exploit would be all their own.”

5. ὁμοίως] “With the same chance of success as before:” cp. ii. 80. 1. ὁμόσε χωρεῖν: “to come to blows,” or “to close quarters:” cp. viii. 92. 10.

6. οὐκέτι] “No longer,” did not after this resist.

7. αὐτούς] τοὺς Χάονας. οἰηθῆναι: the subject is τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ στρατόπεδα: cp. i. 79. 8.

οἰηθῆναι καταληψομένους ἐπείγασθαι. 8. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνέκειντο φεύγοντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀνελάμβανόν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ξυναγαγόντες τὰ στρατόπεδα ἡσύχαζον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐς χεῖρας μὲν οὐκ ἰόντων σφίσι τῶν Στρατίων διὰ τὸ μήπω τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀκαρνᾶνας ξυμβεβοηθηκέναι, ἄποθεν δὲ σφενδονώντων καὶ ἐς ἀπορίαν καθιστάντων· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄνευ ὅπλων κινηθῆναι. 9. δοκοῦσι δ' οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες κράτιστοι εἶναι τοῦτο ποιεῖν. 82. 1. ἐπειδὴ δὲ νύξ ἐγένετο, ἀναχωρήσας ὁ Κυνῆμος τῇ στρατιᾷ κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀναπον ποταμόν, ὃς ἀπέχει σταδίους ὀγδοήκοντα Στράτου, τοὺς τε νεκροὺς κομίζεται τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ὑποσπόνδους, καὶ Οἰνιαδῶν ξυμπαγενομένων κατὰ φιλίαν ἀναχωρεῖ παρ' αὐτοὺς πρὶν τὴν ξυμβοήθειαν ἐλθεῖν. 2. κἀκεῖθεν ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπῆλθον ἕκαστοι. 3. οἱ δὲ Στράτιοι τροπαῖον ἔστησαν τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους.

83. 1. Τὸ δ' ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Κρισαίου κόλπου ναυτικόν, ὃ ἔδει παραγενέσθαι τῷ Κυνῆμω, ὅπως μὴ ξυμβοηθῶσιν οἱ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω Ἀκαρνᾶνες, οὐ παραγίγνεται, ἀλλ' ἠναγκάσθησαν περὶ τὰς

8. ἐνέκειντο φεύγοντες] “ ‘Broke in upon the advancing columns in their flight;’ ἐσέπιπτον φεύγοντες would be the more usual expression.” Arn. ἄνευ ὅπλων: “they could not stir,” to get water, fodder, “without their arms;” whereas the Greek soldier liked to divest himself of his shield and the rest of his heavy panoply as soon as his march was over: cp. note on ii. 2. 6.

9.] τοῦτο ποιεῖν = σφενδονᾶν: cp. i. 5. 2.

CH. LXXXII. 1. τὴν ξυμβοήθειαν] τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης Ἀκαρνᾶνων. For the Peloponnesian fleet had failed to effect the intended diversion.

CH. LXXXIII. 1. οἱ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω] See ii. 80. 1. Poppo joins ἄνω with ξυμβοηθῶσιν, and Krüger thinks that the position of the adverb is not unlike that of νῦν,

ii. 44. 1. So also Darpe, who also quotes i. 18. 7, ἐς τόνδε αἰὲ τὸν πόλεον: ii. 7. 3, ἐς τὰ περὶ Πελοπόννησον μᾶλλον χωρία: iii. 87. 4, οἱ πολλοὶ τότε σεισμοί, as places where adverbs, belonging properly to the verb, are inserted between substantives and their attributes. Yet the meaning here may be “the Acarnanians who dwelt in the interior away from the sea.” Wherever in the passages quoted the adverb is placed between the article and substantive (as here), it may be regarded as qualifying the substantive and not the verb. As far as the sense is concerned either rendering will do well enough. But if Poppo is right, should we not have had βοηθεῖν rather than ξυμβοηθεῖν? περὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας: “about the very days,” not “the same days,” which would require a dative.

αὐτὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἐν Στράτῳ μάχης ναυμαχῆσαι πρὸς Φορμίωνα καὶ τὰς εἴκοσι ναῦς τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἱ ἐφρούρουν ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ. 2. ὁ γὰρ Φορμίων παραπλέοντας αὐτοὺς ἔξω τοῦ κόλπου ἐτήρει, βουλόμενος ἐν τῇ εὐρυχωρίᾳ ἐπιθέσθαι. 3. οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἔπλεον μὲν οὐχ ὥς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν, ἀλλὰ στρατιωτικώτερον παρεσκευασμένοι ἐς τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενοι πρὸς ἐπτὰ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς τὰς σφετέρας τολμῆσαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους εἴκοσι ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ναυμαχίαν ποιήσασθαι· ἐπειδὴ μέντοι ἀντιπαραπλέοντάς τε ἐώρων αὐτούς, παρὰ γῆν σφῶν κομιζομένων, καὶ ἐκ Πατρῶν τῆς Ἀχαΐας πρὸς τὴν ἀντιπέρας ἡπειρον διαβαλλόντων ἐπὶ Ἀκαρνανίας κατεῖδον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπὸ τῆς Χαλκίδος καὶ τοῦ Εὐήνου ποταμοῦ προσπλέοντας σφίσι καὶ οὐκ ἔλαθον νυκτὸς ὑφορμισάμενοι, οὕτω δὲ ἀναγκάζονται

2. ἔξω] Used here of motion from within. Poppo seems disposed to question the genuineness of the word, rather inconsistently perhaps, when he has just attached the same sense of motion to ἄνω without a scruple. Phormion was waiting for their sailing along coast out of the gulf for the reasons which he gives at 89. 10 sqq. εὐρυχωρία: in the more open water west of the promontories of Rhium and Antirhium.

3. ὥς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν] Cp. i. 62. 5; 126. 5. στρατιωτικώτερον: “more like troop-ships than men of war,” that is, says Arnold, with more soldiers and fewer seamen and rowers on board than a trireme usually carried. Their rowers were bad, see next chapter, section 3. For the construction, cp. i. 10. 6. ἂν: for the position of this word see note on i. 2. 2. ἀντιπαραπλέοντας: “sailing along the opposite or northern coast.” σφῶν: the Corinthians. This genitive absolute is not unnatural, as it serves to bring out more distinctly the opposition to αὐτούς, but διαβαλλόντων is very harsh: cp. note on i. 114. 1. The order of the events is (1) ἐώρων,

(2) οὐκ ἔλαθον, (3) κατεῖδον.

οὐκ ἔλαθον] What is the subject? According to the Scholiast, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι: cp. i. 51. 5; ii. 79. 8 for similar abrupt transitions. If this view is adopted, translate, “and it was clear that the Athenians had anchored in the night to wait for them.” But the Athenians would not try λαθεῖν, and it is certainly more natural to give to ἔλαθον the same subject as to ἐώρων and κατεῖδον. Then what does ὑφορμισάμενοι mean? It appears that, though the Athenians and Peloponnesians had at first been skirting along the opposite coasts within full sight of one another, they had somehow parted company, and the former got to Chalcis, while the latter were still at Patrae. ὑφορμισάμενοι seems to denote the manœuvre by which the Athenians had been thus for a time shaken off. Translate then with Arnold, “and they (i. e. the Peloponnesians) had not evaded them, though they had anchored secretly during the night.” As soon as darkness fell the Peloponnesians lay to at Patrae, hoping that Phormion not noticing this would pass by: then before dawn they might get

ναυμαχεῖν κατὰ μέσον τὸν πορθμόν. 4. στρατηγοὶ δὲ ἦσαν μὲν καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἐκάστων οἱ παρεσκευάζοντο, Κορινθίων δὲ Μαχάων καὶ Ἰσοκράτης καὶ Ἀγαθαρχίδας. 5. καὶ οἱ μὲν Πελοποννήσιοι ἐτάξαντο κύκλον τῶν νεῶν ὥς μέγιστον οἰοί τε ἦσαν μὴ διδόντες διέκπλουν, τὰς πρῶρας μὲν ἔξω, εἴσω δὲ τὰς πρύμνας, καὶ τὰ τε λεπτὰ πλοῖα ἂν ξυνέπλει ἐντὸς ποιοῦνται καὶ πέντε ναῦς τὰς ἄριστα πλεύσας, ὅπως ἐκπλέοιεν διὰ βραχείος παραγινόμενοι, εἴ πη προσπιπτοίεν οἱ ἐναντίοι. 84. 1. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ μίαν ναῦν τεταγμένοι περιέπλεον αὐτοὺς κύκλῳ καὶ ξυνῆγον ἐς ὀλίγον, ἐν χρῶ ἄει παραπλέοντες καὶ δόκησιν παρέχοντες αὐτίκα ἐμβαλεῖν προεΐ-

across to Acarnania without interruption. But Phormion, though he had actually been deceived and sailed on as far as the river Evenus, soon discovered the trick, and sailed to the south-east in quest of the enemy, whom he encountered shortly after they had weighed anchor. Grote (see his long note, vi. 267) translates ὑφορμισάμενοι, "having pretended to anchor;" but the only effect of this pretence would have been that the Athenians would have anchored opposite to them and barred their passage. Besides, the meaning of doing a thing for a pretence is rarely if ever conveyed by ὑπό in composition. λάθρα καὶ κακούργως ὀρμισάμενοι is the definition of the word given in Bekker, *Anecd.* p. 312. 10 (quoted by Krüger). ἔλαθον is a quasi-pluperfect (see note on i. 31. 2), and is anterior to κατείδον. κατὰ μέσον τὸν πορθμόν: "in the middle of their passage." Bloomfield. Or, "in the middle of the strait," for even to the west of Rhium the water is only comparatively εὐρυχωρία.

4. παρεσκευάζοντο] "Of each state which took part in the expedition."

5. κύκλον] "They drew up their ships in a circle"—the arrangement adopted by the Greek fleet at Artemisium, Hdt. viii. 11: it was a sign of bad seamanship, as it gave no

room for the proper handling of the vessels. διέκπλουν: "without allowing space for the Athenians to break their line:" for the διέκπλους, cp. i. 49. 4, and for the construction, i. 111. 2; iv. 16. 1. τὰ λεπτὰ πλοῖα: "the small craft;" Grote calls them the store-vessels. διὰ βραχείος: "through, from a short distance"—cp. iv. 14. 1: sometimes "at a short interval," "close at hand"—cp. iv. 76. 8. παραγινόμενοι: the crews are substituted for the ships: cp. note on ἑκάστοι, i. 7.

CH. LXXXIV. 1. κατὰ μίαν ναῦν] μίαν ἔχοντες ὀπίσω τῆς μιᾶς. Sch. "In single file." ἐν χρῶ: ἀντὶ τοῦ πλησίον· ἔστι δὲ ἀποκοπή· ἦν γὰρ ἐν χρωτί. εἴρηται δὲ ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῆς ἄχρι τοῦ χρωτὸς γιγνομένης. Sch. "Shaving close past," sailing round and round so near as almost to graze the circumference of the circle formed by the Peloponnesian ships: thus ξυνῆγον ἐς ὀλίγον, for any ship which had its bows projecting beyond the circle would back inwards for fear of being struck. δόκησιν ἐμβαλεῖν: cp. note on i. 44. 1. They looked as if they were just going to charge: for the future with δοκῶ, cp. vii. 41. 4, ἐδόκουν χειρώσεσθαι, "they thought they should conquer." Aesch. *Eum.* 900, θέλξειν μ' ἔοικας, "you seem likely to soothe me."

ρητο δ' αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ Φορμίωνος μὴ ἐπιχειρεῖν πρὶν ἂν αὐτὸς σημήνῃ. 2. ἤλπιζε γὰρ αὐτῶν οὐ μενεῖν τὴν τάξιν, ὥσπερ ἐν γῇ πεζήν, ἀλλὰ ξυμπεσεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλας τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ταραχὴν παρέξειν, εἴ τ' ἐκπνεύσαι ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου τὸ πνεῦμα, ὅπερ ἀναμένων τε περιέπλει καὶ εἰώθει γίγνεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἑῷ, οὐδένα χρόνον ἡσυχάσειν αὐτούς· καὶ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τε ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι ὅποταν βούληται, τῶν νεῶν ἄμεινον πλεουσῶν, καὶ τότε καλλίστην γίγνεσθαι. 3. ὥς δὲ τό τε πνεῦμα κατῇει καὶ αἱ νῆες ἐν ὀλίγῳ ἤδη οὔσαι ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων, τοῦ τε ἀνέμου τῶν τε πλοίων ἅμα προσκειμένων, ἐταράσσοντο, καὶ ναῦς τε νηὶ προσέπιπτε καὶ τοῖς κοντοῖς διωθοῦντο, βοῇ τε χρώμενοι καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀντιφυλακῇ τε καὶ λοιδορίᾳ οὐδὲν κατήκουον οὔτε τῶν παραγγελλομένων οὔτε τῶν κελευστῶν καὶ τὰς κώπας ἀδύνατοι

2. ὥσπερ ἐν γῇ πεζήν] “That such a ring of ships would not be as steady as a similar disposition of troops on land.” For Greek and Roman soldiers were drawn up in a ring where our infantry would form square: cp. Livy, iv. 39; xxviii. 22. τὰ πλοῖα: the λεπτὰ πλοῖα in the centre. παρέξειν: for the future, cp. i. 27. 3. εἰ ἐκπνεύσαι: “if it were to begin to blow.” εἰώθει: repeat ὅπερ, but in the nominative, or from the relative supply αὐτό: cp. above, 74. 2, and Madv. *G. S.* 104 a, b. ἐπὶ τὴν ἑῷ: “towards morning.” Bloomfield quotes Arrian, *Anab.* iii. 18. 7, ἔλαθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑῷ ἐπιπесῶν. In both places Krüger thinks ὑπό ought to be read; others will have περί, which has some MS. authority. Certainly ἐπ' ἡῷ, Hom. *Od.* vii. 288, means “until morning,” yet in the present passage we may translate “as it drew towards sunrise,” without doing more violence to the proper meaning of the preposition than must be done to ὑπό at ii. 15. 4. We may cp. Vergil's “spirare in noctem.” ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ: “in his own power.” καλλίστην: “to most advantage.” γίγνεσθαι: cp. i. 93. 4; 127. 1.

3. κατῇει] Cp. ii. 25. 5. πλοίων: the store-vessels kept getting in the way of the men-of-war. προσκειμένων is used as in the phrase πῆμα πρόσκειται. But Reiske conjectures πολεμίων for πλοίων. διωθοῦντο: “kept pushing one another off: this is the reciprocal use of the middle voice where the action is mutual, and A does to B what B does to A.” Arn. But the sense of reciprocity attaches rather to the διά. “This is the only passage in Thuc. where ὠθεῖν drops the augment, though in other writers both ὠθεῖν and ὠνεῖσθαι frequently do so.” Poppo. ἀντιφυλακῇ: “there was such an uproar, and they were so busy with watching and cursing one another.” παραγγελλομένων: i. 121. 2.

κελευστῶν] A trireme had in all 170 rowers distributed in three tiers, with nothing to keep them in time but the voice of the κελευστής: see Smith, *Dict. Ant.* s. vv. Navarchus, Portisculus; and Grote, vi. 271, note. ἀναφέρειν: “to recover,” they did not drop their hands sufficiently to raise the oar blades clear of the water, or they struck the tops of the waves as they came forward

ὄντες ἐν κλυδωνίῳ ἀναφέρειν ἄνθρωποι ἄπειροι τοῖς κυβερνήταις ἀπειθεστέρας τὰς ναῦς παρεῖχον, τότε δὴ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον σημαίνει, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι προσπесόντες πρῶτον μὲν καταδύουσι τῶν στρατηγίδων νεῶν μίαν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ πᾶσας ἢ χωρήσειαν διέφθειρον, καὶ κατέστησαν ἐς ἄλκην μὲν μηδένα τρέπεσθαι αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ταραχῆς. φεύγειν δ' ἐς Πάτρας καὶ Δύμην τῆς Ἀχαΐας. 4. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καταδιώξαντες καὶ ναῦς δώδεκα λαβόντες τοὺς τε ἄνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν τοὺς πλείστους ἀνελόμενοι ἐς Μολύκρειον ἀπέπλεον, καὶ τροπαῖον στήσαντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥίῳ καὶ ναὺν ἀναθέντες τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἀνεχώρησαν ἐς Ναύπακτον. 5. παρέπλευσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι εὐθὺς ταῖς περιλοίποις τῶν νεῶν ἐκ τῆς Δύμης καὶ Πατρῶν ἐς Κυλλήνην τὸ Ἠλείων ἐπίνειον· καὶ ἀπὸ Λευκάδος Κυνῆμος καὶ αἱ ἐκεῖθεν νῆες, ἃς ἔδει ταύταις ξυμμίξαι, ἀφικνουῦνται μετὰ τὴν ἐν Στράτῳ μάχην ἐς τὴν Κυλλήνην.

85. 1. Πέμπουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῷ Κυνῆμῳ ξυμβούλους ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς Τιμοκράτην καὶ Βρασίδαν καὶ Λυκόφρονα, κελεύοντες ἄλλην ναυμαχίαν βελτίῳ κατασκευάζεσθαι καὶ μὴ ὑπ' ὀλίγων νεῶν εἶργεσθαι τῆς θαλάσσης.

for the next stroke, they caught crabs or feathered too low. ἄνθρωποι ἄπειροι: lubbers that they were: see note on i. 5. 1. ἀπειθεστέρας: "less manageable," because the ships lost their way and would not answer the helm. τότε δὴ: *tim demum*: see i. 58. 1, where as here it is amplified by κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον. καταδύουσι: cp. i. 50. 1, and for διέφθειρον see on i. 29. 3. ἢ χωρήσειαν: "wherever they went:" see i. 49. 3.

κατέστησαν] "Reduced them to such a plight that none of them attempted to resist:" cp. vi. 16. 6, Λακεδαιμονίους κατέστησα ἀγωνίσασθαι, where as here ἐς τοῦτο ὥστε must be supplied. For ἐς ἄλκην τρέπεσθαι we have ἐς ἄλκην ὑπομείναι, iii. 108. 1.

4. ἀνελόμενοι] "Having taken

up to themselves or on board:" ἀνελόντες, "having killed." Göller.

5. ξυμμίξαι] See above, 80. 11. He ought to have effected a junction with them before starting on his expedition.

CH. LXXXV. 1. ξυμβούλους] The Spartans rarely superseded an incompetent officer before the term of his command expired, but to mark their loss of confidence they sent him these counsellors or adjutants, by whose advice he was obliged to guide himself: cp. iii. 69. 1; v. 63. 4; viii. 39. 2. κατασκευάζεσθαι: "we should rather expect παρασκευάζεσθαι, which is generally used to express preparations for a temporary object. But compare ii. 78. 3, ἡ πολιορκία κατεσκευάσθη: viii. 5. 1, ἐν τῇ κατασκευῇ τοῦ πολέμου." Arn.

2. ἐδόκει γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἄλλως τε καὶ πρῶτον ναυμαχίας πειρασμένοις πολὺς ὁ παράλογος εἶναι καὶ οὐ τοσοῦτῳ ᾧοντο σφῶν τὸ ναυτικὸν λείπεσθαι, γεγενῆσθαι δέ τινα μαλακίαν, οὐκ ἀντιτιθέντες τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἐκ πολλοῦ ἐμπειρίαν τῆς σφετέρας δι' ὀλίγου μελέτης. 3. ὀργῇ οὖν ἀπέστελλον. 4. οἱ δὲ ἀφικόμενοι μετὰ Κνήμου ναῦς τε περιήγγελλον κατὰ πόλεις καὶ τὰς προὔπαρχούσας ἐξηρτύνοντο ὥς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν. 5. πέμπει δὲ καὶ ὁ Φορμίων ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας τὴν τε παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν ἀγγελοῦντας καὶ περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἣν ἐνίκησαν φράσσοντας, καὶ κελεύων αὐτῷ ναῦς ὅτι πλείστας διὰ τάχους ἀποστεῖλαι, ὥς καθ' ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐλπίδος οὔσης αἰεὶ ναυμαχήσειν. 6. οἱ δὲ ἀποπέμπουσιν εἴκοσι ναῦς αὐτῷ, τῷ δὲ κομίζονται αὐτὰς προσεπέστειλαν ἐς Κρήτην πρῶτον ἀφικέσθαι. 7. Νικίας γὰρ Κρῆς Γορτύνιος πρόξενος ὢν πείθει αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ Κυδωνίαν πλεῦσαι, φάσκων προσποιήσιν αὐτὴν οὔσαν πολεμίαν· ἐπήγε δὲ Πολιχνίταις χαριζόμενος ὁμόροις τῶν Κυδωνιατῶν. 8. καὶ ὁ μὲν λαβὼν τὰς ναῦς ᾧχετο ἐς Κρήτην καὶ μετὰ τῶν Πολιχνιτῶν ἐδήλου τὴν

2. πρῶτον] ἐν τῷ Πελοποννησιακῷ πολέμῳ δηλονότι. Sch. λείπεσθαι: "was inferior in naval science." μαλακίαν: "they had indeed heard of the seamanship of Athens, but had never felt it, and could not understand what it meant; so that they could impute the defeat to nothing but disgraceful cowardice." Grote, vi. 274. ἀντιθέντες τῆς μελέτης: a somewhat unusual construction, which however recurs at iii. 56. Generally ἀντιτιθέναι τινί τι.

3. ἀπέστελλον] Sc. τοὺς ξυμβούλους: for the imperfect cp. i. 13. 8.

5. αὐτῷ] Bekker corrects to αὐτῶ and is followed by Krüger and Classen. Cp. i. 68. 2; 95. 2; ii. 13. 1; 65. 1. This substitution of the demonstrative for the reflexive arises from the necessity of distinguishing between the primary and the secondary subject, that of the

principal and that of the subordinate verb. In the present passage Phormion is subject as regards κελεύων, object as regards ἀποστεῖλαι, still as subject of the main verb we should have expected him to be denoted by οἱ: thus at the beginning of Plato's *Republic*, Πολέμαρχος ἐκέλευσε δραμόντα τὸν παῖδα περιμεῖναι ἑ κελεῦσαι. But the passages cited appear to render correction unnecessary.

6. τῷ . κομίζονται] "The officer in charge." This expedition to Crete was directly contrary to the advice of Pericles, i. 144. 1; ii. 65. 7.

7. πολεμίαν] Sc. τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. "Cydonia would hate and be hated by the Athenians, as a considerable portion of its citizens were Aeginetan colonists who had settled there, Olymp. 65. 2: see Hdt. iii. 59" Arn.

γῆν τῶν Κυδωνιατῶν, καὶ ὑπὸ ἀνέμων καὶ ὑπὸ ἀπλοίας ἐνδιέτριψεν οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον.

86. 1. Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Κυλλήνῃ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐν τούτῳ ἐν ᾧ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ Κρήτην κατείχοντο παρεσκευασμένοι ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν παρέπλευσαν ἐς Πάνορμον τὸν Ἀχαϊκόν, οὐπερ αὐτοῖς ὁ κατὰ γῆν στρατὸς τῶν Πελοποννησίων προσεβεβοηθήκει. 2. παρέπλευσε δὲ καὶ ὁ Φορμίων ἐπὶ τὸ Ῥίον τὸ Μολυκρικὸν καὶ ὠρμίσατο ἔξω αὐτοῦ ναυσὶν εἴκοσιν αἷσπερ καὶ ἐναυμάχησεν. 3. ἦν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν τὸ Ῥίον φίλιον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, τὸ δ' ἕτερον Ῥίον ἐστὶν ἀντιπέρας τὸ ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ· διέχετον δὲ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων σταδίους μάλιστα ἑπτὰ τῆς θαλάσσης, τοῦ δὲ Κρισαίου κόλπου στόμα τοῦτό ἐστιν. 4. ἐπὶ οὖν τῷ Ῥίῳ τῷ Ἀχαϊκῷ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἀπέχοντι οὐ πολὺ τοῦ Πανόρμου, ἐν ᾧ αὐτοῖς ὁ πεζὸς ἦν, ὠρμίσαντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ναυσὶν ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους εἶδον. 5. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν ἕξ ἢ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἀνθώρμουν ἀλλήλοις μελετῶντές τε καὶ παρασκευαζόμενοι τὴν ναυμαχίαν, γνώμην ἔχοντες οἱ μὲν μὴ ἐκπλεῖν ἔξω τῶν Ῥίων ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν, φοβούμενοι τὸ πρότερον πάθος, οἱ δὲ μὴ ἐσπλεῖν ἐς τὰ στενὰ, νομίζοντες πρὸς ἐκείνων εἶναι τὴν ἐν ὀλίγῳ ναυμαχίαν. 6. ἔπειτα ὁ Κυνῆμος καὶ ὁ Βρασίδας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν Πελοποννησίων στρατηγοὶ βουλόμενοι ἐν τάχει τὴν ναυμαχίαν ποιῆσαι πρὶν τι καὶ ἀπὸ

8.] ὑπό, because ἐνδιέτριψεν implies a passive idea—"he was compelled to waste a long time:" cp. i. 8. 3, and see note on ii. 44. 2. ἀπλοίας here fills up the meaning of ἀνέμων much as στρατιά does that of ὀπλῖται above, 79. 4.

CH. LXXXVI. 1.] οὐπερ . . . προσεβεβοηθήκει = οὐπερ ἦν προσβεβοηθηκώς.

3. σταδίους . . ἑπτὰ] Modern travellers say a mile and a half.

4. εἶδον] Sc. ὁρμισαμένους ἐς Ῥίον τὸ Μολυκρικόν.

5. τὴν . . ναυμαχίαν] "The coming battle." οἱ μὲν; οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι, πρὸς ἐκείνων: "in their favour," literally, "from them," or "in

their direction," and so "near them;" hence this preposition with the genitive is used often of friendly conjunction—cp. iii. 38. 1; iv. 10. 2; vii. 81. 4, and elsewhere.

6. ποιῆσαι] "Activum de ducibus qui auctores sunt ut pugna fiat, cf. iv. 91; v. 59. 5; 80. 3. Medio tamen utitur Phormio, ii. 89. 10, ipse certaturus." Poppo. See note on ii. 34. 1. ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων: "from Athens:" cp. i. 110. 4; ii. 92. 7; iv. 97. 2. καί refers to αὐτοῖς προσεβεβοηθήκει: they had received reinforcements themselves, and feared Phormion would receive some also; or else it is to be connected with ἐπιβοηθῆσαι—"before

τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιβοηθήσαι. ξυνεκάλεσαν τοὺς στρατιώτας πρῶτον, καὶ ὀρώντες αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς διὰ τὴν προτέραν ἦσαν φοβουμένους καὶ οὐ προθύμους ὄντας παρεκελεύσαντο καὶ ἔλεξαν τοιαύδε.

87. 1. “Ἡ μὲν γενομένη ναυμαχία, ᾧ ἄνδρες Πελοποννήσιοι, εἴ τις ἄρα δι’ αὐτὴν ὑμῶν φοβεῖται τὴν μέλλουσαν, οὐχὶ δικαίαν ἔχει τέκμαρσιν τὸ ἐκφοβῆσαι. 2. τῇ τε γὰρ παρασκευῇ ἐνδεὴς ἐγένετο, ὥσπερ ἴστε, καὶ οὐχὶ ἐς ναυμαχίαν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπὶ στρατείαν ἐπλέομεν· ξυνέβη δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης οὐκ ὀλίγα ἐναντιωθῆναι· καὶ πού τι καὶ ἡ ἀπειρία πρῶτον ναυμαχοῦντας ἔσφηλεν. 3. ὥστε οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέ-

a squadron came to their aid, as perhaps it might:” cp. i. 70. 8.

CH. LXXXVII. 1.] “There is no reason why our late disaster should make you dread the coming battle. We were then ill-prepared, fortune was against us, perhaps also our inexperience had a share in the result. Keep a bold heart. If the Athenians have skill we have courage, and courage without skill is better than skill without courage. Fortune may help us this time, when, instead of being taken by surprise, we are armed at all points, with an overwhelming superiority in ships, a friendly shore, and a strong army. Our former blunders will teach us wisdom. Let each man do his duty then—or take the consequences.”

εἴ τις ἄρα] Cp. i. 70. 8. οὐχὶ . . ἐκφοβῆσαι: “it does not supply a safe clue to the future in the terror it has caused you:” τὸ ἐκφοβῆσαι δ’ ἔχει οὐ δικαία τέκμαρσις ἐστίν. Others, not perhaps so well, translate “it does not afford sufficient materials for conjecture so as to alarm you;” on this theory τὸ ἐκφοβῆσαι denotes the result—cp. ii. 53. 4, τὸ προσταλαιπωρεῖν: iii. 1. 2, τὸ μὴ κακουργεῖν. οὐχὶ δικαίαν: not just, because fear is onesided. ἔχει: cp. notes on i. 5. 1; 9. 2. τέκμαρσιν: another of those abstract verbals of which Thuc. is so fond: cp. ii. 39. 4.

2.] τε answers to καὶ πού τι, ξυνέβη δὲ is parenthetical. καὶ οὐχὶ: καὶ is explanatory—see ii. 79. 4; 85. 8. μᾶλλον ἢ: “so much as:” cp. note on i. 9. 3, οὐ χάριτι τὸ πλεῖον ἢ φόβῳ. ἐπὶ στρατείαν: cp. ii. 83. 3, and Tac. *Hist.* ii. 40. 1, non ut ad pugnam sed ad bellandum. τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης: cp. τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ii. 64. 3: very slightly different from τὰ τῆς τύχης, iv. 55. 2, or from τύχη. καὶ πού τι καὶ: “and partly also perhaps.”

3. κατὰ] “By reason of:” cp. i. 9. 2. τῆς γνώμης . . . ἀμβλύνεσθαι: “if the reading is correct τῆς γνώμης is governed by ἀμβλύνεσθαι, τὸ μὴ νικηθέν = τοὺς μὴ νικηθέντας, and κατὰ κράτος = absolutely, ‘nor is it just that those who have not been decisively beaten should be cowed in spirit.’ But τὴν γνώμην (to be joined both with νικηθέν and with ἀμβλύνεσθαι) or τῇ γνώμῃ (to be joined with νικηθέν) would be a better reading.” Poppo. Cp. note on ii. 65. 4. Poppo is certainly wrong: τῆς γνώμης is a partitive genitive governed by τὸ μὴ νικηθέν (cp. note on i. 36. 1); κατὰ κράτος is the antithesis to τῆς ξυμφορᾶς τῷ ἀποβάντι: “nor is it just that that part of our courage, which if conquered was not conquered by force, and still swells with defiance, should be blunted by the result of chance.” We are partly dispirited, says the speaker, because

τέραν κακίαν τὸ ἡσσήσθαι προσεγένετο, οὐδὲ δίκαιον τῆς γνώμης τὸ μὴ κατὰ κράτος νικηθέν, ἔχον δέ τινα ἐν αὐτῷ ἀντιλογίαν, τῆς ξυμφορᾶς τῷ ἀποβάντι ἀμβλύνεσθαι, νομίσαι δὲ ταῖς μὲν τύχαις ἐνδέχεσθαι σφάλλεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ταῖς δὲ γνώμαις τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀεὶ ἀνδρείους ὀρθῶς εἶναι, καὶ μὴ ἀπειρίαν τοῦ ἀνδρείου παρόντος προβαλλομένους εἰκότως ἂν ἐν τινι κακοὺς γενέσθαι. 4. ὑμῶν δὲ οὐδ' ἡ ἀπειρία τοσοῦτον λείπεται ὅσον τόλμη προέχετε· τῶνδε δὲ ἡ ἐπιστήμη, ἣν μάλιστα φοβεῖσθε, ἀνδρείαν μὲν ἔχουσα καὶ μνήμην ἔξει ἐν τῷ δεινῷ ἐπιτελεῖν ἃ ἔμαθεν, ἄνευ δὲ εὐψυχίας οὐδεμία τέχνη πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους ἰσχύει. 5. φόβος γὰρ μνήμην ἐκπλήσσει, τέχνη δὲ ἄνευ ἀλκῆς οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ. 6. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὸ ἐμπειρότερον αὐτῶν τὸ τολμηρότερον ἀντιτάξασθε, πρὸς δὲ τὸ διὰ τὴν ἡσσαν δεδιέναι τὸ ἀπαράσκευοι τότε τυχεῖν. 7. περιγίγνεται δὲ ὑμῖν πλήθος τε νεῶν καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ οἰκείᾳ οὔσῃ ὀπλιτῶν παρόντων ναυμαχεῖν· τὰ δὲ πολλὰ τῶν πλειόνων καὶ ἄμεινον παρεσκευασμένων τὸ κράτος ἐστίν. 8. ὥστε οὐδὲ καθ' ἐν εὐρίσκομεν εἰκότως ἂν ἡμᾶς σφαλλομένους· 9. καὶ ὅσα ἡμάρτομεν πρότερον, νῦν αὐτὰ

we have been defeated. But how were we defeated? Not by fair strength, but by chance. Let not fortune then do what the Athenians could not do. ἀντιλογίαν: "something to say for itself:" cp. the use of αἰτία, i. 140. 7.

ὀρθῶς εἶναι] "It is right that they should be." καὶ μὴ: καὶ νομίσαι μὴ ἂν γενέσθαι, "and that so long as their courage remains they cannot with reason make want of skill their excuse for acting like cowards in any thing. Cnemus wants to persuade his men that though they are in a desperate fright, they are very brave fellows, and he speaks as if courage was like money, which can be possessed without being shown.

4. καὶ μνήμην ἔξει] The apodosis—cp. ii. 21. 1: "if it has coolness, it will also be able to recollect and go through the lesson it has learned by

rote." "With μνήμην ἔξει ἐπιτελεῖν cp. μεμνήσθω ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι, Xen. *Anab.* iii. 2. 39." Kr. οὐδεμία τέχνη: "no skill though twice as great as that of the Athenians." As if the Athenians also were not brave. But Cnemus speaks of Athenian sailors as Pericles spoke of Spartan soldiers: see ii. 39.

6. τὸ ἐμπειρότερον] "Their superior experience." We have here another sum in subtraction, like that given at ii. 39. 5: *our* courage cancels *their* skill, *our* unpreparedness *their* former victory, and there remains a clear balance in our favour.

7. πλήθος] "Superior numbers:" as this substantive is parallel to ναυμαχεῖν, the second subject of περιγίγνεται, we might have expected τὸ ναυμαχεῖν, but cp. ii. 39. 5; iii. 38. 1, and Madv. *G. S.* 144. τὰ πολλά: "for the most part."

ταῦτα προσγενόμενα διδασκαλίαν παρέξει. 10. θαρσοῦντες οὖν καὶ κυβερνῆται καὶ ναῦται τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος ἔπεσθε, χώραν μὴ προλείποντες ἢ ἂν τις προσταχθῇ. 11. τῶν δὲ πρότερον ἡγεμόνων οὐ χεῖρον τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἡμεῖς παρασκευάσομεν καὶ οὐκ ἐνδώσομεν πρόφασιν οὐδενὶ κακῷ γενέσθαι· ἦν δέ τις ἄρα καὶ βουληθῇ, κολασθήσεται τῇ πρεπούσῃ ζημίᾳ, οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοὶ τιμήσονται τοῖς προσήκουσιν ἄθλοις τῆς ἀρετῆς."

88. 1. Τοιαῦτα μὲν τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις οἱ ἄρχοντες παρεκελεύσαντο. 2. ὁ δὲ Φορμίων δεδιὼς καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὀρρωδίαν καὶ αἰσθόμενος ὅτι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ξυνιστάμενοι ἐφοβοῦντο, ἐβούλετο ξυγκαλέσας θαρσύναι τε καὶ παραίνεσιν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ποιήσασθαι. 3. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ αἰεὶ αὐτοῖς ἔλεγε καὶ παρεσκεύαζε τὰς γνώμας ὥς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς πλῆθος νεῶν τοσ-

8. ἂν . . σφαλλομένους] "On no single ground do we find that there is a probability of our failure:" εὐρίσκομεν ἡμᾶς ἂν σφαλλομένους, or εὐρίσκομεν ἂν σφαλλόμενοι: see *Madv. G. S.* 178 a, r. 1.

9. αὐτὰ ταῦτα] "These very things:" the blunders of yesterday will be the wisdom of to-day, for we have learnt how to avoid them, hence they are *προσγενόμενα*, added to our stock of experience. "According to the proverb τὰ παθήματα μαθήματα: so Aeschylus, *Agam.* 177, Ζῆνα . . . τὸν πάθει μάθος θέντα κυρίως ἔχειν." Arn.

10. τὸ καθ' ἑαυτόν] Cp. ii. 11. 4; 60. 3: "each in his degree or place."

11. ἦν . . ἄρα καί] Cp. i. 70. 8. κολασθήσεται: a needless intimation, one would have thought, for troops so brimful of spirit. τιμήσομαι: τιμηθήσομαι is used (as at vi. 80. 4), but comparatively seldom in Attic writers.

CH. LXXXVIII. 2. κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτούς] Cp. i. 79. 2. ξυνιστάμενοι: "gathering in knots:" see ii. 21. 2.

3. οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς πλῆθος] Supply ἐστί, and for the dative cp. i. 6. 3:

"there was no number of ships for them," "they could meet no number of ships." ἀξίωσιν: "determination." Ἀθηναῖοι: the absence of the article here gives the proper name the same sense which it not uncommonly gives to the substantive and adjective: see note on i. 5. 1. That is to say, a proper name, without the definite article, is frequently not merely denotative, but connotative. Ἀθηναῖοι here is not "Athenians" simply, but "the guardians of the naval glory of Athens." Similar is v. 9. 1, Δωριῆς μέλλετε Ἰωσὶ μάχεσθαι: cp. i. 124. 1. ὑποχωρεῖν: the neuter verb is here clothed in a transitive signification: cp. iii. 34. 2, ὑπεξελθόντες τούτους: iv. 28. 3, ἐξανεχώρει τὰ εἰρημένα: also *Madv. G. S.* 22 b, 23 a. "This passage is not only remarkable as it conveys the striking persuasion entertained by the Athenians of their own naval superiority, but also as it discloses the frank and intimate communication between the Athenian captain and his seamen, so strongly pervading and determining the feelings of the latter." Grote, vi. 266, note.

οὐτον, ἣν ἐπιπλήη, ὃ τι οὐχ ὑπομενετέον αὐτοῖς ἐστι καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἐκ πολλοῦ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀξίωσιν ταύτην εἰλήφεσαν μηδένα ὄχλον Ἀθηναῖοι ὄντες Πελοποννησίων νεῶν ὑποχωρεῖν. 4. τότε δὲ πρὸς τὴν παροῦσαν ὄψιν ὁρῶν αὐτοὺς ἀθυμοῦντας ἐβούλετο ὑπόμνησιν ποιήσασθαι τοῦ θαρσεῖν, καὶ ξυγκαλέσας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔλεξε τοιᾶδε.

89. 1. “Ὁρῶν ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, πεφοβημένους τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐναντίων ξυνεκάλεσα, οὐκ ἀξιῶν τὰ μὴ δεινὰ ἐν ὀρρωδία ἔχειν. 2. οὗτοι γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὸ προνενικῆσθαι καὶ μηδὲ αὐτοὶ οἶεσθαι ὁμοῖοι ἡμῖν εἶναι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου παρεσκευάσαντο· ἔπειτα ᾧ μάλιστα πιστεύοντες προσέρχονται, ὥς προσῆκον σφίσιν ἀνδρείοις εἶναι, οὐ δι’ ἄλλο τι θαρσοῦσιν ἢ διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ πεζῷ ἐμπειρίαν τὰ πλείω κατορθοῦντες, καὶ οἴονται σφίσι

CH. LXXXIX. 1.] “Do not be afraid where there is nothing to fear. These men know that they are not a match for us. They have nothing to stand upon but what they call their courage: because they are not bad soldiers they think that they ought to be good sailors too. But we are on our own element here, and our native spirit is as high as theirs. Nay, the greater part of them would not fight unless the Lacedaemonians drove them on, and they are already half-beaten by their fears, for they feel sure we should not stand against such odds, when it is free to us to run away, unless we were pretty confident about the result. Trust me not to fight them in the narrow waters. Out here we can get a good look at them and have plenty of room, which will give us the full benefit of our speed and skill, and that is what I mean to have. You keep your ears open, let me have no noise or confusion, and show your old mettle. If we win, the Peloponnesians may give up sailing and go home. If we lose, Athens will be swept from

the seas. You have beaten most of them before, and you can do it again.”

2. τὸ πλῆθος] “The sense is the same as if it had been written *πλήθει προεχούσας τὰς ναῦς καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου παρεσκευάσαντο*.” Arn. Or we may paraphrase *πλείονας τὰς ναῦς καὶ οὐκ ἴσας*, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου differing in little from the simple adjective: cp. i. 143. 3; ii. 3. 4: “they prepared this great and overwhelming fleet.” Krüger says, “with τὸ πλῆθος παρεσκευάσαντο means ‘they fitted out for, or from, themselves;’ with οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου, ‘they equipped themselves’ with means of war not equal to (much greater than) ours.”

ᾧ . . . κατορθοῦντες] The antecedent to ᾧ is ὥς προσῆκον σφίσιν ἀνδρείοις εἶναι—“their chief reliance in the attack upon us, the belief that bravery is inherited with their blood.” Then we have an anacoluthon. “What is the foundation of this belief? They are bold for no other reason than that their experience makes them generally victorious in war on land.” Cnemos had said “we have all the courage,

καὶ ἐν τῷ ναυτικῷ ποιήσιν τὸ αὐτό. 3. τὸ δ' ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου ἡμῖν μᾶλλον νῦν περιέσται, εἴπερ καὶ τούτοις ἐν ἐκείνῳ, ἐπεὶ εὐψυχία γε οὐδὲν προφέρουσι, τῷ δὲ ἐκάτεροί τι ἐμπειρότεροι εἶναι θρασύτεροί ἐσμεν. 4. Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε ἡγούμενοι τῶν ξυμμάχων διὰ τὴν σφετέραν δόξαν ἄκοντας προσάγουσι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐς τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἐπεχείρησαν ἡσσηθέντες παρὰ πολὺ αὐθις ναυμαχεῖν. 5. μὴ δὴ αὐτῶν τὴν τόλμαν δείσητε. 6. πολὺ δὲ ὑμεῖς ἐκείνοις πλέω φόβον παρέχετε καὶ πιστότερον κατὰ τε τὸ προνευκῆναι καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἡγούνται μὴ μέλλοντάς τι ἄξιον τοῦ παρὰ πολὺ πρᾶξιν ἀνθίστασθαι ἡμᾶς. 7. ἀντίπαλοι μὲν

they have all the skill." "Why," says Phormion, "your courage is acquired as well as ours, and it is a landsman's courage which will not help you here." οὐ δι' ἄλλο τι is parallel to the participle κατορθοῦντες = ὅτι κατορθοῦσιν, or διὰ τὸ κατορθοῦν: cp. ὁρῶν = ὅτι ἐώρων, i. 1. 1, and note on ii. 65. 12. For ὡς προσῆκον cp. note on i. 2. 6. ποιήσιν: the subject is τὴν ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐμπειρίαν—"they think that their military experience will produce for them the same effect (victory) at sea also."

3. τὸ δ'] "Whereas this," τὸ κατορθοῦν: cp. note on i. 37. 2. ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου: "if we may judge from what is natural and right:" ἐκ (as at i. 1. 3; vi. 36. 3) denotes the point of view out of which or from which one beholds or estimates any thing. νῦν = ἐν τῷ ναυτικῷ, as ἐν ἐκείνῳ = ἐν τῷ περὶ. ἐπεὶ . . . γε: "for in native spirit at any rate they do not excel us," such courage as is derived from experience is here on our side, and a great many of the enemy are fighting against their will. τῷ δὲ . . . ἐσμεν: "but inasmuch as each of us is more experienced in a particular branch of war we are the bolder here." The emphatic nominative ἡμεῖς is absent: cp. ii. 62. 2, οἷσθε: vi. 34. 4, ὁρμώμεθα: 68. 3, ὑπομινθήσκω.

4.] τε subjoins a third reason to ἐπεὶ. διὰ τὴν σφετέραν δόξαν: "for the sake of their own, the Spartan, glory." ἐπεὶ: "for otherwise," if they were not compelled. παρὰ πολὺ: cp. i. 29. 3.

5. δὴ] For these three reasons.

6.] ἂν belongs to ἀνθίστασθαι: for its position cp. i. 2. 2. τοῦ παρὰ πολὺ: referring to ἡσσηθέντες παρὰ πολὺ. The article serves, almost as our inverted commas, as a mark of quotation or reference: cp. iii. 47. 5, τὸ Κλέωνος τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιον καὶ ξύμφορον. The context will hardly permit us to regard τὸ παρὰ πολὺ as a substantival phrase like τὸ παρ' ἐλπίδα, τὸ παραντίκα, τὸ ἐπὶ πλείστον. At any rate it is perhaps a stretch of the licence to coin substantives which would hardly have been ventured upon unless the simple παρὰ πολὺ had preceded: cp. τὸ ἐς Χίον, viii. 41. 1; τὸ διὰ βίου, Arist. Πολ. ii. 9. 25, neither of which would have been possible unless the context had led up to them and provided their explanation beforehand.

7. ἀντίπαλοι] "This word never means enemies in Thuc." Kr. See i. 11. 3, but cp. i. 3. 4. "For most men only attack their enemies when equal, relying, as these rely, more on force of body than of mind." οἱ ἐκ πολλῷ ὑποδεεστέρων: those who start or act from the midst of

γὰρ οἱ πλείους, ὥσπερ οὗτοι, τῇ δυνάμει τὸ πλεόν πῖσυνοι ἢ τῇ γνώμῃ ἐπέρχονται· οἱ δ' ἐκ πολλῶ ὑποδεεστέρων καὶ ἅμα οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενοι μέγα τι τῆς διανοίας τὸ βέβαιον ἔχοντες ἀντιτολμῶσιν. 8. ἂ λογιζόμενοι οὗτοι τῷ οὐκ εἰκότι πλεόν πεφόβηνται ἡμᾶς ἢ τῇ κατὰ λόγον παρασκευῇ. 9. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ στρατόπεδα ἤδη ἔπεσεν ὑπ' ἐλασσόνων τῇ ἀπειρίᾳ, ἔστι δὲ ἂ καὶ τῇ ἀτολμίᾳ· ὧν οὐδετέρου ἡμεῖς νῦν μετέχομεν. 10. τὸν δὲ ἀγῶνα οὐκ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ ἐκὼν εἶναι ποιήσομαι, οὐδὲ ἐσπλεύσομαι ἐς αὐτόν. 11. ὁρῶ γὰρ ὅτι πρὸς πολλὰς ναῦς ἀνεπιστήμονας ὀλίγαις ναυσὶν ἐμπείροις καὶ ἄμεινον πλεούσαις ἢ στενοχωρία οὐ ξυμφέρει. 12. οὔτε γὰρ ἂν ἐπιπλεύσειέ τις ὡς χρὴ ἐς ἐμβολὴν μὴ ἔχων τὴν πρόσοψιν τῶν

resources inferior by much to those of their antagonists: but there is no need to supply ὀρμώμενοι or ἐπέρχόμενοι: cp. τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων, ii. 34. 6. "When men with a much weaker armament, and at the same time without compulsion (the Lacedaemonian allies were ἀναγκαζόμενοι), dare to resist, great indeed must be the confidence of their intention." οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενοι: the use of οὐ, the particular and definite negative, shows that Phormion is thinking of the Athenians alone, though he appears to be speaking generally. For a similar confusion, cp. i. 71. 1; ii. 61. 1.

8. τῷ οὐκ εἰκότι] "On account of our extraordinary conduct." ἢ τῇ κατὰ λόγον παρασκευῇ: "than on account of a force proportionate to their own." The article is inserted because of the opposition to τῷ οὐκ εἰκότι: cp. i. 6. 4, τὰ μείζω opposed to an implied τὰ ἐλάσσω, and note on ii. 77. 1.

9. ἤδη] Cp. i. 69. 9. ἡμεῖς: we do not, they do.

10. ἐκὼν εἶναι] εἶναι is not pleonastic: wherever it occurs in this manner (as for instance iv. 28. 1, τὸ ἐπὶ σφᾶς εἶναι: viii. 48. 5, τὸ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι: so τὸ νῦν εἶναι, for the present; τὸ τήμερον εἶναι, for to-day) it sensibly modifies the

meaning of the word. ἐκὼν is "willing," ἐκὼν εἶναι, "if I can help it," literally, "to be willing," or "as far as willingness goes," hence it is rarely used except after a negative: cp. iv. 98. 4; vi. 14; vii. 81. 3. Arnold quotes the English 'to be sure,' as a parallel instance of an infinitive without government or grammatical connexion with the rest of the sentence. See Hermann on Viger, p. 886, Madv. G. S. 151, r. 2, and note on ὡς εἰπεῖν, i. 1. 2. ποιήσομαι: see notes on ii. 34. 1; 86. 6.

12. τὴν πρόσοψιν] "A clear view from a good distance." ἐν δέοντι: "when necessary." διέκπλοι: τὸ ἐμβάλλειν καὶ διασχίζειν τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων τάξιν· ἀναστροφῇ δὲ αἱ ἐς τοῦπίσω ὑποχωρήσεις. Sch. Cp. note on i. 49. 4. "ἀναστροφή was probably the rapid turn there spoken of, or else it expresses the return of the vessel to make its second attack after it has gained the requisite distance either by ἀνάκρουσις (backing water) or by περίπλους (making a circle)." Arn. πεζομαχίαν: by reducing it to a trial of strength between the hoplites on deck: cp. i. 49. 2, 3, and the accounts of the victory of Duilius over the Carthaginians off Myle. ἐν τούτῳ: ἐν τῷ πεζομαχεῖν. Sch. "If

πολεμίων ἐκ πολλοῦ, οὔτε ἂν ἀποχωρήσειεν ἐν δέοντι πιεζόμενος· διέκπλοι τε οὐκ εἰσὶν οὔδὲ ἀναστροφαί, ἅπερ νεῶν ἄμεινον πλεουσῶν ἔργα ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη ἂν εἴη τὴν ναυμαχίαν πεζομαχίαν καθίστασθαι, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ αἱ πλείους νῆες κρείσσους γίνονται. 13. τούτων μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ ἔξω τὴν πρόνοιαν κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν· ὑμεῖς δὲ εὐτακτοὶ παρὰ ταῖς ναυσὶ μένοντες τά τε παραγγελλόμενα ὀξέως δέχεσθε ἄλλως τε καὶ δι' ὀλίγου τῆς ἐφορμήσεως οὔσης καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ κόσμον καὶ σιγὴν περὶ πλείστου ἡγείσθε, ὃ ἔς τε τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν συμφέρεи καὶ ναυμαχία οὐχ ἡκιστα, ἀμύνασθε δὲ τούσδε ἀξίως τῶν προειργασμένων. 14. ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν μέγας ὑμῖν, ἢ καταλῦσαι Πελοποννησίων τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἢ ἐγγυτέρω καταστήσαι Ἀθηναίοις τὸν φόβον περὶ τῆς θαλάσσης. 15. ἀναμιμνήσκω δ' αὖ ὑμᾶς ὅτι νενικήκατε αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλούς. 16. ἡσσημένων δὲ ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν αἱ γινώμαι πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς κινδύνους ὁμοῖαι εἶναι."

90. 1. Τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ ὁ Φορμίων παρεκελεύετο. 2. οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκ ἐπέπλεον ἐς

we revert back to the occasion of the battle of Salamis we find that narrowness of space was at that time accounted the best of all protection for a smaller fleet against a larger." Grote, vi. 276.

13. τὴν πρόνοιαν] "The necessary forethought." παρὰ ταῖς ναυσί: "near your ships," for while the ships lay at anchor the greater part of the crews would be on shore to cook their food, &c. Compare below, 90. 3, ἐμβιβάσας. Krüger objects (*Griech. Sprachl.* 68. 35) that παρὰ is rarely joined to the genitive and dative of other than personal conceptions. Yet he refers to Xen. *Anab.* v. 10. 2; Thuc. viii. 95. 4, and v. 26. 5, γενόμενος παρ' ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς πράγμασιν. Some MSS. read τε after ταῖς, "ordinem servantes et apud naves remanentes." Poppo. ὀξέως: "with alacrity." ἄλλως . . οὔσης: "especially since we are watching one another's move-

ments within so short a distance;" ἐφόρμησις like the verb ἐφορμέω denotes the taking up a station with a hostile purpose; and so is used of blockading (iii. 33. 5), or, as here, of observing the movements of an enemy with a view to attack him at the first opportunity." Arn.

ὃ ἔς τε] All the MSS. read ὥστε, which Abresch corrected to ὥς τε, and Stephanus to ὃ ἔς τε: this last emendation appears to be universally adopted. The best MSS. again insert καὶ before συμφέρεи.

14. ἀγὼν . . καταλῦσαι] Cp. note on i. 44. 1, and v. 101, also Verg. *Aen.* iii. 240, nova proelia temptant, obscenas pelagi ferro foedare volucres. τὸν φόβον περὶ: not τὸν περὶ: cp. ii. 31. 2; 52. 1, elsewhere: "their fear about the sea," about the loss of their maritime supremacy. ὁμοῖαι: "as brave as before:" cp. ii. 80. 1.

τὸν κόλπον καὶ τὰ στενά, βουλόμενοι ἄκοντας ἔσω προ-
αγαγεῖν αὐτούς, ἀναγόμενοι ἅμα ἔω ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τεσσάρων
ταξάμενοι τὰς ναῦς ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν γῆν ἔσω ἐπὶ τοῦ κόλπου,
δεξιῷ κέρα ἡγουμένῳ, ὥσπερ καὶ ὥρμουν· ἐπὶ δ' αὐτῷ εἴκοσι
ἔταξαν τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας, ὅπως εἰ ἄρα νομίσας ἐπὶ τὴν
Ναύπακτον αὐτούς πλεῖν ὁ Φορμίων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιβοηθῶν
ταύτῃ παραπλέοι, μὴ διαφύγοιεν πλέοντα τὸν ἐπίπλουν
σφῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔξω τοῦ ἑαυτῶν κέρως, ἀλλ' αὐταὶ αἱ νῆες
περικλήσειαν. 3. ὁ δὲ ὅπερ ἐκεῖνοι προσεδέχοντο φοβηθεῖς
περὶ τῷ χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ ὄντι ὡς ἑώρα ἀναγομένους αὐτούς,
ἄκων καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐμβιβάσας ἔπλει παρὰ τὴν γῆν· καὶ ὁ
πεζὸς ἅμα τῶν Μεσσηνίων παρεβοήθει. 4. ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Πελο-
ποννήσιοι κατὰ μίαν ἐπὶ κέρως παραπλέοντας καὶ ἤδη ὄντας

CH. XC. 2. ἐπὶ τεσσάρων] "Four abreast:" at iv. 93. 4 ἐπ' ἀσπίδας πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι is "five and twenty deep." ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν γῆν: ἀντὶ τοῦ παρὰ τήν. Sch. That is to say, ἐπί bears here the sense of "motion along a line:" at vii. 37. 3, ἐπὶ τὰ τεῖχῃ, it is used of extension along, so also in ἐπέχω, i. 48. 2; and in the phrases ἐπὶ πολὺ, τὸ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, τὸ ἐπὶ θάτερα, ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα, ἐπὶ τὰδε, we have sufficient justification for translating it here "along:" especially as by joining ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν γῆν with ταξάμενοι, not with ἔπλεον (cp. note on ii. 65. 13), we need only give the preposition the sense of extension, not of motion along. The Peloponnesians sailed from their station at Rhium along their own coast (the Peloponnese) towards the interior of the gulf. By a reference to the map it will be seen that in order to round the promontory of Drepanum, they would have to steer so far to the north that it might well be doubtful whether they were not making for Naupactus. In fact, any movement of the enemy towards the N. E. would threaten the safety of that port, and Phormion could not venture to allow them to pass out of sight in that direction. ἐπί, with accusative, cannot here bear its ordi-

nary sense of "motion continued to an end," nor can it mean merely "towards," when five words further on it is used in that sense with its proper case the genitive. Some MSS. exhibit παρά, and Krüger suggests that the preceding or following ἐπί may have slipped in and ousted this the right reading. He also suggests Ναυπακτίων for ἑαυτῶν. Poppo would read παρά, or else correct the accusative, and read ἐπὶ τῇ ἑαυτῶν γῇ. Classen, as suggested above, joins ταξάμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, and finds no difficulty.

δεξιῷ κέρα] For the absence of the article cp. i. 48. 3; ii. 21. 1. ὥσπερ καί: cp. note on i. 3. 2. ἐπὶ τὴν Ναύπακτον: not towards, but against, to attack Naupactus. διαφύγοιεν . . ἔξω: "escape by getting outside or beyond:" cp. ii. 83. 2. Their object was to pin the Athenian ships up against the land, and it would be defeated if the Athenians were quick enough to sail past the right or eastern extremity of the Peloponnesian line.

3. ὅπερ] Cp ii. 65. 4. ἐμβιβάσας: "having put his men on board:" cp. 89. 13.

4. κατὰ μίαν ἐπὶ κέρως] "One by one towards the wing," said of a single line which makes a half face

ἐντὸς τοῦ κόλπου τε καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ, ὅπερ ἐβούλοντο μάλιστα, ἀπὸ σημείου ἐνὸς ἄφνω ἐπιστρέψαντες τὰς ναῦς μετωπηδὸν ἔπλεον ὥς εἶχε τάχους ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, καὶ ἤλπιζον πάσας τὰς ναῦς ἀπολήψεσθαι. 5. τῶν δὲ ἑνδεκα μὲν αἵπερ ἡγοῦντο ὑπεκφεύγουσι τὸ κέρας τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν· τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐπικαταλαμβάνοντες ἐξέωσάν τε πρὸς τὴν γῆν ὑποφευγούσας καὶ διέφθειραν, ἄνδρας τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπέκτειναν ὅσοι μὴ ἐξένευσαν αὐτῶν. 6. καὶ τῶν νεῶν τινὰς ἀναδούμενοι εἶλκον κενάς, μίαν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν εἶλον ἥδη· τὰς δὲ τινὰς οἱ Μεσσήνιοι παραβοηθήσαντες καὶ ἐπεσβαίνοντες ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἐπιβάντες, ἀπὸ τῶν καταστρωμάτων μαχόμενοι ἀφείλοντο ἔλκομένας ἥδη. 91. 1. ταύτη μὲν οὖν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐκράτουν τε καὶ ἔφθειραν τὰς Ἀττικὰς ναῦς· αἱ δὲ εἴκοσι νῆες αὐτῶν αἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως ἐδίωκον τὰς ἑνδεκα ναῦς τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἵπερ ὑπεξέφυγον τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν. 2. καὶ φθάνουσιν

and moves off in single file: cp. ii. 84. 1. κατὰ μίαν ναὺν τεταγμένοι. ἀπὸ σημείου ἐνός: for the use of ἀπὸ (= in consequence of, upon), cp. ii. 92. 1; iii. 91. 4; iv. 67. 3; vi. 61. 2: the phrase means "the moment the word was given." μετωπηδόν: τὸ μέτωπον τῆς νεὸς ἢ πρῶρα ἐστὶ· λέγει οὖν ὅτι τὰ μέτωπα τῶν νεῶν παρεῖχον τοῖς ἐναντίοις. Sch. They wheeled their ships from column into line. ὥς εἶχε τάχους: "at full speed:" for the genitive, cp. i. 36. 2, and Madv. G. S. 49 b, r. 2.

5. ὑπεκφεύγουσι] In spite of the care which Cnemus had taken to put his swiftest sailers in the van, eleven of the Athenian ships were too quick for them. τὸ κέρας καὶ τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν: "the wing when it wheeled and charged them." τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν: not the open sea to the west of Rhium, but the wider part of the gulf by Naupactus. διέφθειραν: cp. i. 29. 3; 50. 1: here we see that the hulls were not so far submerged but that the Messenians could get on their decks.

6. αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν] "Men and all:" cp. Madv. G. S. 42, r. 3. εἶλον ἥδη: "had already taken," when the Messenians came up and prevented them from pushing their advantage any further: for the aorist cp. note on i. 31. 2. τὰς δὲ τινὰς: see note on ii. 4. 4. ἐπεσβαίνοντες: "going into the sea against the enemy:" cp. iv. 14. 2. Bloomfield quotes from Xen. *Hell.* i. 1. 6, ἐπισβαίνων τῷ ἵππῳ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν μέχρι δυνατὸν ἦν ἐμάχετο. ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις is added to extol the gallantry of the Messenians, for the weight of their panoply might have drowned them.

CH. XCI. 1. ταύτη] "In this part of the fight," against the centre and right wing of the Athenians. ἐκράτουν . . ἔφθειραν: "they were for a time victorious," "they destroyed the ships" once for all.

2. φθάνουσιν] Sc. αἱ νῆες τῶν Ἀθηναίων. αὐτούς: τὰς ναῦς τῶν Πελ.: cp. note on i. 7; and for the construction of φθάνω see Madv. G. S. 177 a. ἀντίπρωροι: "halting and

αὐτοὺς πλὴν μιᾶς νεῶς προκαταφυγοῦσαι ἐς τὴν Ναύπακτον, καὶ ἴσχουσαι ἀντίπρωροι κατὰ τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον παρεσκευάζοντο ἀμυνόμενοι, ἣν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ σφᾶς πλέωσιν. 3. οἱ δὲ παραγενόμενοι ὕστερον ἐπαιώνιζόν τε ἅμα πλέοντες ὥς νενικηκότες καὶ τὴν μίαν ναὺν τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὴν ὑπόλοιπον ἐδίωκε Λευκαδία ναὺς μία πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων. 4. ἔτυχε δὲ ὀλκὰς ὀρμούσα μετέωρος, περὶ ἣν ἡ Ἀττικὴ ναὺς φθάσασα [καὶ περιπλεύσασα] τῇ Λευκαδία διωκούσῃ ἐμβάλλει μέσῃ καὶ καταδύει. 5 τοῖς μὲν οὖν Πελοποννησίοις γενομένου τούτου ἀπροσδοκήτου τε καὶ παρὰ λόγον φόβος ἐμπίπτει· καὶ ἅμα ἀτάκτως διώκοντες διὰ τὸ κρατεῖν αἱ μὲν τινες τῶν νεῶν καθεῖσαι τὰς κώπας ἐπέστησαν τοῦ πλοῦ, ἀξύνφορον δρῶντες πρὸς τὴν ἐξ ὀλίγου ἀντεξόρμησιν, βουλόμενοι τὰς πλείους περιμεῖναι, αἱ δὲ καὶ ἐς βραχέα ἀπειρία χωρίων ὤκειλαν. 92. 1. τοὺς δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἰδόντας ταῦτα γιγνόμενα θάρσος τε ἔλαβε καὶ ἀπὸ ἐνὸς κελεύσματος ἐμβοήσαντες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὥρμησαν. 2. οἱ δὲ διὰ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἁμαρτήματα καὶ τὴν παροῦσαν ἀταξίαν ὀλίγον μὲν χρόνον ὑπέμειναν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐτράποντο ἐς τὸν Πάνορμον, ὅθεν περ ἀνηγάγοντο. 3. ἐπι-

turning their bows to the enemy?" cp. iv. 8. 7. ἀμυνόμενοι: Madv. G. S. 175 d, r.

3. ἅμα πλέοντες] "As they were sailing," without stopping. ὥς: see note on i. 2. 6. φθάσασα καὶ περιπλεύσασα: cp. notes on i. 75. 2; ii. 4. 4. Nevertheless, the participles here do not appear to be co-ordinate, the second being subordinate to the first (φθάνει περιπλεύσασα); "round which the Attic ship rowed before the Leucadian came up to it, and so strikes her pursuer on the broadside, and sinks her." Compare Vergil's eludit gyro interior sequiturque sequentem, *Aen.* xi. 695. Bekker and Krüger, with a few MSS., omit καὶ περιπλεύσασα: then we must either connect περὶ ἣν ἐμβάλλει, and support this exceedingly terse expression by περὶ τὴν ὀλκάδα κατέδυ, 92. 4, or with others περὶ ἣν φθάσασα, which, though Bloomfield defends it by two

passages out of Arrian and Appian (both 2nd cent. A.D.) in which φθάνειν εἰς and ἐπὶ τι occur, seems a harsh construction.

5.] διώκοντες "would be less strange if it followed αἱ μὲν τινες, like δρῶντες and βουλόμενοι: cp. i. 110. 4." Kr. See note on i. 7, ἕκαστοι, and ii. 77. 1, διαχεόμενον. Here perhaps there is not so much a transition as an anacoluthon. καθεῖσαι: "holding water:" Poppo compares Livy, xxxvi. 44, demittere in aquam remos ab utroque latere stabiliendae causa navis jussit, though the object there is to steady, here to stop the ships. ἐπέστησαν τοῦ πλοῦ: "stopped (in respect of) their way:" cp. i. 36. 2; iv. 47. 3; Hdt. ii. 87, ἐπιλαβόντες τῆς ὀπίσω ὁδοῦ. πρὸς: "considering from how short a distance the enemy might attack them." ἐς βραχέα ὤκειλαν: "ran aground."

διώκοντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰς τε ἐγγύς οὐσας μάλιστα ναῦς ἔλαβον ἕξ καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἀφείλοντο ἃς ἐκείνοι πρὸς τῇ γῇ διαφθείραντες τὸ πρῶτον ἀνεδήσαντο· ἄνδρας τε τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἐζώγρησαν. 4. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Λευκαδίας νεὼς ἣ περὶ τὴν ὀλκάδα κατέδυσ Τιμοκράτης ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος πλέων, ὡς ἡ ναῦς διεφθείρετο, ἔσφαξεν ἑαυτόν, καὶ ἐξεπεσεν εἰς τὸν Ναυπακτίων λιμένα. 5. ἀναχωρήσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τροπαῖον ἔστησαν ὅθεν ἀναγόμενοι ἐκράτησαν, καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ τὰ ναυάγια ὅσα πρὸς τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἦν ἀνείλοντο, καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὰ ἐκείνων ὑπόσπονδα ἀπέδωκαν. 6. ἔστησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι τροπαῖον ὡς νενικηκότες τῆς τροπῆς ἃς πρὸς τῇ γῇ ναῦς διέφθειραν· καὶ ἥνπερ ἔλαβον ναῦν, ἀνέθεσαν ἐπὶ τὸ Ῥίον τὸ Ἀχαϊκὸν παρὰ τὸ τροπαῖον. 7. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φοβούμενοι τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων βοήθειαν ὑπὸ νύκτα ἐσέπλευσαν εἰς κόλπον τὸν Κρισαῖον καὶ Κόρινθον πάντες πλὴν Λευκαδίων. 8. καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης Ἀθηναῖοι ταῖς εἴκοσι ναυσίν, αἷς ἔδει πρὸ τῆς ναυμαχίας τῷ Φορμίωνι παραγενέσθαι, οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως τῶν νεῶν ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς τὴν Ναύπακτον. 9. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

93. I. Πρὶν δὲ διαλύσαι τὸ εἰς Κόρινθόν τε καὶ τὸν Κρισαῖον κόλπον ἀναχωρήσαν ναυτικὸν ὁ Κνήμος καὶ ὁ Βρασίδης καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄρχοντες τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἀρχομένου τοῦ

CH. XCII. 4. περὶ τὴν ὀλκάδα] "About, in the neighbourhood of the merchant ship:" cp. ἡ περὶ Λέσβον ναυμαχία, Xen. *Hell.* ii. 3. 32. Krüger, however, who quotes these words to support his construction of περὶ ἣν ἐμβάλλει in the last chapter, seems to think that they mean "which was sunk round, that is by the sudden turn of the Attic ship round the merchant ship." The first, if it were quite certain, might defend the second (cp. 89. 6), but two ambiguities cannot defend one another. ἐξεπέσεν: "was cast on shore."

5. ὅθεν] ἐκεῖ ὅθεν. ἀναγόμενοι ἐκράτησαν = ἀνήγοντο καὶ ἐκράτησαν:

for the tenses cp. ii. 91. 1, and note on i. 13. 8. Poppo quotes i. 51. 2, where, however, the reading appears to be ἀποτραπόμενοι, not ἀποτρεπόμενοι. Krüger, with two MSS., would correct to ἀναγαγόμενοι. τὰ ἐκείνων: cp. note on i. 54. 2.

6. τροπαῖον . . τῆς τροπῆς] Cp. ii. 82. 3. ἃς ναῦς = τῶν νεῶν ἃς: see Madv. *G. S.* 103.

7. ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων] Cp. ii. 86. 6.

8. αἷς ἔδει] Sc. αὐτοῦς, "with which they ought."

CH. XCIII. I. διαλύσαι] "Before they allowed it to disperse." ἄκληστος: no chain was run across its mouth.

χειμῶνος ἐβούλοντο διδαξάντων Μεγαρέων ἀποπειρᾶσαι τοῦ Πειραιῶς τοῦ λιμένος τῶν Ἀθηναίων· ἦν δὲ ἀφύλακτος καὶ ἄκκληστος εἰκότως διὰ τὸ ἐπικρατεῖν πολὺ τῷ ναυτικῷ. 2. ἐδόκει δὲ λαβόντα τῶν ναυτῶν ἕκαστον τὴν κώπην καὶ τὸ ὑπηρέσιον καὶ τὸν τροπωτήρα πεζῇ ἰέναι ἐκ Κορίνθου ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἀθήνας θάλασσαν, καὶ ἀφικομένους κατὰ τάχος ἐς Μέγαρα καθελκύσαντας ἐκ Νισαίας τοῦ νεωρίου αὐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς αἱ ἔτυχον αὐτόθι οὔσαι πλεύσαι εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ· οὔτε γὰρ ναυτικὸν ἦν προφυλάσσειν ἐν αὐτῷ οὐδὲν οὔτε προσδοκία οὐδεμία μὴ ἂν ποτε οἱ πολέμιοι ἐξαπιναιῶς οὕτως ἐπιπλεύσειαν, ἐπεὶ οὔτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς τολ-

2. τὴν κώπην] “His oar.” τὸ ὑπηρέσιον ἐστὶ τὸ κῶας, ᾧ ἐπικάθηνται οἱ ἐρέσσοντες διὰ τὸ μὴ συντρίβεισθαι αὐτῶν τὰς πυγὰς. Sch. It was then a leather cushion, or perhaps a slip of sheepskin. τὸν τροπωτήρα: “the loop whereby the oar was fastened to the oar-hole in the side, and thus prevented from slipping.” Grote, vi. 285. “This passage deserves notice, as proving that in the ancient Greek triremes there was only one man to an oar.” Arn. Cp. Aesch. *Pers.* 375 sqq. Perhaps there would have been no need for the sailors to carry these things with them if the ships had not been out of commission: see 94. 4. αὐτῶν: τῶν Μεγαρέων.

μὴ ἂν . . . ἐπιπλεύσειαν] μὴ is used because προσδοκία implies fear. ἂν is very unusual; though a parallel is quoted from Xen. *Anab.* vi. 1, ἐκεῖνο ἐννοῶ μὴ λίαν ἂν ταχὺ σωφρονισθεῖην, “lest perchance I may be brought to my senses right soon.” ἂν with the optative then in this connexion is a resolved form of the future indicative, which is often used after μὴ (thus Arist. *Ecc.* 486, κύκλῳ περισκοπομένην καὶ κεῖσε καὶ τὰ τῇδ' ἐκ δεξιῶν, μὴ ξυμφορὰ γενήσεται τὸ πρᾶγμα), and brings the vague contingent nature of the alarm into stronger relief: “there was no expectation that under any circum-

stances or at any time:” see Matthiä, 520. 3, 4; Jelf, 810. 1.

οὔτ' . . . οὔτε] Bekker's emendation for οὐδ' . . . οὐδέ, the reading of the MSS. The difference between the two negatives is difficult to draw exactly, but may perhaps be expressed thus—οὐδέ is conjunctive = and not or not even, οὔτε is disjunctive = neither, nor; οὐδέ carries on the sense smoothly, merely adding a negative idea; οὔτε is harsh, abrupt, and incisive; οὐδέ continues a negative, οὔτε repeats and redoubles it; οὐδέ denies, οὔτε contradicts. Thus when a wide and general negative is split up into two more particular negations, οὔτε is generally used, and applies a fresh and emphatic negative to each. Thus iv. 4. 1, οὐκ ἔπειθεν οὔτε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς οὔτε τοὺς στρατιώτας: cp. i. 31. 2; 53. 4 (where two insinuations are directly and sharply contradicted); ii. 71. 3, elsewhere. Whereas ἐν ᾗ Θεσσαλοῦ μὲν οὐδ' Ἰππάρχου οὐδεὶς παῖς γέγραπται (vi. 55. 1) is not “no son either of Thessalus or of Hipparchus,” but “no son of Thessalus, nor indeed of Hipparchus either.” τολμῆσαι: governed by the verb of thinking, implied in προσδοκία: see Madv. *G. S.* 169, r. ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς . . . καθ' ἡσυχίαν: “coolly and openly.”

μησαι ἂν καθ' ἡσυχίαν, οὔτε εἰ διανοοῦντο, μὴ οὐκ ἂν προαισθῆσθαι. 3. ὥς δὲ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐχώρουν εὐθύς· καὶ ἀφικόμενοι νυκτὸς καὶ καθελκύσαντες ἐκ τῆς Νισαίας τὰς ναῦς ἐπλεον ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν Πειραιᾶ οὐκέτι, ὥσπερ διανοοῦντο, καταδείσαντες τὸν κίνδυνον, καὶ τις καὶ ἄνεμος λέγεται αὐτοὺς κωλύσαι, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τὸ πρὸς Μέγαρον ὁρῶν· καὶ φρούριον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἦν καὶ νεῶν τριῶν φυλακὴ τοῦ μὴ ἐσπλεῖν Μεγαρεῦσι μηδ' ἐκπλεῖν μηδέν. 4. τῷ τε φρουρίῳ προσέβαλον καὶ τὰς τριήρεις ἀφείλκυσαν κενάς, τήν τε ἄλλην Σαλαμῖνα ἀπροσδοκῆτοῖς ἐπιπεσόντες ἐπόρθουν. 94. 1. ἐς δὲ τὰς Ἀθήνας φρυκτοὶ τε ἤρουντο πολέμιοι καὶ ἐκπληξίς ἐγένετο οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐλάσσω. 2. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ὥνουντο τοὺς πολεμίους ἐσπεπλευκέναι ἤδη, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ τήν τε Σαλαμῖνα ἡρῆσθαι ἐνόμιζον καὶ παρὰ σφᾶς ὅσον οὐκ ἐσπλεῖν αὐτούς· ὅπερ ἂν εἰ ἐβουλήθησαν μὴ κατοκνηῆσαι, ῥαδίως ἂν ἐγένετο καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἄνεμος ἐκώλυσε. 3. βοηθήσαντες δὲ ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ πανδημεὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ

μη οὐκ ἂν προαισθῆσθαι] “Nor if the Peloponnesians formed the plan did they think there was a possibility of their not discovering it in time.” For the double negative with the infinitive after a negative or quasi-negative principal verb, or after expressions denoting disapprobation, see *Madv. G. S.* 211 *a*, *r. b*; also note on ii. 62. 3, *μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ*. Hermann, *on Viger*, 795 sqq., attempts to show that *μη οὐ* in such cases is a weaker and less positive negation than *μή* alone.

3. καί] For the use of this conjunction at the beginning of the apodosis to mark an instantaneous sequence, cp. iv. 8. 9; vii. 43. 1; 60. 3; viii. 1. 4. καὶ τότε δὴ is frequent in Homer, and *atque* is employed in the same way in Latin—cp. Verg. *Ecl.* vii. 7. οὐκέτι: of a change of plan. ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ: not “towards Peiraeus,” but “they were no longer for sailing to Pei-

raeus.” καὶ τις καὶ ἄνεμος: “and there is some talk also about a wind.”

4. κενάς] “For they were empty:” cp. note on i. 49. 6. ἀπροσδοκῆτοῖς: cp. ii. 33. 3.

CH. XCIV. 1. φρυκτοὶ] “Fire-signals,” lamps, says the Scholiast, hung upon poles, which when waved about denoted the approach of an enemy, when held stationary that of a friend: cp. iii. 22. 9.

2. ὅσον οὐκ ἐσπλεῖν] “Were all but sailing in:” cp. i. 36. 1. For the double ἂν, cp. i. 36. 3; 76. 4; 77. 7; 136. 6. οὐκ ἂν ἄνεμος ἐκώλυσε: “it would have taken more than a wind to stop them.” “Forty years afterwards we find the harbour just as negligently watched, and surprised with much more boldness and dexterity by the Lacedaemonian captain Teleutias: see Xen. *Hellen.* v. 1. 19.” Grote, vi. 286.

ναῖς τε καθεῖλκον καὶ ἐσβάντες κατὰ σπουδὴν καὶ πολλῶ
 θορύβῳ ταῖς μὲν ναυσὶν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμίνα ἔπλεον, τῷ πεζῷ
 δὲ φυλακὰς τοῦ Πειραιῶς καθίσταντο. 4. οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι
 ὡς ἦσθοντο τὴν βοήθειαν, καταδραμόντες τῆς Σαλαμῖνος τὰ
 πολλὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπους καὶ λείαν λαβόντες καὶ τὰς τρεῖς ναῦς
 ἐκ τοῦ Βουδόρου τοῦ φρουρίου κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ τῆς Νισαίας
 ἔπλεον· ἔστι γὰρ ὅ τι καὶ αἱ νῆες αὐτοὺς διὰ χρόνου καθελ-
 κυσθεῖσαι καὶ οὐδὲν στέγουσαι ἐφόβουν. 5. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ
 ἐς τὰ Μέγαρα πάλιν ἐπὶ τῆς Κορίνθου ἀπεχώρησαν πεζοί·
 6. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκέτι καταλαμβάνοντες πρὸς τῇ Σαλαμῖνι
 ἀπέπλευσαν καὶ αὐτοί· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο φυλακὴν ἅμα τοῦ
 Πειραιῶς μᾶλλον τὸ λοιπὸν ἐποιοῦντο λιμένων τε κλήσει καὶ
 τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐπιμελείᾳ.

95. 1. Ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τοῦ χειμῶνος τούτου
 ἀρχομένου Σιτάκῃς ὁ Τήρεω Ὀδρύσης Θρακῶν βασιλεὺς
 ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Περδίκκαν τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου Μακεδονίας
 βασιλέα καὶ ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράκης, δύο ὑποσχέ-
 σεις, τὴν μὲν βουλόμενος ἀναπρᾶξαι, τὴν δὲ αὐτὸς ἀποδοῦναι.
 2. ὅ τε γὰρ Περδίκκας αὐτῷ ὑποσχόμενος, εἰ Ἀθηναίοις τε

4. ἔστι γὰρ ὅ τι] “For their ships also were causing them some alarm;” very like the more common καί τι καί. διὰ χρόνου: they had not been launched for a long time, and their seams had opened from heat and dryness. στέγουσαι: cp. Aesch. *Suppl.* 134, δόμος ἅλα στέγων δορός: *Septem* 216, πύργον στέγειν εὐχεσθε πολέμιον δόρυ. The verb has just the opposite meaning in Plato, *Lev.* 621 A, οὐ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀγγεῖον οὐδὲν στέγει.

6. ἅμα] “The adverb is put before its proper position in the sentence, for it belongs to λιμένων τε κλήσει καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐπιμελείᾳ.” Poppo. Some MSS. and Krüger read ἤδη. κλήσει: cp. note on ἄκληστος, ii. 93. 1.

CH. XCV. 1. Σιτάκῃς] Cp. ii. 29. δύο ὑποσχέσεις: ἀντὶ γενικῆς ἢ αἰτιατικῇ Ἀττικῶς. Sch. The whole

is put first and the parts follow in apposition to it: cp. ii. 92. 3, ἀνδρας τε τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἐζώγρησαν. So i. 89. 4, οἰκίαι αἱ μὲν πολλὰι πεπτώκεσαν, ὀλίγαι δὲ περιῆσαν.

2. ὑποσχόμενος] “Having made him certain promises.” ἐαυτόν: the primary for the secondary reflexive—cp. i. 19. 1; 128. 2: for the transition from the reflexive to the demonstrative αὐτοῦ, cp. ii. 13. 1. καταγάγοι ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ: “bring him back (to his native country) with a view to the kingdom, in order to make him king:” cp. ἐπὶ τυραννίδι, i. 126. 5. Philip appears to have been wrongfully expelled by Perdiccas from his principality on the upper course of the Axios: cp. ii. 100. 3. οὐκ ἐπετέλει: “was not for fulfilling.” “did not seem inclined to fulfil.”

διαλλάξειεν ἑαυτὸν κατ' ἀρχὰς τῷ πολέμῳ πιεζόμενον καὶ Φίλιππον τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ πολέμιον ὄντα μὴ καταγάγοι ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ, ἃ ὑπεδέξατο οὐκ ἐπετέλει· τοῖς τε Ἀθηναίοις αὐτὸς ὠμολογῇκε ὅτε τὴν ξυμμαχίαν ἐποιεῖτο τὸν ἐπὶ Θράκης Χαλκιδικὸν πόλεμον καταλύσειν. 3. ἀμφοτέρων οὖν ἔνεκα τὴν ἐφοδὸν ἐποιεῖτο καὶ τὸν τε Φιλίππου υἱὸν Ἀμύνταν ὡς ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἦγε καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις, οἱ ἔτυχον παρόντες τούτων ἔνεκα, καὶ ἡγεμόνα Ἀγνωνα· ἔδει γὰρ καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ναυσί τε καὶ στρατιᾷ ὡς πλείστη ἐπὶ τοὺς Χαλκιδέας παραγενέσθαι. 96. 1. ἀνίστησιν οὖν ἐκ τῶν Οδρυσῶν ὁρμώμενος πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς ἐντὸς τοῦ Αἴμου τε ὄρους καὶ τῆς Ῥοδόπης Θράκας ὅσων ἦρχε μέχρι θαλάσσης ἐς τὸν Εὐξεινὸν τε πόντον καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἔπειτα τοὺς ὑπερβάντι Αἴμον Γέτας καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα μέρη ἐντὸς τοῦ Ἰστρου ποταμοῦ πρὸς θάλασσαν μᾶλλον τὴν τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου κατῴκητο· εἰσὶ δ' οἱ Γέται καὶ οἱ ταύτη ὁμοροί τε τοῖς Σκύθαις καὶ ὁμόσκευοι πάντες ἵπποτοξόται. 2. παρεκάλει δὲ καὶ τῶν ὀρεινῶν Θρακῶν πολλοὺς τῶν αὐτονόμων καὶ μαχαιοφόρων. οἱ Δῖοι καλοῦνται, τὴν Ῥοδόπην οἱ πλείστοι οἰκοῦντες· καὶ τοὺς μὲν μισθῷ ἐπειθεν, οἱ δ' ἐθέλονται ξυνηκολούθουν. 3. ἀνίστη δὲ καὶ Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ Λαιαίους καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἔθνη Παιονικά, ὧν

3. ὡς ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ] “With the professed intention of making him king:” see note on i. 2. 6. Ἀγνωνα: οὗτος ἐκτίσε τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν. Sch. He was to be ἡγεμὼν of the expected Athenian army.

CH. XCVI. 1. Ὀδρυσῶν] “The residence of the Odrysians, properly so called, appears to have been about twelve days’ journey inland from Byzantium in the upper regions of the Hebrus and Strymon, south of Mount Haemus and north-east of Rhodope.” Grote, vi. 288. ὑπερβάντι: “beyond Haemus,” literally, “those who meet a man as soon as he has crossed Haemus:” cp. i. 10. 7; 24. 1. μέρη: γένη, ἐθνῶν δηλονότι. Sch. μᾶλλον: nearer to the sea than to Mt. Haemus. ἵππο-

τοξόται explains ὁμόσκευοι.

2. μαχαιοφόρων] “Ovid, *Tristia* v. 7. 19, ascribes the same weapon to the Sarmatae and Getae round Tomi: *Dextera non segnis fixo dare vulnera cultro Quem vincitum lateri barbarus omnis habet.*” Duker.

3.] ἄλλα ὅσα = ἄλλο εἴ τι, ii. 72. 6. He ruled the Paeonian tribes as far as the Graeaeans and Laeaeans, who were the last of his subjects. This is Krüger’s arrangement of the text, which appears to be very uncertain. Arnold, followed by Classen, puts a full stop at ἦσαν, inserts γὰρ between μέχρι and Γρααίων, and strikes out οὗ: then ὠρίζετο μέχρι Γρααίων means, “reached as far as the Graeaeans and there stopped”—

ἦρχε, καὶ ἔσχατοι τῆς ἀρχῆς οὗτοι ἦσαν, μέχρι Γρααίων καὶ Λαιαίων Παίωνων καὶ τοῦ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ, ὃς ἐκ τοῦ Σκομίου ὄρους διὰ Γρααίων καὶ Λαιαίων ρεῖ, οὗ ὠρίζετο ἡ ἀρχὴ τὰ πρὸς Παίονας αὐτονόμους ἤδη. 4. τὰ δὲ πρὸς Τριβαλλοὺς καὶ τούτους αὐτονόμους Τρήρες ὠρίζον καὶ Τιλαταῖοι οἰκοῦσι δ' οὗτοι πρὸς βορέαν τοῦ Σκομίου ὄρους καὶ παρήκουσι πρὸς ἡλίου δύσιν μέχρι τοῦ Ὀσκίου ποταμοῦ. 5. ρεῖ δ' οὗτος ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους ὅθενπερ καὶ ὁ Νέστος καὶ ὁ Ἑβρος· ἐστὶ δὲ ἐρήμον τὸ ὄρος καὶ μέγα, ἐχόμενον τῆς Ῥοδόπης. 97. 1. ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ Ὀδρυσῶν μέγεθος ἐπὶ μὲν θάλασσαν καθήκουσα ἀπὸ Ἀβδήρων πόλεως ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον πόντον τὸν μέχρι Ἰστρου ποταμοῦ· αὕτη περίπλους ἐστὶν ἡ γῆ τὰ ξυντομώτατα, ἣν αἰεὶ κατὰ πρύμναν ἰστῆται τὸ πνεῦμα, νηὶ στρογγύλῃ τεσσάρων ἡμερῶν καὶ ἰσων νυκτῶν· ὁδῶ δὲ τὰ ξυντομώτατα ἐξ Ἀβδήρων ἐς Ἰστρὸν ἀνὴρ εὖζωνος ἐνδεκαταῖος τελεῖ. 2. τὰ μὲν πρὸς θάλασσαν τοσαύτη ἦν· ἐς ἥπειρον δὲ ἀπὸ Βυζαντίου ἐς Λαιαίους καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Στρυμόνα, ταύτη γὰρ διὰ πλείστου ἀπὸ θαλάσσης

cp. i. 71. 5. Σκομίου: Σκόμβρου has some MS. authority and is adopted by Poppo. οὗ: at the river Strymon. τὰ πρὸς Παίονας: "on the side of the Paeonians, who from this point (ἤδη) are independent." ἤδη, here local, is the exact opposite to οὐκέτι, expressing a change from that which was not to that which is, just as οὐκέτι expresses a change from that which was to that which is not.

4. καὶ τούτους] "Who also are."

CH. XCVII. 1. μέγεθος] "As to its extent." ἐπὶ μὲν θάλασσαν καθήκουσα: "where it reaches to the sea." Or may we render ἐπὶ θάλασσαν "along the sea-coast," and join καθήκουσα ἀπὸ Ἀβδήρων ἐς τὸν πόντον? Cp. note on ii. 90. 2. Arnold appears to blend the two constructions: "taking the line of the sea-coast, where it comes down to the sea." περίπλους: "this land is a circumnavigation of four days,"

cannot be sailed round in less time. Krüger compares Hdt. ii. 29, τὸ χωρίον τοῦτό ἐστι ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τέσσερας πλός. τὰ ξυντομώτατα: "taking the shortest route," an adverbial phrase here apparently nominative in apposition to γῆ, just below accusative in apposition to the object of τελεῖ: cp. notes on i. 2. 2; 3. 6. A sailing vessel made about 700 stadia by day, 600 by night (Hdt. iv. 86): this would give 5200 stadia, or (as a stadium = 575 English feet) 566 miles from Abdera to the Danube. The real distance is about 496. Arn. ἀνὴρ εὖζωνος: an active man walked about 200 stadia (21 $\frac{3}{4}$ miles) a day, Hdt. iv. 101; for the lower estimate of 150 stadia, Hdt. v. 53, seems to apply to the march of an army: $21\frac{3}{4} \times 11 = 239\frac{1}{4}$: but the real distance is more than 280. Arn.

2. ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω] Cp. ii. 83. 1 (?). ἐγίγνετο: sc. ἡ ὁδός. διὰ πλείστου: an adverbial predicate: cp. ii. 3. 4. ἡμερῶν is governed

ἄνω ἐγίγνετο, ἡμερῶν ἀνδρὶ εὐζώνῳ τριῶν καὶ δέκα ἀνύσαι.
 3. φόρος τε ἐκ πάσης τῆς βαρβάρου καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων
 πόλεων, ὅσον προσῆξαν ἐπὶ Σεύθου, ὃς ὕστερον Σιτάλκου
 βασιλεύσας πλείστον δὴ ἐποίησε, τετρακοσίων ταλάντων
 ἀργυρίου μάλιστα δύναμις, ἃ χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος εἶη· καὶ
 δῶρα οὐκ ἐλάσσω τούτων χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου προσεφέ-
 ρετο, χωρὶς δὲ ὅσα ὑφαντά τε καὶ λεία. καὶ ἡ ἄλλη κατα-
 σκευή, καὶ οὐ μόνον αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς παραδυναστεύουσι
 τε καὶ γενναίοις Ὀδρυσῶν. 4. κατεστήσαντο γὰρ τοῦναντίον
 τῆς Περσῶν βασιλείας τὸν νόμον, ὄντα μὲν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
 Θραξί, λαμβάνειν μᾶλλον ἢ διδόναι, καὶ αἴσχιον ἦν αἰτη-
 θέντα μὴ δοῦναι ἢ αἰτήσαντα μὴ τυχεῖν· ὅμως δὲ κατὰ τὸ
 δύνασθαι ἐπὶ πλέον αὐτῷ ἐχρήσαντο· οὐ γὰρ ἦν πρᾶξαι
 οὐδὲν μὴ διδόντα δῶρα. 5. ὥστε ἐπὶ μέγα ἦλθεν ἡ βασι-

by *ὁδός*: for ἀνύσαι cp. note i. 44.

1. "On the map the distance looks to be not 20 miles greater than that from Abdera to Tomi." Arn. About 300 miles then. But all these computations which are based on time rather than actual measurement are necessarily inaccurate.

3. Ἑλληνίδων] The Greek states paid him tribute probably by way of a tax upon exports, or of blackmail to secure the safety of their persons and property in travelling through his dominions. προσῆξαν: the first aorist of ἄγω is rare in Attic. βασιλεύσας: "when he became king:" cp. note on i. 3. 2. μάλιστα: "more or less," i. 13. 3. δύναμις: "value:" cp. v. 20. 3. δύνασθαι means "to be equivalent to:" i. 84. 3; 141. 1; iii. 46. 2; iv. 95. 1. ἃ εἶη: "such part of the tribute as was;" optative of repetition (see i. 49. 3), for the writer is speaking of what came in year after year; hence too the imperfect προσεφέρετο. χωρὶς δέ: sc. προσεφέρετο. κατασκευή: "house furniture." These woven fabrics came from the Greeks, who also imported polished and carved metallic work, cutlery, pottery, oil and wine, salt and salt-fish. The ex-

ports were chiefly slaves and cattle, bullion, and a little honey and wax. See Grote, iv. p. 8. παραδυναστεύουσι: vassal princes who had a certain amount of feudal independence, but acknowledged the sovereignty of Seuthes.

4. κατεστήσαντο] "The custom which they have laid down for themselves is the exact reverse of that observed in Persia." With νόμον . . . λαμβάνειν cp. ἁγὼν καταλύσαι, ii. 89. 14. Herodotus gives many instances of the generosity of Persian kings: see iii. 130; ix. 109 (Περσικὸν δὲ κάρτα ὁ στρατὸς δῶρον); and such stories as that of Alcmaeon, Hdt. vi. 125, were calculated to spread a great idea of Oriental open-handedness. Thuc. speaks bitterly: perhaps in business matters he had himself suffered from the rapacity of the Thracian chieftains. ὅμως δέ: the other Thracians were bad enough, but the Odrysians, owing to their greater power, were worst of all.

5. ὥστε] "And so," in consequence of their large revenue: for ἐπὶ μέγα ἐλθεῖν or χωρεῖν τινός cp. i. 118. 2.

λεία ἰσχύος. 6. τῶν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ὅσαι μεταξὺ τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου καὶ τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου μεγίστη ἐγένετο χρημάτων προσόδῳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονία, ἰσχύι δὲ μάχης καὶ στρατοῦ πλήθει πολὺ δευτέρα μετὰ τὴν Σκυθῶν. 7. ταύτῃ δὲ ἀδύνατα ἐξισοῦσθαι οὐχ ὅτι τὰ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἔθνος ἐν πρὸς ἐν οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ τι δυνατόν Σκύθαις ὁμογνωμονοῦσι πᾶσιν ἀντιστῆναι. 8. οὐ μὲν οὐδ' ἐς τὴν ἄλλην εὐβουλίαν καὶ ξύνεσιν περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐς τὸν βίον ἄλλοις ὁμοιοῦνται. 98. 1. Σιτάλκης μὲν οὖν βασιλεύων χώρας τοσαύτης παρεσκευάζετο τὸν στρατόν. 2. καὶ

7. οὐχ ὅτι] “Not only:” more commonly μὴ ὅτι—see Madv. *G. S.* 212. The sentence would be more regular if οὐχ ὅτι came before ἀδύνατα: as it is we have a slight anacoluthon: cp. i. 38. 4. ἐν πρὸς ἐν: cp. Hdt. iv. 50, ὕδωρ ἐν πρὸς ἐν συμβάλλειν. “No nation which single-handed could resist.” “For though the Persian *empire* was superior, the Persian *nation* was inferior to that of the Scythians.” Arn.

8. οὐ μὲν οὐδ'] At i. 3. 4 these particles coming after a negative signify “no indeed, nor even,” that is to say, after one proposition has been denied they introduce and deny a second which might have seemed more probable than the first. So here the Scholiast, taking οὐχ ὁμοιοῦνται as equivalent to ὑπερβάλλουσιν, translates “and even in other respects they excel.” Cp. also vi. 55. 3. But at i. 82. 1, οὐ μὲν οὐδέ = notwithstanding not, and contradict what a careless listener might have thought to be a fair inference from a preceding admission. And this must be the sense here. ἄλλην: “in other matters than war,” unless the word is rather to be taken as opposing εὐβουλίαν to brute strength: cp. note on ii. 14. 1. ἐς τὸν βίον is connected by Poppo with περὶ τῶν παρόντων, by Krüger with ὁμοιοῦνται: “yet I do not mean to say that in wisdom and sagacity con-

cerning the means which are at their disposal for the enjoyment or amelioration of their life they are on a level with some other nations.” Herodotus says (v. 3) of the Thracian nation εἰ ὑπ' ἐνὸς ἄρχοιτο ἡ φρονέοι κατὰ ταῦτό, ἅμαχόν τ' ἂν εἴη καὶ πολλῶ κράτιστον πάντων ἑθνέων κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμήν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἀπορόν σφι καὶ ἀμήχανον μή κοτε ἐγγένηται, εἰσὶ δὴ κατὰ τοῦτο ἀσθενέες, and it can scarcely be by accident that Thuc. contradicts him here so pointedly: cp. note on ii. 8. 3. Dobree supposes that the words of this section are a reminiscence of the τὰ μέντοι ἄλλα οὐκ ἄγαμαι said by Herodotus (iv. 46) of the Scythians. It is strange that each historian should praise the most that one of the two races with which he had least acquaintance; and stranger still that Herodotus and Thuc. should regard discipline and strategy, and all the advantages of civilization, as of less importance in war than brute force and numbers. Both, however, had good reason to know the calamitous results of disunion in Greek history. Aristotle says (*Pol.* iv. (vii.) 7. 2) τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ψυχροῖς τόποις ἔθνη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην (the Thracians, Scythians, Illyrians) θυμοῦ μὲν ἐστὶ πλήρη, διανοίας δὲ ἐνδεέστερα καὶ τέχνης· διόπερ ἐλεύθερα μὲν διατελεῖ μᾶλλον, ἀπολίτευτα δὲ καὶ τῶν πλησίον ἄρχειν οὐ δυνάμενα.

ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ ἐτοῖμα ἦν, ἄρας ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς, ἔπειτα διὰ Κερκίνης ἐρήμου ὄρους, ὃ ἐστὶ μεθόριον Σιντῶν καὶ Παίωνων· ἐπορεύετο δὲ δι' αὐτοῦ τῇ ὁδῷ ἣν πρότερον αὐτὸς ἐποιήσατο τεμῶν τὴν ὕλην, ὅτε ἐπὶ Παίονας ἐστράτευσε. 3. τὸ δὲ ὄρος ἐξ Ὀδρυσῶν διιόντες ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν εἶχον Παίονας, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ Σιντοὺς καὶ Μαίδους. 4. διελθόντες δὲ αὐτὸ ἀφίκοντο ἐς Δόβηρον τὴν Παιονικὴν. 5. πορευομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπεγίγνετο μὲν οὐδὲν τοῦ στρατοῦ εἰ μὴ τι νόσῳ, προσεγίγνετο δὲ πολλοὶ γὰρ τῶν αὐτονόμων Θρακῶν ἀπαράκλητοι ἐφ' ἀρπαγὴν ἠκολούθουν, ὥστε τὸ πᾶν πλήθος λέγεται οὐκ ἔλασσον πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδων γενέσθαι· καὶ τούτου τὸ μὲν πλεόν πεζὸν ἦν, τριτημόριον δὲ μάλιστα ἱππικόν. 6. τοῦ δ' ἱππικοῦ τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτοὶ Ὀδρύσαι παρείχοντο καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς Γέται. 7. τοῦ δὲ πεζοῦ οἱ μαχαιροφόροι μαχιμώτατοι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ῥοδόπης αὐτόνομοι καταβάντες, ὃ δὲ ἄλλος ὄμιλος ξύμμικτος πλήθει φοβερώτατος ἠκολούθει. 99. 1. ξυνηθροίζοντο οὖν ἐν τῇ Δοβήρῳ καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ὅπως κατὰ κορυφὴν ἐσβαλοῦσιν ἐς τὴν κάτω Μακεδονίαν, ἥς ὁ Περδίκκας ἦρχε. 2. τῶν γὰρ Μακεδόνων εἰσὶ καὶ Λυγκησταὶ καὶ Ἑλιμειῶται καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη ἐπάνωθεν, ἃ ξύμμαχά μὲν ἐστὶ τούτοις καὶ ὑπήκοα. βασιλείας δ' ἔχει καθ' αὐτά. 3. τὴν δὲ παρὰ θάλασσαν νῦν Μακεδονίαν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ

CH. XCVIII. 2. ἐτοῖμα] Cp. i. 8.-3; 2. 3. 4. ἐποιήσατο τεμῶν: cp. ii. 68. 3, ἐκτίσεν ὀνομάσας: the completion of the whole work is regarded as something distinct from and posterior in time, or at any rate in conception, to the completion of all the parts.

5. ἀπεγίγνετο] "Fell away:" cp. note on ii. 34. 2, and for a different meaning of the word see i. 39. 3. ἐφ' ἀρπαγὴν: "in hope of plunder."

7. καταβάντες] For the position of this word cp. note on κατεσχηκός, i. 11. 6. ξύμμικτος: "pell mell," all arms and all races mixed up together.

CH. XCIX. 1. ἐν] Poppo notices

that elsewhere in Thuc., and indeed in all Greek writers, verbs denoting to collect or assemble are followed not by ἐν but by ἐς. κατὰ κορυφὴν: "by way of the hill country:" cp. ii. 76. 4; iii. 7. 3. ὅπως ἐσβαλοῦσιν: cp. note on i. 56. 2, and for the general subject of the chapter, note on i. 57. 1, and Grote, vol. iv. ch. 25.

3. τὴν δὲ . . . Μακεδονίαν] "The district running along the sea-coast which is now called Macedonia." τὸ ἀρχαῖον: "originally," "by extraction:" for the fact, cp. Hdt. viii. 137 sqq. Grote compares the rise of the Temenids in Macedonia to the influence acquired by Miltiades

Περδίκκου πατὴρ καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτοῦ Τημενίδαι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄντες ἐξ Ἀργους πρῶτον ἐκτήσαντο καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν ἀναστήσαντες μάχῃ ἐκ μὲν Πιερίας Πίερας, οἱ ὕστερον ὑπὸ τὸ Πάγγαιον πέραν Στρυμόνος ὤκησαν Φάγρητα καὶ ἄλλα χωρία· καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν Πιερικὸς κόλπος καλεῖται ἢ ὑπὸ τῷ Παγγαίῳ πρὸς θάλασσαν γῆ· ἐκ δὲ τῆς Βοττίας καλουμένης Βοττιαίους, οἱ νῦν ὅμοροι Χαλκιδέων οἰκοῦσι· τῆς δὲ Παιονίας παρὰ τὸν Ἀξιὸν ποταμὸν στενὴν τινα καθήκουσαι ἄνωθεν μέχρι Πέλλης καὶ θαλάσσης ἐκτήσαντο, καὶ πέραν Ἀξιοῦ μέχρι Στρυμόνος τὴν Μυγδονίαν καλουμένην Ἡδωνας ἐξελάσαντες νέμονται. 4. ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς νῦν Ἑορδίας καλουμένης Ἑορδούς, ὧν οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἐφθάρησαν, βραχὺ δέ τι αὐτῶν περὶ Φύσκαν κατῴκηται, καὶ ἐξ Ἀλμωπίας Ἀλμῶπας. 5. ἐκράτησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν οἱ Μακεδόνες οὗτοι, ἃ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἔχουσι, τὸν τε Ἀνθεμούντα καὶ Κρηστωνίαν καὶ Βισαλτίαν καὶ Μακεδόνων αὐτῶν πολλήν. 6. τὸ δὲ ξύμπαν Μακεδονία καλεῖται καὶ Περδίκκας Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν ἦν ὅτε Σιτάλκης ἐπῆει.

100. 1. Καὶ οἱ μὲν Μακεδόνες οὗτοι ἐπιόντος πολλοῦ στρατοῦ ἀδύνατοι ὄντες ἀμύνεσθαι ἔς τε τὰ καρτερὰ καὶ τὰ τεῖχη ὅσα ἦν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐσεκομίσθησαν. 2. ἦν δὲ οὐ πολλά, ἀλλὰ ὕστερον Ἀρχέλαος ὁ Περδίκκου υἱὸς βασιλεὺς γενόμενος τὰ νῦν ὄντα ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ὠκοδόμησε καὶ ὁδοὺς εὐθείας ἔτεμε καὶ τᾶλλα διεκόσμησε τά τε κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἵπποις

among the Thracians of the Chersonnese, by Phormion among the Acarnanians, and by Sertorius among the Iberians. The kings of the Lyncestae claimed descent from the Bacchiadae of Corinth. *ὑπό*: because they went *to* and settled *under* the mountain: cp. ii. 79. 2. But perhaps there is no idea of motion or even of extension: cp. ii. 15. 4. *κόλπος*: "vale." *στενὴν τινα*: sc. *γῆν*, "a narrow strip," what Herodotus calls *ποδεὼν στενός*, viii. 31.

5. *οἱ Μακεδόνες οὗτοι*] *οἱ κάτω Μακεδόνες*. Sch. *Μακεδόνων αὐτῶν*: *τῶν ἄνω*. Sch.

CH. C. 1. *τὰ καρτερὰ*] "The

strongholds." *τὰ τεῖχη*: probably mere ring walls on the top of a hill, serving as a refuge for the inhabitants in time of war, and deserted in time of peace: see Mommsen, i. ch. 3, p. 39.

2. *τᾶλλα διεκόσμησε*] Sc. *τὴν χώραν*: cp. ii. 15. 3. Arn. But it is not necessary to supply any thing: "he put every thing in order and strengthened his resources for war with horses and arms, and a military establishment stronger in all respects than all his ancestors together had maintained." *διεκόσμησε* must be repeated with *τά τε κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον*, in which *τε* is an independent con-

καὶ ὅπλοις καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ κρείσσονι ἢ ξύμπαντες οἱ ἄλλοι βασιλῆς ὀκτώ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενόμενοι. 3. ὁ δὲ στρατὸς τῶν Θρακῶν ἐκ τῆς Δοβήρου ἐσέβαλε πρῶτον μὲν ἐς τὴν Φιλίππου πρότερον οὔσαν ἀρχήν, καὶ εἶλεν Εἰδομένην μὲν κατὰ κράτος, Γορτυνίαν δὲ καὶ Ἀταλάντην καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα χωρία ὁμολογία διὰ τὴν Ἀμύντου φιλίαν προσχωροῦντα τοῦ Φιλίππου υἱέος παρόντος. Εὐρωπὸν δὲ ἐπολιόρκησαν μὲν, ἐλεῖν δὲ οὐκ ἐδύναντο. 4. ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄλλην Μακεδονίαν προὔχῳρει τὴν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Πέλλης καὶ Κύρρου. 5. ἔσω δὲ τούτων ἐς τὴν Βοττιαίαν καὶ Πιερίαν οὐκ ἀφίκοντο, ἀλλὰ τὴν τε Μυγδονίαν καὶ Κρηστωνίαν καὶ Ἀνθεμοῦντα ἐδήουν. 6. οἱ δὲ Μακεδόνες πεζῷ μὲν οὐδὲ διανοοῦντο ἀμύνεσθαι, ἵππους δὲ προσμεταπεμφψάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἄνω ξυμμάχων ὅπῃ δοκοῖ ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς ἐσέβαλλον ἐς τὸ στράτευμα τῶν Θρακῶν. 7. καὶ ἡ μὲν προσπέσοιεν, οὐδεὶς ὑπέμενεν ἄνδρας ἱππέας τε ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τεθωρακισμένους, ὑπὸ δὲ πλήθους περικληρόμενοι αὐτοὺς πολλαπλασίῳ τῷ ὀμίλῳ ἐς κίνδυνον καθίστασαν· ὥστε τέλος ἡσυχίαν ἤγον, οὐ νομίζοντες ἱκανοὶ εἶναι πρὸς τὸ πλεον κινδυνεύειν. 101. 1. ὁ δὲ Σιτάλκης πρὸς τε τὸν Περδίκκαν λόγους ἐποιεῖτο ὦν ἔνεκα ἐστράτευσεν καὶ ἐπειδὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐ παρήσαν ταῖς ναυσίν, ἀπιστοῦντες αὐτὸν μὴ ἤξειν, δῶρά τε καὶ πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν

junction, as at i. 9. 1. ὀκτώ: the numeral has no predicative force—its position is justified by the intervention of ἄλλοι between the article and substantive: see note on i. 11. 6, and cp. Hdt. ii. 68, τοὺς χειμεριωτάτους μῆνας τέσσερας. Still more anomalous is Thuc. vi. 73, τούτους τρεῖς. For the names of these kings cp. Hdt. viii. 139.

3. Εἰδομένην] “All these places were in the upper valley of the Axios, by which Sitalkes was now descending. By the country to the left of Pella must be understood of course that to the eastward of it, as he was marching southwards.” Arn.

5. ἔσω] On the side nearest Athens, to the south.

6. οὐδὲ διανοοῦντο] “Did not so much as think of resistance.” ὅπῃ δοκοῖ: cp. ii. 79. 10. ἐσέβαλλον: this verb is nowhere else used of a charge of cavalry, though προσβάλλω is: see the passage last referred to.

7. καθίστασαν] “They found that they were only bringing themselves into jeopardy against a crowd of enemies many times more numerous than themselves:” for the dative governed by the implied idea of fighting against, cp. i. 73. 4. τὸ πλεον: “the numerical superiority” of the Thracians.

CH. CI. 1. ἀπιστοῦντες] They thought that he would not take the field at all, because he had not commenced his expedition till the begin-

αὐτῷ, ἔς τε τοὺς Χαλκιδέας καὶ Βοττιαίους μέρος τι τοῦ στρατοῦ πέμπει, καὶ τειχήρεις ποιήσας ἐδήλου τὴν γῆν. 2. καθημένου δ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τοὺς χώρους τούτους οἱ πρὸς νότον οἰκοῦντες Θεσσαλοὶ καὶ Μάγνητες καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὑπήκοοι Θεσσαλῶν καὶ οἱ μέχρι Θερμοπυλῶν Ἕλληνες ἐφοβήθησαν μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ὁ στρατὸς χωρήσῃ, καὶ ἐν παρασκευῇ ἦσαν. 3. ἐφοβήθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ πέραν Στρυμόνος πρὸς βορέαν Θρᾶκες ὅσοι πεδιά εἶχον, Παναῖοι καὶ Ὀδόμαντοι καὶ Δρωοὶ καὶ Δερσαῖοι· αὐτόνομοι δ' εἰσὶ πάντες. 4. παρέσχε δὲ λόγον καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολεμίους Ἕλληνας μὴ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀγόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς χωρήσωσιν. 5. ὁ δὲ τὴν τε Χαλκιδικὴν καὶ Βοττικὴν καὶ Μακεδονίαν ἅμα ἐπέχων ἐφθειρε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ οὐδὲν ἐπράσσετο ὦν ἔνεκα ἐσέβαλε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ σῖτόν τε οὐκ εἶχεν αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐταλαιπώρει, ἀναπείθεται ὑπὸ Σεύθου τοῦ Σπαρδάκου, ἀδελφιδοῦ ὄντος καὶ μέγιστον μεθ' αὐτὸν δυναμένου, ὥστ' ἐν τάχει ἀπελθεῖν. 6. τὸν δὲ Σεύθην κρύφα Περδίκκας ὑποσχόμενος ἀδελφὴν ἑαυτοῦ δώσειν καὶ χρήματα ἐπ' αὐτῇ προσποιεῖται. 7. καὶ ὁ μὲν πεισθεὶς καὶ μείνας τριάκοντα τὰς πάσας ἡμέρας, τούτων δὲ ὀκτῶ ἐν Χαλκιδεῦσιν, ἀνεχώρησε τῷ στρατῷ κατὰ τάχος ἐπ' οἶκον. Περδίκκας δὲ ὕστερον Στρατονίκην τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφὴν δίδωσι Σεύθῃ, ὥσπερ ὑπέσχετο. 8. τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Σιτάλκου στρατείαν οὕτως ἐγένετο.

102. 1. Οἱ δὲ ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦδε τοῦ χειμῶνος, ἐπειδὴ τὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ναυτικὸν διελύθη, Φορμίωνος

ning of winter : see 95. 1, when the season for active operations was at an end.

4. παρέσχε . . λόγον . . ἐπί] "He gave occasion to surmises which even reached:" with the use of ἐπί compare the Latin fama in Sabinos, Livy, i. 18. μή: for λόγον implies fear—cp. προσδοκία μή, ii. 93. 2. ὑπ' αὐτῶν: τῶν Ἀθηναίων. Sch. ἀγόμενοι: οἱ μετὰ Σιτάλκου.

5. ἐπέχων] ἐπικείμενος, Sch. ; "extending over," "overflowing." Arnold compares Hdt. viii. 35, ὅσα

ἐπέσχον τῆς Φωκίδος πάντα ἐσιναμώρεον. ἐπράσσετο : imperfect, "nothing seemed to be succeeding." ὦν = τούτων ὦν. αὐτῷ: cp. note on i. 6. 3. μεθ' αὐτόν: "next to himself," Sitalkes. Seuthes then was one of the παραδυναστεύοντες, 97. 3. ὥστε: cp. ii. 2. 6, and note on i. 28. 6.

6. ἐπ' αὐτῇ] "In addition to her:" cp. ii. 80. 6.

7. τὰς πάσας] "In all : " cp. note on i. 100. 1.

ἡγουμένου ἐστράτευσαν, παραπλεύσαντες ἐπ' Ἀστακοῦ καὶ ἀποβάντες, ἐς τὴν μεσουγίαν τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας τετρακοσίοις μὲν ὀπλίταις Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, τετρακοσίοις δὲ Μεσσηνίων. 2. καὶ ἐκ τε Στράτου καὶ Κορόντων καὶ ἄλλων χωρίων ἄνδρας οὐ δοκοῦντας βεβαίους εἶναι ἐξήλασαν καὶ Κύνητα τὸν Θεολύτου ἐς Κόροντα καταγαγόντες ἀνεχώρησαν πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς. 3. ἐς γὰρ Οἰνιάδας αἰεί ποτε πολεμίους ὄντας μόνους Ἀκαρνανων οὐκ ἐδόκει δυνατόν εἶναι χειμῶνος ὄντος στρατεύειν. ὁ γὰρ Αἰετῶς ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐκ Πίνδου ὄρους διὰ Δολοπίας καὶ Ἀγραίων καὶ Ἀμφιλόχων καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ἀκαρνανικοῦ πεδίου, ἄνωθεν μὲν παρὰ Στράτον πόλιν, ἐς θάλασσαν δ' ἐξίεις παρ' Οἰνιάδας καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς περιλιμνάζων, ἄπορον ποιεῖ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν χειμῶνι στρατεύειν. 4. κεῖνται δὲ καὶ τῶν νήσων τῶν Ἐχινάδων αἱ πολλαὶ καταντικρὺ Οἰνιαδῶν, τοῦ Ἀετῶος τῶν ἐκβολῶν οὐδὲν ἀπέχουσαι, ὥστε μέγας ὢν ὁ ποταμὸς προσχοῖ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τῶν νήσων αἰὲν ἡπείρωνται. ἐλπίς δὲ καὶ πάσας οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ τινι ἂν χρόνῳ τοῦτο παθεῖν. 5. τό τε γὰρ ῥεῦμά ἐστι μέγα καὶ πολὺ καὶ θολερόν, αἱ τε νῆσοι πυκναὶ καὶ ἀλλήλαις τῆς προσχώσεως τῷ μὴ σκεδάννυσθαι σύνδεσ-

CH. CII. 2. βεβαίους] "Firm friends" to themselves.

3. αἰεί ποτε] Cp. i. 13. 5. ἄνωθεν: "in the upper part of its course:" cp. iii. 68; iv. 108. 1." Arn. So that ἄνωθεν μὲν is parallel to ἐς θάλασσαν δ' ἐξίεις = at its mouth.

4. προσχοῖ αἰεί] "Is always silting them up." ἐλπίς ἂν παθεῖν: "there is reason to expect that all will share the same fate." "A great number of the Echinades have been, according to the expectation of Thuc. united to the mainland, and now appear only as hills rising in the plain. In fact, they have all become part of the mainland, except a few which form a sort of reef at the mouth of the lake of Messolongia." Arn.

5. τῷ μὴ σκεδάννυσθαι] "Because they, that is the islands, are not scattered about, but lie close together, they arrest and consolidate the silt

for one another." The Scholiast makes τὴν πρόσχωσιν the subject to σκεδάννυσθαι, and he is followed by Poppo, Arnold, and Krüger. Yet he cannot be right if τῷ is to retain its proper meaning, and denote the cause or reason: so Poppo and Arnold prefer τό: the latter translates, "the islands serve to connect the depositions made by the river with one another, so that the soil should not be dispersed in the sea." Krüger can get no better sense than that the islands "bind the silt together because it is not dispersed." παραλλάξ: "overlapping," arranged like the five on a die (⋮ • ⋮), so that the second line covers the openings in the first, and the water can only escape to the sea by a sinuous zigzag course. ἔχουσαι: see i. 5. 1; 9. 2.

μοι γίνονται, παραλλάξ καὶ οὐ κατὰ στοῖχον κείμεναι, οὐδ' ἔχουσαι εὐθείας διόδους τοῦ ὕδατος ἐς τὸ πέλαγος. 6. ἐρήμοι δ' εἰσὶ καὶ οὐ μεγάλαι. 7. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀλκμαίῳ τῷ Ἀμφιάρεω, ὅτε δὴ ἀλᾶσθαι αὐτὸν μετὰ τὸν φόνον τῆς μητρός, τὸν Ἀπόλλω ταύτην τὴν γῆν χρῆσαι οἰκεῖν, ὑπειπόντα οὐκ εἶναι λύσιν τῶν δειμάτων πρὶν ἂν εὐρῶν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ κατοικίσηται ἥτις ὅτε ἔκτεινε τὴν μητέρα μήπω ὑπὸ ἡλίου ἐωρᾶτο μηδὲ γῇ ἦν, ὡς τῆς γε ἄλλης αὐτῷ μεμιασμένης. 8. ὁ δ' ἀπορῶν, ὥς φασι, μόλις κατενόησε τὴν πρόσχωσιν ταυτην τοῦ Ἀχελώου, καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ἱκανὴ ἂν κεχῶσθαι δίαίτα τῷ σώματι ἀφ' οὗπερ κτείνας τὴν μητέρα οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐπλανᾶτο. 9. καὶ κατοικισθεὶς ἐς τοὺς περὶ Οἰνιάδας τόπους ἐδυνάστευσέ τε καὶ ἀπὸ Ἀκαρνᾶνος παιδὸς ἑαυτοῦ τῆς χώρας τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἐγκατέλιπε. 10. τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀλκμαίωνα τοιαῦτα λεγόμενα παρελάβομεν.

103. 1. Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὁ Φορμίων ἄραντες ἐκ τῆς Ακαρνανίας καὶ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς τὴν Ναύπακτον ἅμα ἦρι κατέ-

7. ὅτε δὴ] "When, as the story goes:" for δὴ explanatory cp. i. 24. 2; ii. 77. 2; for the infinitive in a relative clause in the oratio obliqua cp. i. 91. 5; vi. 64. 3; vii. 47. 3: different is ii. 24. 2—see note there. τῆς μητρός, τῆς Ἐριφύλης. Sch. Cp. ii. 68. 3. ὑπειπόντα: "having first told him:" see i. 35. 5. Or, better perhaps, "having told him in dark and enigmatical language." τῶν δειμάτων: "from his terrors," or rather, as they would say in the north, "from his frights (frights)," ghastly visions which pursued the matricide. εὐρῶν: sc. αὐτήν: cp. note on περιπεσόντες, ii. 65. 13. ἥτις μήπω ἐωρᾶτο: "quae nondum conspiceretur:" cp. i. 35. 2, ἥτις μηδαμοῦ ξυμμαχεῖ. μή is used because the phrase does not give a characteristic of a known and definite place, but a condition of eligibility which might apply to several unknown places: cp. Soph. *El.* 379, μέλλουσι γὰρ σ', εἰ τῶνδε μὴ λήξεις γόων, ἐνταῦθα πέμψειν ἔνθα μὴ ποθ' ἡλίου φέγγος προσόψει (see Jebb's note); and for

ὅστις introducing the quality which is regarded as the reason or explanation of what precedes, see *Madv. G. S.* 105. ὡς . . . μεμιασμένης: "as if all the rest of the world had been polluted by his sin:" cp. note on i. 2. 6.

8. μόλις] "At length." ἱκανὴ ἂν κεχῶσθαι δίαίτα: "that perhaps enough had been deposited for him to support life upon:" in the direct oration, ἱκανὴ ἂν εἴη κεχωσμένη. τῷ σώματι: δηλονότι εἰς χρεῖαν τοῦ σώματος. Sch. ἀφ' οὗπερ: since he murdered his mother and began his long wanderings.

9. ἐδυνάστευσέ] "Became ruler:" see note on i. 3. 2. τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν: πρότερον γὰρ Κουρήτης ἐκαλεῖτο. Sch. ἐγκατέλιπε: "he left behind him in the country:" the ἐν- is nearly superfluous.

10. λεγόμενα] The participle appears to be a tertiary predicate: "the history of Alcmaeon we have received from tradition in this shape." Thuc. will not vouch for the truth of the legend.

πλευσαν ἐς τὰς Ἀθηνas, τοὺς τε ἐλευθέρους τῶν αἰχμαλώτων
ἐκ τῶν ναυμαχιῶν ἄγοντες, οἱ ἀνὴρ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς ἐλύθησαν,
καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἅς εἶλον. 2. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἐτελεύτα οὗτος, καὶ
τρίτον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα τῷδε ὃν Θουκυδίδης ξυνέ-
γραφεν.

CH. CIII. 1. τοὺς . . ἐλευθέρους]
The slaves had probably been sold :
cp. i. 55. 1. ἀνὴρ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς :
“were released by exchange, man

for man :” cp. v. 3. 4. When either
side had no prisoners for exchange,
the ransom was fixed at two minae :
cp. Hdt. v. 77 ; vi. 79.

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